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Marsden

DICTIONARY
OF
CHRISTIAN CHURCHES AND SECTS

FROM THE
Earliest Ages of Christianity.

BY THE REV. J. B. MARSDEN, M.A.
INCUMBENT OF ST. PETER'S, BIRMINGHAM,
AUTHOR OF "THE HISTORY OF THE EARLY AND LATER PURITANS,"
ETC.

NEW EDITION.



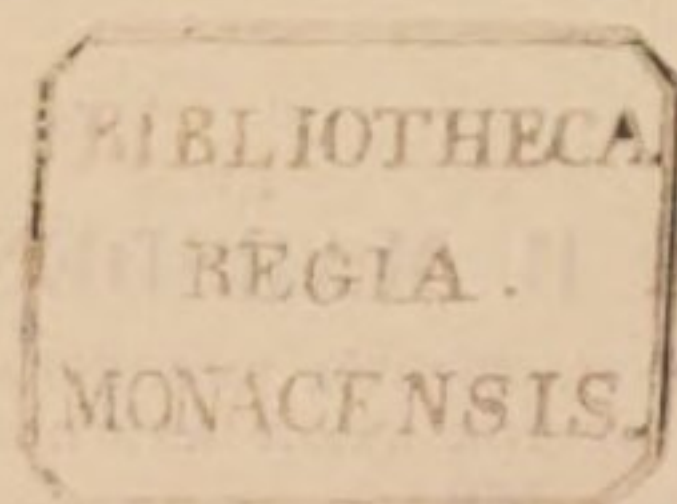
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DICTIONARY

CHRISTIAN CHURCHES AND SECTS

1871

General List of Christianities



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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following pages owe their existence, and the work itself something of its character, to the suggestions of Mr. Bentley. A compendious volume on the HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN CHURCHES AND SECTS, written fairly, and, as far as possible, in an impartial spirit, seems to be much wanted. The value of such a work will be at once acknowledged by those who have sought for information on matters of ecclesiastical history, where alone they have hitherto been met with, in the countless volumes of writers, intricate and antiquated, or deeply prejudiced, or imperfectly informed. An ecclesiastical history worthy of the name, and suited to the wants of the age, it is no presumption to say, has not yet been written; and such are the labours and the difficulties of the enterprise, that it is not, I fear, likely to be undertaken by competent hands. Meantime the following outlines are presented to the student in this important field. The younger clergy will find in them some assistance and information which, if I may judge by my own experience, is not easily to be met with, and yet is wanted daily. As a book of reference, too, the volume, when complete, will, I hope, be found worthy of a place in the library of the general reader.

Of the execution I will say nothing more than that I have endeavoured to place myself in the situation of a candid member of the church or sect whose story was before me, and to avoid distortion and false colouring. I have drawn my facts from the authors of each party, and given their own version, unless it be when opponents have denied their accuracy. Where the matter is controverted, the statements on both sides are, in general, placed before the reader, and he is left to draw his own conclusion.

If, in the following sheets, the number of Christian sects should appear less than they have been represented—for this I offer no apology. On referring to the Index, which will be printed at the end, the reader will still find that no sect or body entitled to a place

in Church History has been overlooked; and it has unfortunately been too much the aim of ecclesiastical writers to enumerate sects which either never had a distinct existence of their own, or were merely private quarrels, or eddies in the current of unfixed opinion, which disappeared as soon as they existed. A very false impression has been thus conveyed, and a great injustice done to the Christian faith: the primitive church, for instance, is made to appear a congeries of discordant opinions, whose very names and titles are almost innumerable. Yet, in fact, there were but two great parties—the orthodox on the one hand, and the heretical Christians on the other; and these latter, amidst their infinite varieties, are all to be reduced to two—the Gnostics, who corrupted the gospel by an admixture of Greek philosophy, or Persian magianism, or both; and the Arians, who lost themselves in speculations upon the Divine nature, and especially the two natures of Christ. All the controversies of the Reformation hinge again upon the one question of sacramental grace. And in our own times, apart from individual quarrels, eccentricities, and errors, there are but three important differences in matters of doctrine through the whole of Christendom, namely, the sacramental system of the Greek and Roman Churches, the evangelical doctrine of Protestants, and the Rationalist or Nealogian Creed. Into one of these all our controversies resolve themselves. So, too, questions of Church government range themselves under three great *types*—absolutism, mixed government, and pure democracy. Were these premises borne in mind, the study of Church History would be less perplexing to the student; and the real unity of the Church of Christ would frequently appear beneath external—and perhaps needless and unjustifiable—differences of form and name. At least it is a foolish thing to multiply and exaggerate the differences—after all, no doubt, far too many—which unhappily disturb the great family of Jesus Christ!

J. B. M.

November, 1854.

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HISTORY

OF

CHRISTIAN CHURCHES AND SECTS.

ABYSSINIA, CHURCH OF.—Some uncertainty rests upon the exact period when Abyssinia was converted to the Christian faith. It is said by the best writers to have received the Gospel about the middle of the fourth century, when Athanasius was patriarch of Alexandria. Frumentius, a Christian merchant trading in Ethiopia and on the Red Sea, was well received by the king of Abyssinia. Anxious for their conversion, he proceeded after a time to Alexandria, and having been ordained by Athanasius bishop of Ethiopia, returned immediately in a new character to the scene of his former labours. Great numbers of the Abyssinians were baptized, a regular clergy ordained, and churches built; and it is probable that about this time Christianity was generally diffused throughout the Abyssinian empire. From the first, the Abyssinians received their patriarch, whom they call Abuna or Abouna, a word equivalent to father, from Alexandria. Since the Coptic, or Egyptian, Church embraced from the earliest times the Eutychian or Monophysite doctrines, these, in consequence, have always been held by the Abyssinians, who are to be numbered among the Monophysite Churches. (See ARMENIAN CHURCH.) Continuing to receive their Abunas from Egypt, they became disciples to the Alexandrian faith.

For a period of a thousand years the Abyssinian Church was forgotten, or unknown, to European Christendom. The Saracens

obtained the ascendancy in Egypt, and the terror of their name was sufficient to shut out the distant regions of Ethiopia and Abyssinia from all communication with the Western Churches. It was towards the close of the fifteenth century that some adventurers, sent out by John II., king of Portugal, penetrated into the kingdom of Congo, and heard for the first time of the Christians of Abyssinia. The king, overjoyed on the discovery, resolved to send into Abyssinia, in order to ascertain, if possible, the real state of the people. Accordingly, Pedro Cavilham entered Abyssinia in the year 1490, and transmitted to Portugal a statement of all he had seen and heard. Portugal, at this time in the zenith of her power, was intensely moved by the strongest passions to which nations are exposed—the love of conquest, and a profound enthusiasm for the national religion. The most extravagant hopes were indulged of the wealth to be drained from these rediscovered regions, which were supposed to contain more gold than America herself; and the triumph would be great indeed if Abyssinia—that ancient Ethiopia of prophecy and history—could be reduced to the subjection of the see of Rome. A treaty was set on foot between the two countries in 1509. The Abyssinians requested that printers, artificers, and learned men might be sent from Europe, promising in return every assistance they could render to the interests of the Portuguese. In their simplicity they preferred a similar request at Rome. Conscious of their own inferiority, they were anxious to import the arts and civilization of Europe; but the step was fraught with ruin. It was determined, on the part of Portugal and Rome, to effect, by whatever means, the subjugation of Abyssinia; and a mission was established, of which it has been said with truth, “that, for the intrigue with which it was introduced, the artifice and cruelty with which it was carried on, and the miserable and disgraceful termination which it received, it admits of no parallel in the annals of the world.” We proceed to give a brief outline of this affecting history.

In 1527 an Abyssinian ambassador, Zaga-Zaba, arrived at Madrid, and, from some reason imperfectly explained, was induced to sign a confession of his faith, agreeing in essentials with that of Rome. For some unknown reason likewise, probably from reluctance to acknowledge the supremacy of the Romish see, he was, however, denied the sacraments, and detained as a hostage

if not as a prisoner. In the mean time Bermudes, a Portuguese in Abyssinia, contrived to ingratiate himself with the young Emperor David and his people. The Mahomedans were now making vigorous war upon him; they invaded and took possession of some parts of his empire. The Abyssinian emperor, distracted and helpless, was induced to send Bermudes to the courts of Rome and Lisbon to implore assistance. Before he set out, however, his influence was such that the Abuna was ordered to consecrate him bishop, and to nominate him his successor in the patriarchate of Ethiopia. He then proceeded at once to Rome, where he was consecrated patriarch of Ethiopia by the pope, and further commended to the king of Portugal. On his arrival at Madrid, one of his first acts was to disgrace Zaga-Zaba, who was loaded with chains and thrown into prison; and thus the first step was taken towards the subjugation of the Abyssinian Church. Succours were at length sent, about 1540; and, after various turns of fortune, the Mahomedans were expelled, and the emperor replaced upon his throne. The Portuguese now began to make large demands in return for the services they had rendered. They required that he should embrace the Roman Catholic faith and cede one-third of his dominions; and a threat was added that, unless he complied, he should lose the service of the Portuguese, and, further, that he himself should be excommunicated. The threat of excommunication had, however, a very different effect from that which Bermudes expected. The emperor at once declared that the patriarch had no authority whatever in his empire, and that the pope himself was a heretic; and, to show his sincerity, he immediately sent to Alexandria for an Abuna, for the Abyssinian Church; and, on hearing that he was on his road, set out to meet and welcome him. He was received with enthusiasm by the people. Bermudes was imprisoned; but it would seem that no great severity was intended, as he soon contrived to escape from Abyssinia, to make way for missionaries of another school.

Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the order of Jesuits, saw in Abyssinia a wide and tempting field, and asked permission at once to rush into it. In 1555 the Jesuits first made their appearance at the court of Abyssinia. Ignatius himself was represented by thirteen missionaries of his society; and at the same time other Jesuits were sent by the king of Portugal. Of these

Rodriguez was the leader. Claudius, at this time king of Abyssinia, was a man of great penetration as well as real piety. He was by no means pleased with the sudden appearance of a foreign priesthood, whose numbers rendered them suspicious, and whose arguments he could readily confute. Rodriguez urged that the pope was the vicar of Christ, and that none could be saved out of the pale of the Roman Church. The emperor replied that these were points for the consideration of a council, and by no means to be determined by the private opinion of a priest; and, on that account, he must not expect that the people of Ethiopia would easily relinquish the faith of their forefathers. Oviedo, another Jesuit, who had been consecrated bishop of Hierapolis by the pope, in order that he might succeed the patriarch, should an opportunity occur, next obtained an interview, and presented letters from the pope and the king of Portugal. He plainly asked the emperor whether he intended to submit to the pope or not; assuring him, at the same time, that out of his jurisdiction salvation was impossible. The emperor replied mildly, that the Abyssinian Church had, from the beginning, been subject to the patriarch of Alexandria, with whose rule they were well satisfied; and that, as to the errors with which the bishop had charged them, he might inform himself more correctly by reading their Confession of Faith; and he added that the matter should be laid before an ecclesiastical council, and the bishop informed of their decision. Oviedo was dissatisfied, and challenged the learned in Abyssinia to dispute with him in public. The challenge was accepted; and Claudius himself, fearing, perhaps, that his clergy might be foiled by so accomplished a disputant, took a principal part in the discussion; in which, according to the Jesuit historians themselves, he very much foiled the bishop. At length Oviedo, finding all other expedients hopeless, determined upon one which seemed to promise an easy victory. On the 5th of February, 1559, in the church of Decome, he solemnly excommunicated the whole of the Abyssinian Church. Within a few months Claudius fell in battle with a neighbouring state, his army was routed, and the empire seemed on the verge of ruin. He was succeeded by his brother Adam, a fierce and haughty barbarian. He ascribed the misery of his country entirely to the Jesuits, and vowed their extermination. The Portuguese joined with the Mahomedans

of the neighbouring states in waging war against the heretical Abyssinians : and Adam fell, like his brother, in the field. But the mission of the Jesuits failed, and they were formally recalled by a bull, dated from St. Peter's, A.D. 1550. Thus ended the first Abyssinian mission.

After several unsuccessful attempts by Menezes, archbishop of Goa, and others, a second Jesuit mission was at length established in 1603, of which Father Peter was the head. It is impossible to give, in a short space, even a summary of that complication of events which filled the next twenty years of Abyssinian history. During the whole period a succession of intrigues, civil wars, and slaughter, occupies and fatigues the reader. Father Peter sided first with the court, then with the insurgents, then with the court again, as each party gained the ascendancy ; some of the Jesuits always so contriving matters as to be in the confidence of either party. At length the emperor consigned all offices of trust to those who had embraced the Romish faith. The Abuna remonstrated, and at length excommunicated. The emperor answered by an edict commanding all his subjects forthwith to embrace the Romish faith. Another insurrection followed, supported by the Abuna and led by the emperor's son-in-law. An immense army joined the latter, who marched for the royal camp, determined to establish the ancient faith or perish. Simeon the Abuna gave them his blessing, assuring them that every soldier that fell would receive a martyr's crown ; but their leader died beneath a shower of arrows, and his followers, panic-struck, threw down their arms and fled. The Abuna was about a hundred years old ; too feeble for flight and overwhelmed with grief, he remained upon the spot. His character secured him from the Abyssinian soldiers, but a Portuguese came up, and regardless of his gray hairs, thrust him through with a spear. For a while the victory of the Jesuits seemed to be complete, and the Courts of Rome and Madrid determined to send a patriarch into Abyssinia. Alphonso Mendez was consecrated patriarch, and James Seco and John da Rocha, bishops of Nice and Hierapolis. On the 21st of June, 1624, the patriarch, with his coadjutor, the bishop of Hierapolis, arrived at Fremona, the bishop of Nice having died on the voyage. After a short time the patriarch and his associates were summoned to Court. On the 11th of December the

Abyssinian Church made her formal submission to the see of Rome. The emperor and the (Roman) patriarch took their seats in the great hall of the palace; and, after a sermon on the text, "Thou art Peter, &c.," a solemn abjuration of the Alexandrian faith was made by the Court; excommunication was then pronounced on the contumacious, all native priests were forbidden to officiate till licensed by the patriarch, the subjects of the emperor were commanded to embrace the Romish faith, and to denounce all those who should still adhere to the ancient religion. A large estate and palace on the lake of Demba was provided for the new patriarch; a college was erected for sixty students, and the work of subjugating Abyssinia to the Church of Rome seemed to be accomplished. But appearances were deceitful. The missionaries who attempted to say mass were attacked, and two of them were found murdered in their beds; and again, a son-in-law of the emperor, Tecla George, placed himself at the head of an insurrection. To prove his sincerity he put to death his own chaplain who refused to abjure the Roman faith. Chrystos, a bigoted papist, was despatched with an army against him; the rebels were completely routed; George and his sister Adela fled to a cave, where, after three days' concealment, they were discovered, and brought before the emperor. George was condemned to be burnt as a heretic; but recanting, was hanged; and the same sentence was executed on his sister, on the same tree, a few days after. These barbarous proceedings, instead of crushing the native spirit, roused the Abyssinians to vengeance, and deepened their hatred to Rome. Insurrections and executions followed, till at last the emperor himself, perceiving how entirely severity had failed, proposed some measures of toleration. The patriarch was alarmed, "Your highness," said he, "has been misled by wicked counsellors, who, under the pretence of toleration, have in view nothing short of the entire extirpation of the Catholic Church from Abyssinia." The patriarch, however, was obliged to give his consent to the retention by the Abyssinians of such of their ancient customs as did not militate against the Roman faith; but with the condition that this indulgence should not be publicly avowed. About the same time, A.D. 1630, letters were received from the pope in which he encouraged the emperor to persevere in the faith, and announced a jubilee for the Abys-

sinian Church. The latter was received by the Abyssinian people with derision. The authority which the pope claimed of pardoning their sins especially, became the subject of their scorn. Another rebellion, quenched at last by a bloody victory, ensued. The emperor's troops slew eight thousand of his peasantry, who willingly forfeited their lives rather than abandon their religion. But still the stedfast, independent spirit of Abyssinia was not vanquished. The empress herself addressed a passionate remonstrance to her infatuated lord; imploring him, as he feared God and valued his own reputation, to forbear this merciless destruction of his subjects. The Alexandrians remonstrated. "You see, sir, how many dead bodies lie before you. Are they Mahomedans and heathens? No, sir, they are Christians to a man; your own subjects; men endeared to us by the strongest ties of relationship and blood. Sire, the very heathens and Mahomedans blush at our cruelties; and brand us with the name of murderers and apostates. Forbear, we entreat you, to persevere in a contest which must terminate in the overthrow of your religion and yourself." In short, the emperor was subdued by the firmness of his people. On the 20th of June, 1632, the Roman patriarch, accompanied by the Jesuits, waited upon him and obtained an audience. He made a passionate appeal to the feelings of the sovereign; and conjured him in conclusion, either to support the Church or to behead himself and his comrades on the spot. He made answer that he had done everything in his power for the catholic faith, that he had now scarcely left to him either subjects or a kingdom, and that he could do no more. A proclamation was issued permitting the Abyssinians to return to the religion of their fathers. It is impossible to describe the raptures with which it was received everywhere. The old Alexandrian party immediately followed up their triumph; they obtained another proclamation, in which every subject of the empire was commanded to return to the ancient faith. The Jesuit mission was at an end; and with it the hopes and prospects of the Church of Rome. The Roman patriarch abandoned Abyssinia in 1633.

From this period nothing further was known of Abyssinia till the travels of Mr. Bruce about 1763, which served rather to excite than gratify the curiosity of Western Europe. He related (and though questioned at the time the report has been subse-

quently confirmed) that so late as the year 1750 the Society of the Propaganda had sent a fresh mission of three Franciscan friars, who penetrated as far as Gonda, where they rose into great favour with the emperor, the queen-mother, and many of the principal noblemen. "We promised ourselves," says father Remedio, who styles himself vice-prefect of Ethiopia, in a memorial of his mission laid before the pope in 1754,—“we promised ourselves a copious harvest; the emperor having already destined me for his ambassador to the apostolic see, for the advantage of the catholic faith in his kingdom: when lo! the enemy of the human race excited against the king, and against us, a great rebellion among the people, insomuch that the archbishop Gofto, fearing to lose his emoluments, threatened to excommunicate the king and all the people, if he did not immediately expel us out of the kingdom. In a word, during the night, not only the furious populace, but also many monks more outrageous than the populace, cried out to the king, rang the bells, and demanded our expulsion with loud cries and threats of death. The emperor awakened and confounded by such an uproar, on the 2nd of October sent for us to an audience, and communicated to us the painful intelligence that we must depart. We practised every means in our power to regain the favour of the emperor and appease the people, but all being in vain we determined to return.” Bruce found the Abyssinian Church in a state of great ignorance, but as he brought home with him a complete copy of the Scriptures in the Ethiopic language, it was reasonably surmised that the means and elements of a reformation lay hid within it. Little more was known till the year 1809, when Mr. Salt explored Abyssinia under the direction of the British government. He described both the nation and its religion as fast verging to ruin. The Galla and Mosleim tribes around, he says, are daily becoming more powerful, and there is reason to fear in a short time the very name of Christ may be lost among them. And to Mr. Salt the honour is due of having been the first to urge the wisdom of sending Protestant missionaries to a nation which had, at so very early a period, received the Christian religion; which cherished and defended it against secret and open enemies, and which still maintains it, not pure indeed, but as the national faith. But it was not till 1827 that any active measures were taken. In that year Dr. Gobat, the present

Anglican bishop of Jerusalem, accompanied by Mr. Isenberg, was deputed by the Church Missionary Society on a mission to Abyssinia. Their labours and those of their successors were continued till 1842, when the mission was finally withdrawn through the adverse influences of the Church of Rome, and the opposition of the Abyssinian priesthood. The present state of the Abyssinian Church, with regard both to doctrine and practice, will be gathered from the following statement, for which we are chiefly indebted to bishop Gobat's journals.

The Christians of Abyssinia are at present divided into three parties, so inimical to each other that they will not partake of the sacrament in common. A single point disunites them, a refinement upon the Monophysite doctrine with regard to the two natures of Jesus Christ. It is difficult to understand, still more to explain, these differences; the discussion of which would belong to a theological treatise. They all agree, as indeed do the whole of the Eastern Churches without exception, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, and not from the Father and the Son. They baptize infants, but not before the boys are forty days old and the girls eighty, and as soon as an infant has been baptized the communion is administered to him. Mr. Salt describes a baptism at which he was present, and the ceremonial appears so singular that we shall copy his own statement. The officiating priest was habited in white flowing robes with a tiara, or silver-mounted cap on his head, and he carried a censer with burning incense in his right hand: a second of equal rank was dressed in similar robes, supporting a large golden cross, while a third held in his hand a small phial containing a quantity of consecrated oil, which is furnished to the Church of Abyssinia by the patriarch of Alexandria. The attendant priests stood round in the form of a semicircle, the boy being placed in the centre, and our party ranged in front. After a few minutes' interval, employed in singing psalms, some of the priests took the boy and washed him all over very carefully in a large basin of water. While this was passing a smaller font, called *me-te-mak* (which is always kept outside of the churches, owing to an unbaptized person not being permitted to enter the Church), was placed in the middle of the area filled with water, which the priest consecrated by prayer, waving the incense repeatedly over it, and dropping into it a portion of the *meiron*, or conse-

crated oil, in the shape of a cross. The boy was then brought back, dripping from head to foot, and again placed naked and upright in the centre ; and was required to renounce " the devil and all his works," which was performed by his repeating a given formula four separate times, turning each time towards a different point of the compass. The godfather was then demanded, and on my being presented I named the child George, in honour of his present majesty, when I was requested to say the belief and the Lord's Prayer, and to make much the same promises as those required by our own Church. The head priest afterwards laid hold of the boy, dipping his own hand into the water, and crossed him over the forehead, pronouncing at the same moment "George, I baptize thee ; in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." The whole company then knelt down, and joined in reciting the Lord's Prayer.

The Abyssinians also practise an annual ablution, which they term baptism, and which they consider necessary to wash away the defilement of sin. The priests receive the Lord's Supper every day, and always fasting ; besides priests and monks, scarcely any but aged persons and children attend the communion. They call the consecration of the element *Mellawat*. At Gondar Bishop Gobat found no person that believed in transubstantiation. In Tigre there are some who believe in it. The wine is mixed with water. They consider fasting essential to religion ; consequently their fasts occupy the greater part of the year, about nine months ; but these are seldom all observed except by a few monks. The priests may be married men, but they may not marry after they have received orders. The priesthood is very illiterate, and there is no preaching at all. The Abyssinians prostrate themselves to the saints, and especially to the Virgin ; and, of all Christian Churches, are, we believe, the only one that practise circumcision. When questioned on the subject, they answer, that they consider circumcision merely as a custom, and that they abstain from the animals forbidden in the Mosaic law, but only because they have a disgust to them ; but Dr. Gobat observed, that when they spoke upon these subjects without noticing the presence of a stranger, they attached a religious importance to circumcision, and that a priest would not fail to impose a fast or penance on a man who had eaten of a wild boar, or a hare, without the pretext of illness. In short, their religion con-

sists chiefly in ceremonial observances ; and of the most salutary doctrines of Christianity, such as justification by faith and the sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit, they know nothing. The moral state of Abyssinia is but low. The marriage bond is easily dissolved, and the same man frequently marries several women in succession, the neglected wives attaching themselves to other men, and thus immorality is widely spread. They have not much regard for truth, and they steal habitually. Still Christianity is not without its elevating influences. They are not cruel though always at war, and seldom take the life of a prisoner. They are very charitable, and, though easily provoked, as easily reconciled to each other. Their hospitality to strangers is unbounded. They will starve themselves to entertain a stranger ; and they have such a sense of honour that a thief by profession would not rob his master. The children of both sexes are remarkable for docility and virtue. Dr. Gobat found them better than other children of all the countries that he had travelled in. Thus Christianity, though in a corrupted form, feebly practised and imperfectly understood, has had sufficient power to raise the Abyssinian character to a height far beyond that to which any of the African nations in later ages has attained.

ALBIGENSES, THE.—These were dissenters from the Church of Rome in the twelfth century, so called from Albi, in Languedoc, where they were condemned by a council in 1176, or because the greater part of Narbonnese-Gaul which they inhabited was called Albigesium. The Roman Catholic writers have handed them down as heretics of the Manichæan school, and many Protestant writers of note have adopted and given wider circulation to the charge. Mr. Elliot, in his recent work, "*Horæ Apocalypticæ*," has examined the question with great patience and research, and, we think, clearly established the conclusion of their orthodoxy. It was previously known that they descended from the Paulicians, a body of Christians in Thrace and Greece, who retained, with perhaps some errors of comparatively lesser moment, the great truths of the Gospel in the dark ages. Some of these travelled to the west, diffused their principles in Italy, and, crossing the Alps, converted large numbers in Southern France, three hundred years before the Reformation dawned.

These were the Albigenses. Their principles spread with such rapidity, that in Languedoc the Church of Rome was deserted. St. Bernard, who was sent to reclaim, if possible, the lost members, exclaims, "The churches are without people, the people without priests, the priests without reverence; the sacraments are not held sacred, the festivals are not solemnized. By denial of the grace of baptism, infants are precluded from salvation; and men die in their sins, hurried away to the terrible tribunal without penitence or communion." The lamentation of the Latin father would give us reason to suspect that the heresy of which he complains consisted in a denial of the Romish doctrine of the sacraments; this we shall find to have been the case. Two contemporary writers, Evervinus and Eckbert, the former in a letter addressed to St. Bernard, the latter in a tract addressed to the rector of the cathedral of Cologne, give ample statements of the confessions made by these heretics, as they esteemed them, when brought before the ecclesiastical judiciaries. As regards the sacraments, "they openly confessed," says Evervinus, "that daily at their tables, when they take their meals, according to the example of Christ and his Apostles, they consecrate their meat and drink into the body and blood of Christ by prayer; that besides baptism by water, they had been baptized with the Holy Ghost; they charge us (Romanists) that we hold not the truth in the sacraments, but the traditions of men. With regard to orders, their discipline is this: first, by the laying on of hands, some of their hearers are admitted into the number of believers; then, after sufficient trial, they lay their hands on them again for the baptism of the Spirit, and so constitute them elect." The same writer asserts that in their diet they forbid the use of milk, and whatever has possessed animal life, that they despise the baptism of the Church of Rome and condemn marriage. This latter point, a subject of grave accusation against their morals, ought to be explained with reference to the Romish sacrament of marriage; for Evervinus himself observes, "they have among them continent women, as they call them, widows, virgins, their wives also; some of which are amongst the elect, others of the believers." And again, "as regards marriage, they allowed that only between two virgins, grounding their doctrine on such texts as, what God has joined together let not man put asunder; and whosoever marrieth her that is

divorced committeth adultery." He adds "they put no confidence in the intercession of saints; they maintain that fastings and other afflictions undertaken for sins are not necessary to the just or to sinners; for that whenever a sinner repents of his sins they are all forgiven him." This, the reader will observe, is scarcely consistent with what he said before on the subject of their diet; probably it may have been practised by some one subdivision of the party, or else it was a practice unconnected with religion. They denied purgatory, and all other things which have not been established by Christ and his apostles they call superstitious. They deny that the body of Christ is made on the altar, or that the pope was an apostle of Christ. Eckbert, the monk, describes them up to the year 1160 as abounding in the neighbourhood of Cologne. He says they were wont to defend their tenets from Holy Scripture, which they did so speciously that even the more learned of the clergy were very generally unable to reply. About the same time we have some notices of the same class of people under the curious names of Telonarii and Poplicani (probably *τελώναι* and *publicani*, in allusion to "publicans and sinners") in Burgundy. The charges against them, for which they were burnt, were, "the making void of all the sacraments of the Church, the baptism of children, the eucharist, the sign of the life-giving cross, the sprinkling of holy water, the building of churches, payments of tithes and oblations, marriage, monastic institutions, and all the dues of priests and ecclesiastics." Under the name of Cathari, or Boni-homines, they were condemned at the Council of Lombers, A.D. 1165. In answer to the several charges brought against them they replied thus: that for inspired Scripture they received the New Testament; also Moses, the Psalms, and the Prophets, in those points of testimony and those only, which are authenticated by Christ and his apostles (*quæ inducuntur à Jesu et Apostolis*. This seems to have been designed to exclude the Apocrypha, rather than any part of the sacred canon). That, "in regard to the baptism of infants we would say nothing of our own, but only answer out of the epistles and gospels, that the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ was consecrated by every good man whether ecclesiastic or layman, and that they who received it worthily were saved, while they who received unworthily received to themselves damnation." Respecting matrimony they would only

answer in the words of St. Paul ; respecting confession, repentance, and whether fasting and alms were necessary after repentance in order to salvation, "that the apostle James had said simply that they should confess one to another, and so be saved ; and that they did not wish to be better than the apostles, or, like the bishops, to add anything of their own." They believed oaths unlawful ; and, if persons ordained were bad men, they were not bishops or priests, but ravening wolves whom men ought not to obey. Whether the Albigenses of the twelfth century were abominable heretics or real Christians, and premature Protestants, the reader must decide. Except the imputation about marriage, no charge is alleged against their morals. Their constancy in suffering excited the wonder of their opponents. "Tell me, holy father," says Evervinus to St. Bernard, relating the martyrdom of three of these heretics, "how is this? They entered to the stake and bore the torment of the fire, not only with patience, but with joy and gladness. I wish your explanation ; how these members of the devil could persist in their heresy with a courage and constancy scarcely to be found in the most religious of the faith of Christ?"

The word Albigenses is frequently used as synonymous with the word Provençean or Languedocian ; and thus employed the imputations of heresy and irreligion, cast with so much bitterness on the Albigenses, may not have been ill founded. Sir James Stephen remarks (in his Lectures on the History of France), that since, in the unrestrained license of speculation, which invariably succeeds to a revolt from ancient authority, many rash and dangerous theories have been always hazarded, it is not reasonable to refuse all credit to the statement of the historians hostile to them ; that among the Albigenses there were some who gave such scope to their fancy as almost to destroy the whole system of revealed truth. But from the same testimony we may infer, that these were the few exceptions, and that, in general, they anticipated and held the same doctrines which after the lapse of three centuries were promulgated by the reformers of Germany and England. Dr. Ranken, who wrote an able, though now neglected, history of France fifty years since, has also examined the question with great care, and proves, from the admission of contemporary writers of the Church of Rome, that the morals of the Albigenses were pure, and that the charge of

Manichæan doctrine was, with regard at least to those who suffered for their religion, utterly without foundation, (vol. i. p. 205, &c.)

About the year 1200, the Albigenses, including the various sects so called, and a number of individuals properly of no sect, but all alike opposed to the Church of Rome, had become so numerous that they were in possession of Toulouse and eighteen other principal towns in Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiné. Raymond VI., earl, or count, of Toulouse, was still an independent sovereign, doing homage neither to Pedro of Arragon, the supreme lord of the southern provinces of France, nor yet to Philippe Auguste, the French sovereign. The Albigenses were his subjects; he embraced their opinions and took them under his protection. Innocent III. then filled the papal throne. He heard with dismay the progress of the new opinions, and resolved to crush them. With this object he first of all launched the sentence of excommunication. The Albigenses were placed under an anathema, which extended to every one who might lodge or shelter them, deal with them in trade, either to sell or buy, or join with them in social or convivial intercourse. The clergy were required to forbid them the sacraments while living, or Christian sepulture when dead. The civil powers were commanded to confiscate their property and raze their houses to the ground. The means did not prove effectual. Raymond still showed favour to his heretical subjects, and the pope, in consequence, next sent two legates, Rainerius and Guido, to inquire into the causes of the failure, and demand the instant punishment of the heretics. But even this step was not successful; and now Innocent despatched his apostolic legate, Peter of Castelneau, to demand that Raymond should extirpate his heretical subjects with fire and sword. Twice Raymond refused, and twice was he excommunicated, and his dominions laid under an interdict. The quarrel assumed an aspect similar to that which raged about the same time between Henry II., of England, and A'Becket. Yielding to the impulse of his wrath, Raymond, in an unhappy moment, exclaimed that he would make Castelneau answer for his insolence with his life. The threat was heard by one of his attendants, who followed the legate to his inn, entered into an angry debate with him there, and at length plunged a dagger into his heart. The pope,

eager to avenge his legate, and to vindicate the rights of the Church, immediately proclaimed Raymond a spiritual outlaw, called upon all the faithful to assist in his destruction, and promised the same indulgences which had ever been granted to the champions of the holy sepulchre, to those who should enter upon the new crusade against Raymond and the Albigenses. All Europe resounded with preparations for the holy war; and, in 1209, five hundred thousand soldiers, each wearing the symbol of the cross, according to the writers of that age, gathered round the infected provinces. They formed three great armies, over each of which presided an archbishop, a bishop or a mitred abbot. The great military captain was Simon de Montfort, lord of a fief, near Paris, and, in right of his mother, an English lady, Earl of Leicester. Raymond quailed before the approaching tempest. He made the most abject submission to the pope, and, in proof of his sincerity placed seven of his strongest fortified places in his hands. But this was not enough. He was compelled to appear naked to his shirt in his cathedral church, with a rope round his neck, each end of which was carried by a bishop, by whom he was then severely scourged in the presence of a vast assembly of his subjects. He then swore, upon the consecrated wafer, to submit to whatever the Church of Rome should command, to take the cross against his own subjects, and assist, to the utmost of his power, in the destruction of the Albigenses.

Roger of Beziers, nephew to Raymond, and the head of one of his seven fiefs or baronies, displayed a braver spirit, and resolved to defend his people against the allied crusaders and the Church itself. But he had miscalculated his power of resistance. His castles were abandoned, burnt, or captured, and at the bidding of the legate Amalric, and amidst the acclamations of the ferocious crusaders, the heretics taken prisoners were cast into the flames. Beziers fell at the first assault; its inhabitants, in number three and twenty thousand, were put to the sword. The knights inquired of the papal legate how they should distinguish the Catholics from the heretics. "Kill them all," said he, "God knoweth them that are his." Seven thousand citizens took refuge in the church of the Magdalen; and as many dead bodies were afterwards counted on the spot. A vast multitude crowded the church of St. Nicaise; it afforded no

sanctuary, not one survived. From Beziers, of which nothing but a burning pile of ruins was left, the crusaders marched to Carcassonne. There Roger commanded in person, and sustained a long siege with valour; at length, trusting to a safe-conduct from the Abbé de Citeaux, the legate, and the military leaders, confirmed by their oaths, he visited their camp, proposing to negotiate. But faith was not kept. The legate had him arrested, and handed over to De Montfort. He soon after died in prison, as all men believed by violence. Carcassonne was presented to De Montfort by the legate and his clergy. Soon after, he received from the hands of Innocent, at the Lateran council, the county of Toulouse, and other lands belonging to Raymond, as a reward for his zeal in behalf of the Church. Raymond himself had fled to Rome to throw himself upon the pope's compassion, and solicit the restoration of his dignities; but he was treated with insolence and once more excommunicated. A change, at length, seemed to dawn upon his distracted fortunes. He raised a few followers and once more took up arms, and his kinsman, Pedro of Arragon, fearing, no doubt, the rapid extension of the papacy on all sides, marched, with a thousand knights to his aid: he was joined by the counts of Foix and of Comminges, and the viscount Bearn, his vassals. But Pedro was killed in battle, on the 12th of September, 1213; Raymond and his allies submitted to the conqueror, and the power of De Montfort was supreme. An insurrection took place, however, in 1218, and he was slain at Toulouse. Raymond died 1222. Within two years, Philippe, king of France, and Innocent III., were also removed from the scene. The Albigenses breathed again, and proclaimed the younger Raymond.

Honorius III. was now pope, and he resolved to follow in the steps of his predecessor, and complete the extermination of heresy. He offered great assistance in money, and the lands he should subdue, to Louis VIII., the young French king, to resume the crusade against the Albigenses. But the war was prosecuted with little success; Raymond VIII. was still in possession of the dominions of his ancestors, and it was necessary to set other machinery, still more formidable, to work.

About the beginning of the century, Innocent had sent an extraordinary commission of ecclesiastics into the disturbed pro-

vinces to stimulate the languid zeal of the resident clergy and to root out the rising heresy. They received their instructions from Rome, and held themselves independent of the bishops or other spiritual authorities. Rainier, a Cistercian monk, and Castelneau, the legate, were first sent: they were joined, in 1206, by the famous Dominic, a Spanish friar, the founder of the order of Dominicans. They obtained the house, or castle, of a noble convert near Narbonne, about A.D. 1210, and here, having full authority from the pope himself to inflict capital punishment upon heretics, they first opened that dreadful tribunal, which immediately obtained, and yet retains, the name of the INQUISITION. On the one hand, they offered to those who would recant the remission of all their sins, full indulgences, and various other privileges; on the other, torture, imprisonment, the axe, the halter, and the stake, to the obstinate in heresy. The terror struck by this new tribunal was great; but this was not the least of its advantages to the papal cause. Similar courts were erected in various places, though the officers sometimes fell the victims of public indignation; and in 1229, by the advice of the cardinal of St. Angelo, the pope's legate, the council of Toulouse established in every considerable city of France a Society of Inquisitors. This institution, however, was superseded by Gregory IX. in 1233, who committed to the Dominicans, now formally established as a religious order, the task of discovering and bringing to judgment the heretics of France. Soon after, the legate appointed Pierre Cellan and Guillaume Arnaud inquisitors at Toulouse, and he then set up a similar court wherever the Dominicans had a monastery, Carcassonne and Toulouse being the two chief tribunals. The numbers of the wretched Albigenses who perished by these means is incalculable, and the torments inflicted are too frightful to be repeated. Multitudes, reclaimed by terror, were reconciled to the Church; thousands perished in the fire. These terrible courts took cognizance not only of heresy, but of the crimes, scarcely less odious, of magic, sorcery, witchcraft, and Judaism. The Inquisition was soon afterwards established in Italy and Spain, and the Emperor of Germany was induced to issue an edict granting the Inquisitors protection, and giving legal sanction to their office.

Thus, afflicted by war, and scourged with the scorpions of the

inquisitors, the Albigenses slowly wasted away. In 1225, Louis (the Saint Louis of France) took the cross and marched into Languedoc, to the avowed extermination of the heretics. He died in a few months, or probably their name would have been blotted out at once; but the war was continued by the regent, his widow, in the name of the young king. In April, 1229, Raymond abdicated his feudal sovereignty, and was brought to Paris, and scourged by the priest in the church of Nôtre Dame. "The Church of the Albigenses," says Sir James Stephen, "had been drowned in blood. Those supposed heretics had been swept from the soil of France. The estimates transmitted to us of the numbers of the invaders, and of the slain, are such as almost surpass belief. Languedoc had been invaded during a long succession of years by armies more numerous than had ever been brought together in European warfare since the fall of the Roman Empire. We know that these hosts were composed of men inflamed by bigotry and unrestrained by discipline, that they provided for all their wants by the sword. More than three-fourths of the landed proprietors had been despoiled of their fiefs and castles. In hundreds of villages every inhabitant had been massacred. There was scarcely a family of which some member had not fallen beneath the sword of De Montfort's soldiers, or been outraged by their brutality. Since the sack of Rome by the Vandals, the European world had never mourned over a national disaster so wide in its extent, or so fearful in its character!"

AMERICA, EPISCOPAL CHURCH OF.—This Church, although in the first instance an offshoot of the Church of England, and still retaining an affectionate intercourse with it, has certain peculiar features of its own, and must be considered as a distinct and independent communion. Episcopacy in the United States dates from the first charter of an English sovereign to her earliest settlers. In the year 1606, James I. chartered the infant colony of Virginia, and drew up, it is said with his own hands, a code of laws for their government. Religion was especially enjoined to be established according to the doctrines and rites of the Church of England; and no emigrant might withdraw his allegiance from king James, or dissent from the national faith.

Kindness to the savages was also enjoined, with the use of all proper means for their conversion. The settlers were of the rank of English gentlemen; and they long retained its two characteristics of loyalty to the Throne and warm attachment to the Church. During the Commonwealth their numbers were increased by a vast body of emigrant Cavaliers; and so recently as the beginning of the last century, Spotswood, the governor, wrote home (in 1711), "This government is in perfect peace and tranquillity, under a due obedience to the royal authority and a gentlemanly conformity to the Church of England." The generosity of the Virginian settlers is worthy of commendation. The Puritans, in 1620, established themselves to the north of Virginia, at Boston and Rhode Island; and they treated Churchmen with great severity; actually expelling two brothers, the Browns, for using the Book of Common Prayer, and sending them back to England. This, however, did not prevent the royalists of Virginia from cultivating a friendly intercourse with the Puritans. "I find," says Mr. Bancroft, in his history of America, "no traces of persecutions in the earliest history of Virginia." In 1642, just when the civil war broke out at home, the Virginian colonists, conscious of their importance to the mother-country, asserted their dignity; their colonial legislature declared itself entitled to all the rights and privileges of an English parliament, and at once proceeded to act upon the principle, and to provide a constitution for the Church. In March, 1643, it was especially ordered that no minister should preach or teach, publicly or privately, except in conformity to the Church of England; and Nonconformists were banished from the colony. But this appears to have been done with reference to their political rather than to their religious principles. The Revolution in England had given political importance to religious sects; to tolerate puritanism was to nourish a republican party; and this act of intolerance was carried out with comparatively little bitterness. The act of the Virginia Assembly of 1642, impressed some features which the American Episcopal Church retains to this day. It gave the right of presentation to the parish. The licence of the bishop of London was necessary, but the parishioners could always find means to evade his authority; sometimes by refusing to elect, at others by receiving a minister who might happen to be agreeable to them and dis-

tasteful to the bishop, but not presenting. Thus, in the year 1703, it was the general custom to hire the minister from year to year. The dissatisfied clergy and their friends obtained a legal opinion from England that the minister is an incumbent for life, and cannot be displaced. But the vestry maintained their power over the minister by preventing his induction; so that he obtained no freehold, and could be dismissed at pleasure. The character of the clergy was not always such as to insure respect. They were, from necessity, missionaries, ordained at home; and, there being no bishop in America, there was, of course, no discipline. Thus they stood in disadvantageous contrast with a native Puritan clergy, surrounding them on all sides, and working under no such disadvantages. The parishes, moreover, were of such extent that the incumbent sometimes lived fifty miles from his church; and as the clergy were chiefly supported by a tax, the Assembly, from sordid motives, refused to multiply the parishes. Thus, even before the conclusion of the seventeenth century, the members of the Church of England in the colonies were greatly outnumbered by those of other persuasions.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was established in London at the beginning of the last century, and it immediately became the channel through which the ministrations of the Episcopal Church were supplied to the American colonies down to the time of their separation from the mother-country. The colony of Georgia was founded by governor Oglethorpe, in 1732. He was a member of the House of Commons, disciplined alike in the schools of learning and action, a pupil of the university of Oxford, an hereditary loyalist, an earnest Christian. Anxious for the spiritual interest of his colony, he came over to England, and, in 1735, induced those two eminent men, Charles and John Wesley, to return with him. As the founder of the society which bears his name, the former was soon to produce a spiritual revolution in his native country, and to leave the impression of his power visible to succeeding generations. But in Georgia their mission failed; they had no share in moulding the institutions, either civil or political, of a country in which their peculiar talents might have been expected to find ample scope, and at the end of two years they returned home again. A favourable biographer thus candidly

states the causes which rendered them unfit for missionary work amongst infant colonists: "They had," he says, "at this time, high notions of clerical authority, and their pastoral faithfulness was probably rigid and repulsive. They stood firmly on little things as well as great; and held the reins of ecclesiastical discipline with a tightness unsuited to an infant colony especially, and which tended to provoke resistance." Episcopacy continued to struggle against many difficulties till the war of independence began. Without a native and resident episcopate, it was considered a missionary and foreign Church; and long before the war began, its intimate connection with the mother-country was viewed with jealousy. The New England states, Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, were founded by Puritans whose posterity still regarded the Church of England with dislike and suspicion. Still, if not flourishing, Episcopacy was at least in a thriving state. When the war began the number of clergy in Virginia was about a hundred; in Maryland and the southern provinces it probably exceeded fifty; and in the other colonies there were seventy or eighty more. It was, however, in the large towns, and upon the sea-coast, that it had laboured most effectually, and this, to a great extent, is still the case. With the declaration of independence its ruin seemed inevitable, though Washington himself was an Episcopalian. The succours of the Propagation Society were, of course, withdrawn; the lands which it possessed in Vermont were confiscated. The state of Virginia resumed the glebes, the churches were deserted, many of the clergy fled or were deprived of their maintenance, no centre of unity remained, and no ecclesiastical government existed.

But it survived the storm. The war was no sooner at an end than the clergy of Connecticut chose one of themselves, the Rev. Samuel Seabury, to the episcopate, and he proceeded to England for consecration. Not meeting with success at Lambeth, he proceeded to Scotland, and was consecrated by the bishops of the Episcopal Church in that kingdom. In 1785 he returned to America and assumed episcopal functions; but this step was not altogether satisfactory to the American Church, which regarded itself as a branch of the Church of England. In the years 1783-84 and 85, conventions were held by members of the Church in Connecticut, Massachusetts, in New York, and finally

in Philadelphia. The last of these was a general convention, at which the Episcopalians of seven States were represented. A constitution for the future government of the Church was now framed; the Prayer-Book was altered in several points, and a document was drawn up, by unanimous consent, addressed to the English archbishops and bishops, requesting them to consecrate to the episcopate certain clergymen who should be sent over for that purpose. The address was forwarded to the Archbishop of Canterbury, through the American minister. An answer was returned, signed by the two archbishops and eighteen bishops, expressing their readiness to comply so soon as satisfaction should be given them with respect to the alteration in the Book of Common Prayer. In a letter to the Committee of the General Convention the prelates wrote soon afterwards, expressing their dissatisfaction with the proposed Prayer-Book in several particulars; they were especially displeased with the omission of the Nicene and Athanasian creeds, and of the descent into hell in the Apostles' Creed. A special meeting of the General Convention was summoned, and these points were again discussed. The Nicene Creed was restored. The Athanasian Creed was negatived; but the concessions were regarded as satisfactory at home, and on the 4th February, 1787, under the authority of an Act of Parliament obtained for the purpose, three American bishops were consecrated at Lambeth by Dr. Moore, Archbishop of Canterbury. These were, Dr. Provost for New York, Dr. White for Pennsylvania, and Dr. Griffith for Virginia. The latter soon afterwards resigned, and in 1790 Dr. Madison was consecrated in his place. The ordination of Dr. Seabury in Scotland was allowed by the Convention, and thus the American Episcopal Church became independent, and has ever since had the entire control of her own affairs. We shall offer a summary of the constitution, offices, and present condition of this now flourishing branch of the Catholic Church.

A parish is not a geographical boundary, as in England. It is defined, as "consisting of all, in any given place, who embrace the episcopal form of worship and government, and who associate themselves in conformity with certain fixed rules." The parish, thus organized, applies to the diocesan convention for admission as a constituent part of the diocese: this is never refused when the articles of association are in proper form. In most of the

states a parish possesses the further advantage of incorporation, which is granted by the state legislature. The corporate body thus formed can sue and be sued in courts of law, hold property, and make all necessary contracts. It frequently happens that a parish is formed before a church is erected, the parishioners assembling for worship in some commodious room, or even in a private house. Churchwardens are elected on Easter Monday, for the ensuing year, by the vestry, which consists of the pew-holders or members of the parish, and generally, at the same time, a delegate is chosen to represent the parish in the diocesan convention. The right of presentation always belongs to the parish, unless they think proper to devolve it on their wardens, and although they often elect a clergyman on the recommendation of the bishop, this is by no means deemed necessary. In general, the minister is supported, and the expenses of the church defrayed, by means of an annual assessment on the pews, or a voluntary subscription. A few parishes possess endowments; that of Trinity Church, New York, possesses landed property in the city, originally of little value, but now estimated at several million dollars sterling.

A diocese consists of all episcopalians in a given state, organized on a prescribed plan as an ecclesiastical commonwealth. When thus organized, it applies to the General Convention for union with that body, and if the organization be canonical it is received and acknowledged as a diocese. There are now thirty-three dioceses in the United States. New York is divided into two bishoprics; Virginia has two bishops; there is also a bishop at Amoy, in China, and a missionary bishop in Africa. The American Church recognizes no spiritual distinctions but those of bishop, priest, and deacon. A diocese generally contains from one to two hundred parishes; but in the western states, which are thinly peopled, there are sometimes not more than ten or twenty. The management of ecclesiastical affairs is placed in the hands of three separate jurisdictions, each rising in authority above the last. First of all, there is the standing committee, one of which, by a general canon, is required for every diocese. The number of its members may vary; in Pennsylvania it consisted lately of five clergymen and as many laymen; in Ohio three of each order, and elsewhere, even two were deemed sufficient. The standing committee serves for one year, and

meets at pleasure ; its relation to the diocese is similar to that of the vestry to the parish. It is also a council of advice to the bishop ; and when the episcopate is vacant it issues dimissory letters, institutes ecclesiastical trials, and performs other functions of the episcopal office which are not purely spiritual. No bishop can be consecrated without the consent of the majority of the standing Committees of all the dioceses of the United States, except he has been elected during the year preceding the sessions of the general convocation, when the consent of the supreme court is sufficient. No candidate for orders can present himself to the bishop without his testimonials are signed by a majority of the members of the diocesan standing committee duly convened. The standing committee is itself appointed by the diocesan convention.

The diocesan convention is wholly legislative in its character. It consists of the bishop, all the clergy of the diocese canonically resident, and of the lay delegates appointed by the several parishes. In some dioceses each parish sends three delegates, in others only one. It meets once a year, or in case of special emergency, more frequently. It consists of two houses, the clergy and laity sometimes voting apart, but this is not usual, though it may at any time be demanded at the call of a few members. In some few dioceses the bishop has a veto, but this is generally unpopular and seldom exercised. The duties of the diocesan convention are extensive. In general, the bishop is elected on the nomination of the majority of the clergy therein assembled, the nomination being confirmed by a majority of the lay representatives. Besides the election of a bishop, the diocesan convention is competent to the performance of the following acts, and others of a similar nature. During the vacancy of the episcopate it may invite the bishop of a neighbouring diocese to officiate within its limits. It makes canons to determine the mode by which its clergy may be tried when charged with improper conduct or heretical doctrine. It regulates parish elections, declares the duties of its wardens and vestries, and determines the ratio of its lay representation. It appoints the method by which its parishes shall be organized, and the conditions upon which they may be admitted as constituent parts of the diocese. It declares the necessary qualifications and conduct of lay readers in such of its congregations as are destitute of the

services of a clergyman. It provides for the appointment and support of missionaries within the diocese. It takes measures for the promotion of Sunday-schools and of theological education. It elects trustees of any institution under its control. It chooses delegates to the General Convention ; and, finally, it appoints a standing Committee.

Lastly the general convention, the supreme ecclesiastical court, is constituted thus. The upper house consists of all the bishops, of whom the eldest in date of consecration is the president. The lower house is composed of the clerical and lay delegates from each diocese ; these are not to exceed four of each order. In certain cases, a majority, not only of suffrages but of dioceses represented, and the concurrence of both orders voting apart in that majority, is necessary in the lower house. The general convention assembles once in three years, in one of the churches of the great towns. The presiding bishop may, at any time, call it together, at the request of a majority of his episcopal brethren. It is almost unnecessary to say that it is totally unconnected with the civil government. Its powers relate entirely to the control of the church it represents, and it exacts nothing beyond the voluntary submission of its own subjects. But it possesses all those powers which cannot be exercised conveniently in the several dioceses. Thus it enacts canons, provides for uniformity through the different dioceses, publishes authorized editions of the Bible and Prayer-book, making alterations in the latter when deemed necessary ; and allowing each bishop to compose forms of prayer for his diocese on extraordinary occasions. It defines the duties both of the bishops and the clergy, the offences for which they may be tried, and the nature and extent of the penalty. It lays down the method of proceeding against the laity, and the grounds on which they may be excluded from the holy communion. In short, everything that concerns the well-being of the church at home, may be ultimately brought beneath its cognizance and decided by its vote. It regulates the intercourse of the clergy with other churches when abroad, and lastly, it directs the operations of the church in regard to heathen lands. It appoints missionary bishops for the states at home not yet organized, and sends them forth to heathen countries. At its triennial meeting it appoints a board of missions consisting of thirty members, together with the bishops, under whose control

all foreign missionaries are placed, and who occupy the place of our own missionary societies at home and fulfil similar duties.

Such is the constitution of the American Episcopal Church. In doctrine it professes an exact agreement with the Church of England. The thirty-nine articles, with a few verbal alterations required by political circumstances, and in the eighth article by the exclusion of the Athanasian Creed, are adopted as the standards of faith. Various alterations have been made from time to time in the book of common prayer, but in the preface we have the following declaration:—"This church is far from intending to depart from the Church of England in any essential point of doctrine, discipline or worship, or further than local circumstances require." The most important changes and additions are these: a selection of upwards of two hundred hymns is added to the metrical psalms; the commination service is omitted, and of course the forms of prayer for the fifth of November, and other English political festivals and fasts. The Gloria Patri is not repeated after each psalm. The minister is allowed sometimes to select appropriate psalms and lessons, and the lessons themselves are sometimes altered and re-arranged. Our religious fast-days are retained, and the first Thursday in November is set apart, with an appropriate service, as a day of thanksgiving for the harvest. In the Apostles' Creed, upon the descent into hell are added these explanatory words, "or he went into the place of departed spirits." These are the most important changes: there are many others which are chiefly verbal. We must not forget to state that the prayer to be used in times of war and tumult, omits the questionable expressions, "abate their pride, assuage their malice, and confound their devices." In the communion service, the prayer of consecration is taken from the first English book of Common Prayer put forth in the reign of Edward VI. (see CHURCH OF ENGLAND), and the eucharist is made an oblation to God: "We now offer unto thee the memorial thy Son hath commanded us to make." In the occasional offices some important changes are introduced. In that for the visitation of the sick the absolution is omitted. In that for baptism, the sign of the cross may be omitted, when parents or sponsors (parents are allowed to stand for sponsors) request it. In the burial service, the expression which affirms that the dead is interred, "in sure and certain hope," is altered

into, "looking for the general resurrection at the last day, and the life of the world to come." And so in the collect of thanksgiving, "we give thee hearty thanks for the good example of all those thy servants who having finished their course in faith do now rest from their labours," instead of our own words, "for that it hath pleased thee to deliver this our brother out of the miseries of this sinful world."

The American Episcopal Church is, like our own, divided into the two parties of high and low church. Sometimes these parties are styled in America evangelical and non-evangelical, but not with accuracy, for not a few of the high churchmen are entirely evangelical in their doctrine and preaching. The extreme Puseyite, or Tractarian, doctrines also find their advocates both among the bishops and the clergy, and are said at this time to be making considerable progress, though rather amongst the ministers of religion than the laity.

The condition of the Episcopal Church in America is certainly at this time full of hope and promise. At the beginning of the present century, the number of her ministers did not exceed two hundred, and she had scarcely begun to recover from her ancient apathy, nor from the shock of the war of independence. It was probably at the lowest point of depression thirty years afterwards. According to the journal of the General Convention, held in New York in October 1832, the clergy numbered five hundred and eighty-three, and the bishops had increased to fifteen. Twelve years later, in 1844, there were twelve hundred and twenty-two clergymen, and two and twenty bishops; the communicants were more than a hundred thousand, and it was calculated, as the nearest approximation, that about one million and a half of the people of the United States belonged to this communion. Between 1817 and 1838, says bishop Wilberforce of Oxford, in his history of the American Church, while the population of the Union little more than doubled, it quadrupled itself. Should its increase continue at this rate, it would in fifty years outnumber the mother-church, and, before the end of a century, would embrace a majority of all the people of the West. She sees among her clergy, not a few men of high distinction for talents, learning, and eloquence; for piety and zeal. She has founded colleges and theological institutions. The episcopal college of New York is well endowed, and generally contains from seventy to eighty students in divinity.

Through the zeal of bishop Chase, Kenyon College was founded, about twenty years since, in the diocese of Ohio. There is a theological school at Alexandria, with which an episcopal education society is connected, which professes to assist young men of parts and piety in preparing for the ministry. A large proportion of the clergy have been assisted by its funds. Still it is somewhat remarkable, that the episcopal clergy of America have made few contributions of importance to theological, or even general literature; occupied in extending its own boundaries, and fulfilling its missionary character, rather than in the labours of patient research and deep reflection, it is content to receive its literature from Europe. At Philadelphia and elsewhere, religious newspapers, written with considerable spirit, have been set on foot. The "Christian Observer" and other English periodicals are reprinted at New York, and much read by the clergy. But except the sermons of bishop Mahon, which were republished in this country, and much admired, rather however for the grace and force of the style than for deep thought, we do not recollect anything that claims the rank of authorship. By an Act passed in 1842 the American clergy may now officiate, for a period not exceeding two Sundays in succession, in our English churches. We have thus obtained the opportunity of listening to some of their ablest preachers, of whom it must certainly be said, that they will bear comparison with the most eloquent and gifted of our own clergy. Their style is different; more elaborate and rhetorical, and wanting in those home thrusts, and strong touches of nature in which our greatest preachers have always delighted, and which so enliven their discourses whether read or heard.

Amidst so much that is cheering, Bishop Wilberforce notes two dark spots which cloud the horizon, and threaten to blight the glowing prospects of the Episcopal Church in America. The first is, that few of the poor belong to it: it is the religion of the affluent and respectable. The churches are remarkable for the comfort of their cushioned pews and carpeted floors; they rather resemble splendid drawing-rooms than houses of prayer. In these the poor man could hardly find himself at home. Free churches have been built in New York for the express and exclusive accommodation of the poor; but these have entirely failed, as, indeed, they have generally done at home; and, in the great towns at least, the Episcopal Church belongs exclu-

sively to the higher classes. Again, the Episcopalians have, to a great extent, though not without many exceptions, espoused the cause of the white man against the negro. No canon explains it to be contrary to the discipline of their Church to hold property in man, and treat him as a chattel. The coloured race must worship apart: they must not enter the white man's church; or, if they do, they must be fenced off into a separate corner. In some cases their dust may not moulder in the same cemetery. The Theological Seminary of New York, though "especially designed to secure a general training for all presbyters," has decided, in opposition to the single protest of bishop Doane, to exclude young men of colour. The clergy of the few black congregations are excluded from the Convention; and a special canon of the diocese of Pennsylvania forbids the representation of the African Church at Philadelphia, and excludes the rector from a seat.

From the seventh census of the United States we learn that, in the year 1850, the total number of Episcopalian Churches in America was 1,420; the aggregate accommodation, 625,000; and the total value of church property 11,261,970 dollars.

ANGLO-CATHOLICS.—No theological controversy of modern times will bear comparison, for the learning and ability of the disputants engaged, the importance of the issues, the extent to which the conflict spreads, or the deep anxiety it has created in all observers, with that which has been carried on during the last twenty years within the Church of England. We propose to lay before the reader an impartial account, I. Of the origin; II. Of the subject matter; and, III. Of the history, of this great movement.

I. In the year 1833 the Church of England was supposed by many to be in a state of peril. Ten bishoprics were suppressed in the Irish Church with the consent of both Houses of Parliament. In England the introduction of the great measure for the reform of the House of Commons was attended by a disturbed state of public feeling, which was sometimes directed in open insults against the bishops and the clergy. Dissenters combined, with a heartiness hitherto unknown, to resist the payment of church rates, with the avowed intention, in many places, of

destroying the National Church. There was a general feeling amongst churchmen of alarm or irritation ; the latter aggravated by an indiscreet threat used by the premier, Lord Grey, in Parliament, to the effect that the bishops would do well "to set their house in order." At this juncture a few clergymen assembled in conference at the house of the Rev. Hugh James Rose, at Hadleigh, Suffolk. Amongst the names invited were those of Messieurs Froude, Keble, Newman, and the Hon. Arthur Percival. Others were consulted ; and the result of the conference was a resolution (which, however, was not carried out) to form an association on behalf of what they considered to be Church principles—principles which, they maintained, were violated by the suppression of the Irish bishoprics, and forgotten or decried by most professed churchmen. It was at this conference that a tract was prepared, entitled "The Churchman's Manual." It was the first "*tract*" put forth to meet the exigencies of "the times," prepared with great care, and submitted for correction to several eminent divines of the party. Its publication proclaimed the formation of a new and powerful phalanx ("conspirators" they called themselves, half in jest) ; and hence their popular designation of *Tractarians*. They are sometimes called *Puseyites*, after Dr. Pusey, professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford, one of the leaders. At first, when the movement became known, it created but little interest. The excitement of politics was great ; the subject was new except to a few divines ; and for a year or two the tracts, which were now issued without interruption once or twice a month, were read chiefly by the clergy. They were published at Oxford ; and the reputation and local influence of the writers procured for them by degrees a wider circulation. The views put forth startled many who still believed, notwithstanding some points of difference, that upon the whole the tracts were doing good service to the Church. The bench of bishops was disposed to regard them with no disfavour. There had been a period of great laxity, and the reaction was in favour of high-church principles, in which the safety of the Church was supposed to lie. Several laymen of rank and talent lent their influence to the cause. "The Oxford Tracts" became the subject of general conversation in all religious and all literary circles. Their principles were everywhere discussed ; and it was evident, even to the unob-

servant, that the tractators were exercising, for good or evil, an extraordinary influence upon society at large. The writers themselves were astonished at their own success. They were surprised to find, says Dr. Pusey, in "A Letter to the Bishop of Oxford," that tracts, written for a temporary purpose by persons unknown, or but little known, beyond their own university, should, within a few years, have been made into a sort of touchstone of opinion almost throughout the land; and, stranger yet, that publications devoted to politics should, at a time of great political expectation, break off their speculations to talk of deep and sacred subjects of theology, the gifts of God in baptism, or the succession of bishops. This was written in 1839; and it does not present an exaggerated statement as to the ferment the tracts had caused. We did but light a beacon-fire, they said, on the summit of a lonely hill; and now we are amazed to find the firmament on every side red with the light of some responsive flame.

II. The intention of the Anglo-Catholics, as avowed by themselves, was to resettle the Church of England in the affections of the nation, and to recover for her her lapsed rights; and this was to be done by reviving true Catholic, in opposition to low Church or sectarian principles. As the tracts ran on, a multitude of opinions were broached and speculations hazarded in them by various writers; and it becomes a question how far the whole party is responsible for each and all of the propositions contained in no less than ninety several pamphlets. But the difficulty has happily been removed to a great extent. Mr. Percival has drawn, with equal clearness and candour, the distinction between those propositions which he regarded as essential, and others which, being doubtful or of less importance, were held by some of his friends, but rejected by himself or others. The point is of so much importance that we shall quote his words from a "collection of papers connected with the theological movement of 1833," and published in 1843. "I say distinctly that I am not prepared to give my own approval, I am not prepared to recite the approval of others, for all the propositions which have been put forth in 'The Tracts for the Times' but only for a portion of them. In that series of publications two classes of doctrines or opinions have been apparently confounded together, which ought to have been kept entirely distinct. In the first class, which may

in the highest sense be termed Catholic, I include the doctrines of apostolic succession, as set forth in our ordinal; baptismal regeneration, as set forth in our catechism and our baptismal service; the eucharistic sacrifice, and the real communion in the body and blood of our Lord, as set forth in our communion office; and the appeal to the Church from the beginning, as the depositary and witness of the truth, as set forth in our canon of 1571." These points Mr. Percival holds to be essential, as "having their warrant in holy writ, and having been taught authoritatively by all branches of the Catholic Church in all ages." The secondary class of doctrines are,—“such as bowing to the east; an intermediate state, or purgatory; the doctrine of reserve; and that of mystical interpretation.” This appears to be a fair statement of the whole question. The Anglo-Catholic system necessarily involves, or rather is built upon, the first class of doctrines, including each of its four divisions; and the whole controversy turns, in fact, upon the question whether, as expounded in the tracts, these are the doctrines of the Bible, and of the Church of England. The second class of doctrines are only, in justice, to be charged upon those individuals who hold them. At the same time it may possibly appear, that they are reasonable inferences deducible from the aforesaid premises; and an opponent of the Tractarian system would be justified, if they are held by any considerable number of Anglo-Catholics, in regarding them as, consequentially, if not formally, an integral part of the system itself. It will be necessary to lay before the reader an outline of those four great “Catholic” principles upon which the whole system is erected.

1. *Apostolic succession* (as stated in the first tract, “The Churchman’s Manual,”) means a commission to discharge the offices of a spiritual priesthood, received at first from Christ, and conveyed through the apostles and those who followed them in the same office, in an unbroken line of succession, from the apostles to the present bishops. This commission has been conveyed by the laying on of the hands of the apostles and their successors; and the successors of the apostles now are said to be the chief pastors in every place, who have received the apostolic commission. All apostolic Churches are episcopal, but all episcopal Churches are not apostolic; since in some cases the chief pastors are called bishops, but have not received the apostolic

commission. It follows from these premises that all Protestant dissenters are excluded from the Church, and that all Presbyterian Churches, though nationally endowed, yet wanting the apostolic succession, are not members of the Church Catholic. In answer to the question, in what respect do all the Protestant dissenters differ from the Church? The tract says, "Each sect has some point of difference peculiar to itself, but they all differ in this, namely that their teachers can produce no commission from Christ to exercise the office of ministers of the gospel: these have departed from the apostles' fellowship. The success of dissenters is no evidence that they enjoy the divine blessing; for the most wicked impostors have sometimes had the greatest number of followers, as in the case of Mahomet; and those who take upon themselves the office of the ministry without warrant from God are guilty of the sin of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, who were swallowed up alive in an earthquake, and of Uzziah, king of Judah, who was struck with leprosy." In tract seven, "The Episcopal Church Apostolical," the same doctrine is maintained in the following words: "The fact of the apostolic succession, that is, that our present bishops are the heirs and representatives of the apostles by the successive transmission of the prerogative of being so, is too notorious to require proof. Every link in the chain is known from St. Peter to our present metropolitan. Can we conceive that this succession has been preserved all over the world, amidst revolutions through many centuries, *for nothing?*" In another passage the writer says, "the Presbyterian ministers have assumed a power which never belonged to them. They have presumed to exercise the power of ordination without having received the commission to do so."

2. *Baptismal regeneration.*—Tract sixty-seven defines regeneration to be "that act whereby God takes us out of our relation to Adam, and makes us actual members of his Son, and so his sons as being members of his most blessed Son, and if sons then heirs of God through Christ. This is our new birth, an actual birth of God, of water and the Spirit, as we were actually born of our natural parents; herein also are we justified, or both accounted and made righteous, since we are made members of him who is alone righteous; freed from past sin whether original or actual, have a new principle of life imparted to us," &c. Again, "Our life in Christ begins when we are by baptism made

members of Christ and children of God ; but a commencement of life in Christ after baptism, a death unto sin and a new birth unto righteousness at any other period than at that one first introduction into God's covenant, is as little consonant with the general representations of Holy Scripture as a commencement of physical life long after our natural birth would be with the order of his providence." All baptized persons are maintained to be thus regenerated. The administration therefore of baptism and the Lord's supper "to infants or dying and apparently insensible persons" is spoken of with respect as a laudable custom, and it is stated (preface to vol. ii.), that it is "the very essence of sectarian doctrine to consider faith, and not the sacraments, as the proper instrument of justification and other gospel gifts."

3. *The Eucharistic Sacrifice.*—The doctrine of the tracts is, that in the Lord's supper there is a real presence of the body and blood of Christ, that it is a sacrifice offered to God, and that it confers grace. One of the first of the tracts speaks of the clergy as "entrusted with the awful privilege of making the body and blood of Christ." The last of them, number ninety, argues "that the Church of England, article twenty-eight, on transubstantiation, contains nothing to interfere with the doctrine of a real super-local presence in the Holy Sacrament;" and, that article thirty-one, on the sacrifice of the mass, "was not written against the creed of the Roman Church, but against actual existing errors in it." "The sacrifice of the mass is not spoken of, but the sacrifice of masses, certain observances for the most part private and solitary, which the writers of the articles knew to have been in force in time past and saw before their eyes." "On the whole, then, it is conceived that the article before us neither speaks against the mass in itself, nor against its being an offering for the quick and the dead for the remission of sin, but against its being viewed on the one hand as independent of, or distinct from, the sacrifice on the cross, which is blasphemy; and on the other, its being directed to the emolument of those to whom it pertains to celebrate it, which is imposture in addition." Dr. Pusey, in a letter to Dr. Jelf, in "vindication" of tract ninety, writes as follows:—"They (the articles) confess fully the reality of Christ's presence in the Sacrament, they only do not define the mode of his presence; they will not so tie down the omnipotence of Almighty God, that the bread and wine should not

also be the body and blood of Christ . . . a real change, as I said, they gladly accept; a true, real, substantial, sacramental presence of our Lord and his flesh, the very flesh which was born of the Virgin Mary, and is now glorified at God's right hand, they reverently confess; they only confess not, that carnal, scholastic theory which would explain away the mystery, that the elements, although the body and blood of Christ, are also bread and wine. They confess the truth; the mode of its being they leave, like the mystery of the incarnation whence it is derived, undefined, because incomprehensible by man."

4. *The appeal to the Church or Tradition.*—Upon this point the Anglo-Catholic doctrine is identical with that of the Church of Rome; namely, "that there are two sources of authoritative doctrine and of revealed truth of co-ordinate authority and equal importance, holy scripture and tradition." The latter is expounded after Vicentius Lirinensis (Tract 24, vol. ii.) "to include what has been believed, everywhere, always, and by all the church catholic. This is true and genuine catholicism." Tract ninety, maintains that the sixth and twentieth articles are to be explained thus. "In the sense," it says, "in which it is commonly understood at this day, Scripture it is plain is *not* on catholic principles the rule of faith." And Dr. Pusey, in his letter to Jelf, defends the writer of the tract in these terms: "Indeed, the tract, so far from pressing, as I think it might, that in points of faith or things necessary to salvation, private judgment is excluded, contents itself with saying it is at least an open question; nothing is said, in the article, of the private judgment of the individual being the ultimate standard of interpretation, nor on the other hand does it assert anything as to catholic tradition being the Church's guide, in interpreting Holy Scripture, but only negatively, that 'not a word is said in favour of Scripture having no rule or method to fix interpretation by, or, as it is commonly expressed, being the sole rule of faith.' So that, so far from drawing the article to any extreme view, our friend only shows that it does not contain anything contradicting the authority of the Church and tradition, leaving others free possession of their opinion, provided that they ascribe not to the article uncatholic statements to which it is rather opposed."

These are the fundamental points of the tractarian system. It does not fall at all within our province in these pages either to

defend or refute them. Our business is simply to place the whole controversy briefly before the reader, leaving the decision to his judgment. It will be evident, upon the least reflection, that these four articles could not stand alone; they would, of necessity, involve many doctrinal questions, and affect, at the same time, the practice, especially in matters of form and public worship, of those who held them. The view of the apostolic commission and of the succession, naturally involved what are termed high-church principles—that is, an assertion in all spiritual matters of absolute clerical authority. The view of the Sacraments, as administered only by men episcopally ordained, led immediately to the unchurching of English dissenters and Scotch and foreign presbyterians. There could be no Church without Sacraments and public rites, and none of these without a clergy who derived their powers episcopally from the fountain head. The question of the authority due to tradition, involved that of the reverence due to catholic antiquity; to the opinions of the fathers upon other subjects, and to the practice and customs of the ancient Church. The political questions of the present age were found to be deeply embedded in the controversy; and the ability and fearlessness of the writers served to enhance at once the number and courage of their disciples and the fears of their opponents.

III. The history of the tractarian controversy is that of the Church of England during the last twenty years; nor will our civil polity be understood in future times without a due acquaintance with the effects it wrought, even upon secular men and mere politicians. The Oxford tracts first appeared in 1833; Number ninety, the last of the series, was published in 1841. During this long interval, the Anglo-Catholic party was being consolidated, its views constantly received some new development; for it is probable the leaders themselves were forced onwards in the support of their great principles towards many conclusions, which at first they would have condemned. Certain at least it is, that their opponents, very early in the conflict, indicated some results, as the sure consequence of the positions then held by Anglo-Catholics, which, though violently objected to at the time, were afterwards embraced by not a few of the leaders of the movement. The "Christian Observer," representing the evangelical party, was amongst the first, as it con-

tinued to be throughout the most unyielding, of the opponents of the new Oxford school. "The decrees of the Council of Trent," it wrote in April 1834, "are not more undisguisedly popish than these Oxford tracts;" and, for several years, each successive number contained an article, frequently the production of some able theologian, in proof of the assertion. The "Edinburgh Review" took up the question soon afterwards. An article appeared under the harsh title of the Oxford Malignants, in 1836, in which the writer, describing the fanaticism, which, he says, had been the peculiar disgrace of the Church of England, speaks of it as "directing its powers to the setting up of a ritual, a name, a dress, a ceremony, a technical phraseology, the superstition of a priesthood without its power, the form of episcopal government without its substance, a system imperfect and paralyzed, not independent, not sovereign, afraid to cast off the subjection against which it was perpetually murmuring,—objects so pitiful that, if gained ever so completely, they would make no man the wiser or the better, they would lead to no good, intellectual, moral, or spiritual." Of this article, but not of the title, which was added by the editor, Dr. Arnold, of Rugby, was the author. These and similar attacks were met by innumerable counter-statements. Scarcely a newspaper or review appeared which did not strive to inflate its pretensions as the friend or as the opponent of the Oxford tracts. Meanwhile they made fresh converts. The younger clergy, of both universities, were strongly prejudiced in favour of a system which promised to give dignity to the priesthood, and to invest religion with magnificence. The old gentry viewed with approbation the return of a system which promised to reinstate them, with the sanctions of the Church, in almost feudal power. The Anglo-catholic party seemed upon the very point of victory, when a series of reverses began. Tract eighty-seven, "On reserve in communicating religious knowledge," maintained the policy, and in some cases the duty, of concealing some of those truths, the atonement for instance, which have been usually considered not only fundamental in themselves, but essential to a useful ministry. "The prevailing notion of bringing forward the atonement, explicitly and prominently on all occasions," says Mr. Williams, the author of the tract in question, "is evidently quite opposed to what we consider the teaching of scripture." "The exclusive and naked

exposure of *so very sacred a truth*, is," he thinks, "unscriptural and dangerous." The same rule is applied to other important doctrines of the Bible. Thoughtful men of all parties were startled. This mode of teaching seemed to imply, at least, a want of candour in the teacher, and to lead at once to the artifice of the Jesuits; one religion for the priests, and another for the people, an esoteric and an exoteric faith. Dr. O'Brien, bishop of Ossory, addressed a charge to his clergy expressly on the subject, strongly condemning the doctrine of reserve, which passed through several editions, and left a deep impression. But the publication of tract *ninety* brought on the crisis.

Of the converts which the tracts had gained, the majority consisted, as in every great movement of the kind, of young and ardent men. Of these not a few had already passed on before their leaders. The doctrines of the tracts appeared to many of them to inculcate the English Church in the guilt of schism. The difference between ourselves and the Church of Rome seemed not to be of such importance as to justify our secession. Some felt that the balance of truth inclined towards Rome and against the Reformation. A general uneasiness was felt throughout the Anglo-Catholic party, and a few actually seceded and joined the Church of Rome. In 1839 Dr. Pusey published a letter to the Bishop of Oxford, on "The Tendency to Romanism," imputed to the doctrine held by himself and his friends. He maintained that Anglo-Catholics held a middle course between ultra-Protestantism, on the one hand, and Romanism on the other; and he argued that each of them had set aside that Catholic antiquity to which Anglo-Catholics deferred, and, deferring to which, they represented the pure Church of Christ. And, inasmuch as he and his friends were frequently charged with a tendency towards Rome, an Appendix was added, containing an array of extracts from the "Tracts for the Times," the "Lyra Apostolica," and other publications; showing "that to oppose ultra-Protestantism is not to favour Popery." Still the secessions went on, and there was a growing reluctance, in the minds of many young men, to take orders in the English Church, and, more particularly, to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles. Tract ninety was intended to remove these difficulties. The writer, Mr. John Henry Newman, was a fellow and tutor of Oriel, and vicar of St. Mary's, the University church of Oxford. Such a position could not fail to

give his views extensive circulation, and to stamp them of great importance. He endeavoured to show that the articles might be subscribed in safety by those who held the doctrines of Catholic antiquity ; that is, the doctrines of the Church of Rome, though not of individual members of that Church, or of certain sects and schismatics within her bosom ; that it was against these errors, and not against the Church of Rome herself, nor against her legitimate teaching, that the articles were drawn up. It would be difficult to describe the effects produced upon the appearance of this famous tract. With, perhaps, the exception of "Burke's Reflections on the French Revolution," no pamphlet ever created a sensation so wide, so deep, and so enduring. If it satisfied the consciences of some, by showing them how to remain in the Church of England while holding Romish doctrines, it alarmed others with the prospect of introducing principles subversive of Protestantism. The exultation, or the alarm, was great on either side, but the latter soon prevailed. The Bishop of Oxford, it was understood, requested that the issue of the tracts might cease ; the Hebdomadal Board, consisting of the heads of houses, to whom the ordinary government of the University of Oxford is committed, formally condemned the tract and denounced the principles of *non-natural* interpretation. Dr. Pusey coming, as he said, to the assistance of a friend suffering under ill-merited censure, attempted to allay the storm. He wrote a "Vindication" of the principles of interpretation of tract ninety :—"In few words, this," he says, "is our position, *that our Articles neither contradict anything Catholic, nor are meant to condemn anything in early Christianity even though not Catholic, but only the latter definite system of the Church of Rome.*" It would be impossible to give the merest outline of the controversy which now sprung up on the question, as it was termed, of non-natural interpretation. When at its height, it was suddenly stilled by an event, to the Anglo-Catholic party the most unlooked for. Mr. Newman avowed that his principles were untenable, resigned his preferments, and went over to the Church of Rome. This occurred in the summer of 1845.

At this time the movement had acquired its greatest force. The whole party had hitherto acted in perfect concert, and with great success. Mr. Newman's secession introduced a new state

of things. Ever since, the Anglo-Catholic party has been divided into two sections; the one verging towards Rome, the other gradually returning to the ground occupied by the High Churchmen of the last century, as represented by Bishops Bull and Andrews, and Nelson, the author of the "Fasts and Festivals," &c. The culminating point was reached in 1845.

Mr. Newman's retirement was the signal for that of many others. Before the close of the year, Dalgairnes, Bowles, Ryder (son of a late bishop of Lichfield), Oakley, Ward, and many others, had joined the Church of Rome. In each case the plea was the same which Mr. Newman had himself advanced; that the Anglo-Catholic system was unsatisfactory, and that the Reformation was, after all, an act of schism. Mr. Oakley, minister of Margaret Street Chapel, and prebend of Lichfield, was suspended in the Court of Arches, after maintaining that "he had a right to hold" (though not to teach) "all Romish doctrine." On becoming a Romanist, he declared that he had "nothing material to retract," and "that he had long been modelling the services of Margaret Chapel, into the utmost possible sympathy with the Roman." Mr. Ward published a book, entitled the "Ideal of a Christian Church," in which he spoke of the Church of England with undisguised contempt. A convocation was assembled at Oxford; Mr. Ward was punished, by degradation from his degree, by the votes of a large majority, and immediately seceded. A violent quarrel had for some time raged upon the question of a stone altar, which, at the instigation of the Camden Society, the wardens had introduced at St. Sepulchre's Church, Cambridge, then undergoing repairs, in opposition to the wish of the incumbent. He appealed to the archdeacon to have it removed; the archdeacon decided in favour of the wardens; it was then removed to the Court of Arches; and finally decided by Sir Herbert Jenner Fust, who reversed the decision of the inferior court, and declared the altar to be illegal. The suit, during its progress, excited the greatest interest; for it was everywhere felt, and confessed, that the real question at issue was the *sacrificial* character of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The church was distracted at the same time, in numberless parishes, with attempts to restore usages which, though in many cases strictly rubrical, or in accordance with the canons, or the Prayer-Book, were nevertheless obsolete;

and, together with these, attempts were often made to introduce other practices unknown in the Church of England since the Reformation, or known only during the primacy of Laud. Some of the clergy preached in surplices; some placed the elements, before consecration, upon a piscina, or side-table of stone; some placed two lighted candles upon the communion-table; some read the offertory after sermon. The bishops, in general, mildly censured these innovations, but in one or two dioceses they met with encouragement. Under these circumstances it was, that the Venerable Dr. Howley, archbishop of Canterbury, addressed "A letter to the clergy and laity of his province," in 1845, the caution, kindness, and practical wisdom of which were generally admitted. He said, "What I would most earnestly recommend for the present is, the discontinuance of any proceeding, in either direction, of the controverted questions. In churches where alterations have been introduced with general acquiescence, let things remain as they are; in those which retain the less accurate usage, let no risk of division be incurred by any attempt at change till some final arrangement can be made with the sanction of the proper authorities. In the case of churches where agitation prevails, and nothing has been definitely settled, it is not possible to lay down any general rule which may be applicable to all circumstances." The consequence was, that in many parishes the innovations were laid aside. In several instances, at the west-end of London, large and wealthy congregations were warmly in favour of them: and since the archbishop's pastoral was not authoritative, there they were continued; and these churches have since served as models to various new ones in different parts of England.

The Gorham controversy followed soon afterwards; and, as well upon account of the deep interest it excited at the time, as of the important consequences to which it led, and the principles it established, it deserves a place in the history of the Anglo-Catholics. Mr. Gorham was presented by the lord-chancellor to the living of Bramford-Specke, in the diocese of Exeter, in 1847. Before institution, the bishop insisted that Mr. Gorham should submit to an examination upon the subject of baptism, the nature of which will be understood by the following questions, which, amongst others, were proposed:—

"Question 1.—Does our Church hold, and do you hold, that

baptism and the supper of the Lord, are generally necessary to salvation, in terms as absolute as this proposition?

“Question 2.—Does our Church hold, and do you hold, that by the express words of our Lord, John iii. 5, ‘Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God,’ we may perceive the great necessity of this sacrament where it may be had?”

“Question 3.—Does our Church hold, and do you hold, that every infant baptized by a lawful minister with water, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is made by God in such baptism a member of Christ, a child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of God?”

“Question 4.—Does our Church hold, and do you hold, that such children, by the laver of regeneration in baptism, are received into the number of the children of God and heirs of everlasting life?”

“Question 5.—Does our Church hold, and do you hold, that all infants so baptized are born again of water and of the Holy Ghost?”

These primary questions led to an examination, of which Mr. Gorham complained, that “it was continued during eight days, including, in the whole, fifty-two hours, besides six days of full employment at my lodgings at Torquay. In the course of it one hundred and forty-nine questions were proposed to me on the single subject of baptismal efficacy; the bishop making a constant effort to impress on me his interpretation of the articles and formularies, while I maintained my ground of a sincere subscription to the articles in their plain sense, as the standard of the doctrines of the Church, and of an honest assent to the formularies interpreted in conformity to that standard.” The bishop of Exeter, in reply, charged Mr. Gorham with having been himself the cause of this long and tedious examination, by the evasiveness or obscurity of his answers. The result, however, was that the bishop refused to institute Mr. Gorham on the ground of unsoundness in doctrine. Mr. Gorham now made his appeal to the Court of Arches, where the whole question was reviewed before Sir Herbert Jenner Fust; who delivered a long and laboured judgment, confirming the decision of the bishop of Exeter, and consequently pronouncing Mr. Gorham’s doctrinal opinions untenable in the Church of England. The question

at issue on both sides was allowed to be simply this,—Whether the efficacy of baptism in the case of infants is conditional or unconditional? “I concur,” said the judge, “in what the learned counsel stated, who argued for Mr. Gorham: the question at issue between the parties is infant regeneration unconditionally in and by baptism; regeneration of the highest kind.” And he concludes his judgment thus:—The Church has declared that the thing signified is given at the moment, though such a doctrine may appear to approximate to the Roman Catholic doctrine of the *opus operatum*. There is no *obex* (hindrance) in the way when infants are baptized; therefore they receive the benefit, whatever it may be, and it is spiritual regeneration according to the formularies of the Church.” The decision was expected with the utmost anxiety; it involves the question, said the friends of Mr. Gorham, whether there is to be another Saint Bartholomew’s day in the Church. When it appeared, the triumph of one party and the consternation of the other can scarcely be expressed. But an appeal was immediately lodged, and the question carried for final decision before the Queen in council, or, to speak more exactly, before the judicial committee of the privy-council, to which several of the chief judges, the two archbishops, and a few eminent prelates, were especially summoned by the Crown. The proceedings were taken in public; counsel was heard at length on both sides; and, after considerable delay, and a period of deep suspense, a final decision was given, in February, 1850, reversing that of the inferior court, and, in effect, authorizing the institution of Mr. Gorham. It is to be observed that this decision did not determine the doctrine of the Church of England on the question of baptismal regeneration; neither was it meant to do so; it went no further than to declare that the hypothetical view of the doctrine, or that the child in baptism was held to be regenerate only on the supposition that it was one of the elect, as held by some, or that it was presented in faith, as maintained by others, was not inadmissible. Still, it gave satisfaction to the great body of evangelical and moderate Churchmen. The Anglo-Catholics received it with high displeasure. The leaders of the old Tractarian party protested against it, and resolutions were published, signed by Messrs. Manning, H. Wilberforce, Keble, Dodsworth, Bennet; Doctors Mill and Pusey; Archdeacons R. Wilberforce and

Thorpe; with three barristers-at-law, and Mr. Cavendish, condemning as heretical the latitude which the decision gave. The bishop of Exeter published a solemn protest, addressed to the archbishop of Canterbury. "I have," he says, "not only to protest against the judgment pronounced in the recent case, but also against the regular consequences of that judgment. I have to protest against your grace's doing what you will speedily be called to do, either in person or by some other exercising your authority. I have to protest, and I do hereby solemnly protest, before the Church of England, before the holy catholic Church, before Him who is its Divine Head, against your giving mission to exercise cure of souls within my diocese to a clergyman who proclaims himself to hold the heresies which Mr. Gorham holds. I protest that any one who gives mission to him till he retract, is a favourer and supporter of those heresies. I protest, in conclusion, that I cannot without sin, and by God's grace I will not, hold communion with him, be he who he may, who shall so abuse the high commission which he bears!"

A considerable number of Anglo-Catholics had already joined the Church of Rome; but the decision, in the Gorham case, was the signal for a wide desertion. Mr. Maskell, the bishop of Exeter's chaplain, who had assisted in Mr. Gorham's examination, declared that he was now convinced that the principles of that gentleman and his party were really those of the Reformation and the Church of England; but they were uncatholic, and he sought a refuge in the infallible church. During the years 1850 and 1851, about one hundred clergymen abandoned the Protestant faith and joined the Church of Rome. Amongst these, many were of distinguished talent and high position, including Manning, archdeacon of Chichester, and Henry Wilberforce, vicar of East Farleigh. A large number of laymen, chiefly from the higher ranks of society, at the head of whom Lord Fielding may be named, accompanied or followed them. These secessions had reached their height at the close of 1852, when upwards of two hundred clergyman had retired and at least an equal number of the laity. Since then a few conversions have taken place from time to time, and some are still occurring. But upon the whole, the Romeward movement appears to be almost spent. The Anglo-Catholic party in the Church of England is still, however, large and powerful, and, we believe,

increasing. Its adherents teach what is pre-eminently called the sacramental system, including some points which probably were not contemplated by the authors of the movement in 1833. On seceding from the Church, Mr. Dodsworth, as well as Mr. Maskell, published an account of what had been their custom recently as Anglo-Catholics; and their statement, though of course with an allowance for great diversities of practice in so large a body, may be taken as a description of the present state of things in the party from which they seceded. They administered the sacrament of penance, encouraged auricular confession and gave especial priestly absolution. They taught the propitiatory sacrifice of the holy eucharist, as applicatory of the one sacrifice on the cross, and the adoration of Christ, really present on the altar, under the form of bread and wine; they encouraged the use of rosaries and crucifixes, and special devotions to our Lord, as *e. g.*, to his five wounds. They had also already endeavoured to restore the conventual, or monastic, life. The first attempt of this kind was made by Mr. Newman, at Littlemore, near Oxford. Archdeacon Wilberforce has lately published a treatise on the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist in which the real presence is maintained in the strongest terms. "What," he asks, "was that body which was offered to the holy apostles in the last supper? Was it not the self-same body which they knew to have walked on the sea, and to have been transfigured on the mountain? Was it not that body which was about to emerge from the unopened tomb, and to enter, the doors being shut, into their assembly? Was it not, in short, the body of God?" &c. And, on the nature of the sacrament, he adds, "That which our Lord did in person, at his last supper, he has done ever since by the medium of his ministers. Through them does he still bestow that gift of his body and his blood which he gave to his twelve apostles. He still speaks the words of institution, and thereby affirms the presence of himself, of his body, soul, and Godhead. Neither is his body any other than that human body, which, by the mystery of the incarnation, he made his own; that body which was once humbled, but is now exalted; the self-same body, which he took of the Virgin, and which suffered on the cross," pp. 82, 95. A large establishment for "The Sisters of Mercy" has now, for some years, existed at Devonport, under the sanction of the bishop of Exeter. It is

under the direction of a lady superior, to whom, on their admission, the novices make a solemn vow of obedience. Kneeling, they are then invested with the cross, with these words:—"The sign of the cross is a sacramental symbol, in the which lies deep mystery. When thou shalt have learned this mystery, thou shalt perceive that of self-surrender, thou shalt have discovered wherein lieth the mystery of peace." The "Canonical Hours" are observed, as in the Roman Catholic Church, *viz.*, matins, lauds, prime, terse, sext, nones, vespers, and compline, the services being somewhat modified. Private confession is practised to the visiting clergy; and severe penances are sometimes enforced. The sisters are employed in works of charity and visiting the poor. A "sister," who complained that she had been treated with great severity, left the institution in 1852. The matter was made public in a number of pamphlets, in attack and defence, and from these our statements are derived. An institution for sisters of mercy has recently been opened at Clewer, in the diocese of Oxford, but with its rules we are not acquainted. At the period at which we write, the Anglo-Catholic system is carried to its full extent in several churches in the metropolis, at Brighton, and elsewhere. St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, has been for some years celebrated for the magnificence with which its public worship is conducted, and, we must add, for the introduction of ceremonies unknown in the Church of England since the days of archbishop Laud. Against some of these, the churchwardens have protested and appealed to the bishop of London. His lordship in reply states, that he considers some of the customs objected to, harmless in themselves; as *e. g.*, the clergy and choristers walking in solemn procession to the church, and that of bowing towards the altar; but his lordship condemns the observance, which was also made a matter of complaint, of the clergy, each bearing with pomp and ceremony one or more of the vessels used in the offices of the Church. "This," says his lordship, "I regard as a distinct imitation of the practice of the Church of Rome. If the vessels or elements are brought into the church before the celebration of the Holy Communion begins, they should be brought without any procession or ceremony, and before the commencement of divine service." On the subject of intoning the service, another head of complaint, the bishop says, "it is well known I do not

approve of this mode of performing divine service in parish churches;" but his lordship doubts whether he has power to forbid it. As to the candlesticks on the communion table, "I had rather not see them in parish churches, but I am not prepared to order their removal when they have been placed there several years. A wooden cross on the communion table being considered objectionable, his lordship says, "I certainly wish it to be removed;" but he is not satisfied that he has authority to direct its removal, without the consent of the wardens and parishioners, except by a formal decree of the consistorial court: and to the credence table, or to the use of flowers in decorating the church or chancel, he sees no objection. All these, however, are points which continue to distract the Church of England.

Since the foregoing article was written, another question has been introduced, or at least made prominent, in the Anglo-Catholic controversy, namely, the question of the royal supremacy in things ecclesiastical. Ever since the decision of the Privy Council in the Gorham case, the right of the civil power to interfere has been questioned, and it is now at last denied. Mr Robert Wilberforce has within the last few weeks resigned his archdeaconry, and other preferment in the Church of England, as he declares, upon this question; and has published his reasons at large in "An Inquiry into the Principles of Church Authority; or, Reasons for recalling my Subscription to the Royal Supremacy, 1854." This volume, the author tells us, in its preparation has brought to a head difficulties with which he had been perplexed for four years; and which have led him ultimately to secede from the English Church. For though Mr. Wilberforce's secession to the Church of Rome has not, we believe, been yet announced, the volume before us, maintaining the primacy of the bishop of Rome as St. Peter's successor, is of course a virtual abandonment of the Church of England and of the Reformation. With this point, however, we are not at present concerned, nor have the arguments by which Mr. Wilberforce attempts to support the papal pretensions the claims of novelty to require our notice. The controversy was indeed exhausted, on both sides, by the ponderous learning and argumentation of the divines of the seventeenth century. But in order to make the force of the objection of the supremacy clear, it will be necessary in a few

words to state Mr. Wilberforce's views of the Church itself, and contrast them with those entertained by our reformers. The Church, Mr. Wilberforce and his party maintain, possesses an *organic* life from union with its head. This expression, organic life, an organic body, an organic institution, frequently employed, is intended to convey the idea that there is a life in the Church, extrinsic to the life of the members of the Church, or that of Jesus Christ in his union with the Godhead. Its members indeed are said to be only the materials which the Church fashions and combines through "*its own inherent life*;" and the proposition is further illustrated thus: "by a wall is meant a certain arrangement of bricks, which when united are nothing more than bricks still; but a tree is not merely a congeries of ligneous particles, but implies the presence of a certain principle of life which combines them into a collective whole." From these premises he advances to a second position, namely, that the mystical body of Christ has an organic life like his body natural; or rather, he should have said, identical with it; for "Christ," he adds, "was personally incarnate in that body which was slain, but by power and presence will *he be incarnate in the Church* till the end of the world." From this arises a third conclusion, namely, that on this depends the whole idea of the Christian sacraments, as the media of Church union, and the gift which the Church was commissioned to convey. "Holy baptism was instituted that by one spirit we may all be baptized into one body; and the Holy Eucharist transmits that life which had its source with God, and which was imparted to mankind through the mediator." (Chapter I.) Upon this foundation, essentially that of the Church of Rome, Mr. Wilberforce proceeds to infer the infallibility of Church authority. This indeed would follow of course. If the Church is really inhabited by the manhood of Christ, then "it is plain that her authority in matters of faith cannot be questioned; for the presence which was to be found in his body Natural when he was upon earth, is to be sought since his ascension in that body Mystical, which is his perpetual medium of approach. For the gifts of grace which had their dwelling in the one are imparted to the other." This authority then must have expression, and the medium through which it is expressed is the episcopate; but the episcopate must have a centre, and an organ; and, that the Church may utter

but one voice, a superior whose decisions shall be final. Such a centre is the see of Rome; and thus we arrive at once at the dogmas of the Church's visible unity, and the infallibility of the papal see. To refer spiritual questions to a lay tribunal, or to give ecclesiastical power to secular princes is, if these theories be correct, not merely to violate the discipline of the Church, but to offer the greatest indignity to Him whose incarnate presence with it attests its perfect wisdom, and supplies its sovereign jurisdiction. The theory of our reformers, and we may add of all the reformed Churches, on the nature of the Christian Church, differed in essential points from that of Mr. Wilberforce.

They held, as might be proved, if necessary, by references to Cranmer and his associates, as well as to Whitgift and Hooker in the next generation, that the Church was truly the body of Christ, although they rejected the notion of an organic life in the literal sense; and upon this point the whole question hinges. They held that every spiritual member of the Church is a spiritual member of Christ, and that in him Christ by his spirit dwells. They held that Christ, the supreme head of the Church, sanctioned its proceedings and ratified its acts; but so far, and so far only, as they were in accordance with his own will, and of that will the indications were to be sought in Holy Scripture and there alone. But, inasmuch as many visible members of the Church had not Christ's spirit, but that the wheat and the tares grow together as the Lord himself had foretold, therefore the decisions even of the Church collectively were not infallible. An appeal always lay open from the decisions even of general councils to the Bible, the ultimate, and only absolute standard. "General councils," says the twenty-first article, "forasmuch as they be an assembly of men, whereof all be not governed with the spirit and word of God may err, and sometimes have erred, even in things pertaining unto God. Wherefore things ordained by them as necessary to salvation, have neither strength nor authority, unless it may be declared that they be taken out of Holy Scripture." With reference to Church government, they utterly denied the position that spiritual authority in the Church had been handed down exclusively through an episcopate which derived its authority from St. Peter. Hooker, in his Ecclesiastical Polity, contends (and he wrote under the eye of Whitgift, and

Whitgift had been contemporary with the men of the Reformation) that although the Holy Scriptures are a perfect standard of doctrine, they are not in the same high sense a rule of discipline or government, nor is the practice of the apostles an invariable rule or law to the Church in succeeding ages ; because they acted according to the circumstances of the Church in its infant and persecuted state ; neither are the Scriptures a rule of human actions, so far as that whatsoever we do in matters of religion, without their express warrant, is sin ; but many things are left indifferent. The Church is a society like others, invested with power to make what laws she apprehends reasonable, decent, or necessary, for her well-being and government, provided they do not interfere with, or contradict the laws and commandments of Holy Scripture : where the Scripture is silent, human authority may interpose : we must then have recourse to the reason of things, and the rights of society : it follows from hence, that the Church is at liberty to appoint ceremonies, and establish order within the limits above mentioned, and her authority ought to determine what is fit and convenient. Yet the laws of the Church are mutable, the power that imposed may alter and amend them. But if the Church exist in a Christian land, and have the happiness to be governed by Christian princes, that is to say, by those who are in profession such, it does not become an *imperium in imperio*, a society which may set at nought the sovereign on the plea of conscience, it requires a visible head to whom its proceedings may be referred, and who may protect its rights and shield it from oppression. And, seeing that large assemblies of the clergy have been made, and from their nature may again become, the centres of sedition, and that the ancient theory of the supremacy was utterly at variance with the dependence of the civil power upon the clergy, the twenty-first article declares, that general councils may not be summoned without the consent of the civil power. If it be objected that a Church thus constituted subjects its doctrine to the decision of the prince, the answer is that practically and in the last resort she subjects it neither to the prince nor the clergy. She regards it as a deposit too sacred to be intrusted unconditionally to the keeping of the wisest or of the most potent of mankind. The Scriptures only are infallible. All human decisions have weight with her so long only as they are in accordance with this standard, and

should they be discovered to be erroneous she may at any time seek their reversal by every lawful means.

A considerable party, of whom, until his secession, Archdeacon Wilberforce was the leader, are now engaged in resolute warfare against the Royal supremacy in things spiritual. "The ancient principle of Church authority," they say, "depended on the fact that the gift of guidance which had its dwelling in our Lord, had been inherited by the collective body of his followers." It was essential, therefore, to its application, that they should act together. In process of time many bishops were formed into a province, and, to preserve the Church's unity, all these provinces, it is affirmed, owned subjection to the successor of St. Peter. This system, which necessarily made the successor of St. Peter the last standard of reference in all matters of doctrine, was changed in England under Henry VIII. His Parliament declared (24 Henry VIII., chapter 12) "that this realm of England is an empire; the spiritual authority of which, now being usually called the English Church, whether for knowledge, integrity, or sufficiency of number, has been always thought, and is at this hour, sufficient to declare and determine all such doubts, and to administer all such offices as to their functions spiritual appertain." The next year, the title of Supreme Head of the Church of England was assigned to Henry VIII. After the revolution it was again bestowed on Queen Anne, and is still inherent in our sovereigns. Now the Tractarians, as represented by Mr. Wilberforce, deny the lawfulness of this transfer of supremacy. Every bishop, they say, according to the theory of the ancient Church, had authority throughout the whole world, though the laws of the Church indicated the particular spot in which that authority should be exercised. But the oath of supremacy denies all authority, spiritual or temporal, to any bishop who is not a subject of the Crown; it excludes the authority of the bishop of New York as much as that of the bishop of Rome, and thus denies that article of the creed that there is but one holy Catholic Church. What they complain of is, that the bishops of our two provinces have done that which only the universal Church, as embodied in the pope, would have a right to do; for it is clear, they tell us, that the function assumed by our sovereigns is exactly that which, according to the ancient Church, belonged to the chief apostle. The purpose of the oath of supre-

macy, says Mr. Wilberforce, was "to break up the one body of Christ into divers national societies:" whereas "Christ had built his Church on his chief apostle, that its extension through the world might leave its continuity unaffected." To maintain his argument he asserts, first, that the British Church was, from the beginning, dependent on Rome. He cites Bede to prove that Pope Eleutherus first planted the gospel in England, and that Celestine, the Roman pontiff, sent Palladius, the first missionary, to the Scots. Both these statements are very doubtful, but we refer the reader who may wish to investigate the subject to Dr. Mèrle D'Aubigne's volume, lately published, "On the Reformation in England." We think it is sufficiently proved that neither Scotland, Wales, nor Ireland, nor even England, which received the gospel last, was indebted, for the light of divine truth, to the popes of Rome; and, were it otherwise, it remains to be proved that gratitude for even so great a blessing compelled us to submit to the papal usurpation (unknown to Eleutherus and Celestine) as it existed in the fifteenth century. Mr. Wilberforce, however, argues further, that even had the British Church been justified in separating herself from Rome, this would be nothing to the Church of England. We are not Celts, and our English Church has nothing in common with the primitive Churches of Great Britain. We are indebted for our religion to Gregory the Great and his monk Augustine. And, lastly, Mr. Wilberforce denies that the Royal supremacy was accepted voluntarily by the English Church. The Act of Supremacy was, he says, "imposed by force, and disguised by fraud," and he refers to the execution of More and Fisher, and to the penalties inflicted by Acts of Parliament (25 Henry VIII., chapter 22, and 26 Henry VIII., chapter 13) on those who should deny the King's supremacy. We cannot help remarking here, that the difficulty raised by Mr. Wilberforce is one of little importance. In the time of Henry VIII., and long afterwards, legislation was beforehand with public opinion. At length public opinion overtook it, and whether the people of England were disposed or not, if fairly canvassed, to reject the Papal and accept the Royal supremacy in 1534, there can be no doubt whatever of their fixed resolution upon the subject from a period commencing fifty years afterwards and extending to the present hour. For all reasonable purposes, it may safely be considered as an accomplished fact, which the English people has no disposition to disturb.

The results of the English system of Church authority, according to Mr. Wilberforce, are to place us in a state of endless schism against the whole Catholic Church, and to countenance the pernicious error of private judgment: and, since each of these is inconsistent with that theory of the Church's unity which he adopts, his retirement was the only alternative; and with his principles it is only in the Church of Rome that he can find repose. Her alleged corruptions of doctrine, and her palpable failure in that which is the mission of a true Church and the proof of her vitality, namely, the power of regenerating nations and elevating the tone of private virtue and public morals in the states committed to her exclusive keeping and watched over by her vigilant eye; these are no hindrances to a writer who can gravely maintain, that "it is idle to set up Holy Scripture against the Church, when it is only through the Church's judgment that we are assured of its authority (page 283). Our Saviour's declaration that men and churches are to be known by their fruits, and the apostolic admonition to try the spirits, because Anti-Christ is abroad in the world, fall pointless before such a dogma as this; which, indeed, represents the lowest conceivable degree of mental abasement and prostration. The Scriptures are, in fact, a flaming sword turning every way except against the Church—that is, the Church embodied in and represented by the papacy. Her vices are proof against its twofold edge. The record has no value till she stamps it with the signet of her authority. And, in return for the favour thus conferred upon it, it has undertaken to be silent upon the delinquencies of its generous benefactress!

Thus the Anglo-Catholic movement stands. It now involves a great political question fundamental to the English constitution, and, in its present state, it seems impossible that it should long remain. The denial of the supremacy involves many questions of almost daily occurrence, and can scarcely be compromised or passed over in silence. The alternatives which seem to lie before us at length are, either the secession of the Anglo-Catholics of Mr. Wilberforce's school or a political revolution—for nothing less would that change really be, whether brought about by force or statute law, which should deprive the sovereign of these realms of his right to be "in all causes ecclesiastical as well as civil within his dominions supreme."

ANTINOMIANS.—Antinomianism (*ἀντι* and *νόμος*) is more properly the designation of a scheme of religious doctrine than of a separate sect. Antinomians are found, at times, in union with almost every Church, and have, in fact, never existed apart, but always in connection with some body of professing Christians. Their theory is, that Christians are free from the restraints not only of the ceremonial, but of the moral law; that God neither sees nor punishes sin in the elect; that, being clothed with the righteousness of Christ, they are, in such a sense, complete in him, that their own conduct no longer affects their position in the sight of God. The more cautious Antinomians guard, and practically neutralize, these statements by another, namely, that in the elect the renewed nature so indisposes for sin, that a life of immorality is incompatible with the possibility of being amongst the numbers of the elect. But it cannot be denied that in the hands of ignorant men the doctrine is often made a pretext for a vicious life.

Antinomianism has showed itself in every age of the Church. St. Paul evidently alludes to it as an existing evil, Romans iii. 8. In England it appeared soon after the Reformation, and took firm hold of some of the "sectaries," and especially the "Anabaptists." During the reigns of James and Charles I. the infection spread, but it was at the close of the Civil War, and during the protectorate of Cromwell, that it attained its greatest violence. The writers of this period constantly speak of the Antinomians as a strong political party; and the reader unacquainted with their history would suppose they were a separate church, or isolated body, instead of being, as the fact was, dispersed throughout almost every religious sect, but more especially the Anabaptists.

Before the civil war Antinomianism had made few converts, except amongst the illiterate; at a later period it numbered some men of station and learning among its advocates. One of the chief of these was Dr. Crisp, rector of Brinkworth, in Wiltshire, whose father was a London merchant and sheriff of the city. Having fled from his living at the opening of the war, he resided in London till his death, in 1643. He preached with so much success in defence of his peculiar views that the Presbyterian divines of London were alarmed, and from them he met with a most vigorous opposition. He engaged in a grand debate,

and had no less than fifty-two opponents. When his sermons were published, in 1646, the Westminster Assembly of Divines was sitting, and they are said to have discussed the propriety of having his books burnt as heretical: he was also opposed by the learned Dr. Gataker, rector of Rotherhithe, with great ability, and, what was still more rare in those days, with courtesy. Dr. Crisp was not unworthy of this forbearance, for he was in private life an excellent man, with a mind naturally superficial and confused. He meant well, and would have been shocked at the conclusions, legitimate as they may seem to be, which some of his disciples have drawn from his writings. As a political party the Antinomians were equally troublesome to Charles, to the Parliament, and to Cromwell; always in opposition, and seldom very scrupulous in their choice of instruments or means. Their political importance ceased with the Restoration, and they have never since attempted, in England, to regain it. Antinomianism may be considered the disease of Ultra-Calvinism, as Socinianism is that of extravagant Arminianism, and it is now found chiefly in connection with a few obscure congregations amongst the Baptists. Let it be observed, however, that their errors have never been more ably exposed, or condemned with more severity, than by divines of that communion. Robert Hall, in 1816, spoke of it "as making rapid strides through the land, and having already convulsed and disorganised so many of our (Baptist) churches." He concludes his eloquent indictment against it in the following words:—"As almost every age of the Church is marked by its appropriate visitation of error, so little penetration is necessary to perceive that Antinomianism is the epidemic malady of the present, and that it is an evil of gigantic size and deadly malignity. It is qualified for mischief by the very properties which might seem to render it merely an object of contempt—its vulgarity of conception, its paucity of ideas, its determined hostility to taste, science, and letters. It includes within a compass which every head can contain, and every tongue can utter, a system which cancels every moral tie, consigns the whole human race to the extremes of presumption or despair, erects religion on the ruins of morality, and imparts to the dregs of stupidity all the powers of the most active poison." ("Treatise on Christian Baptism compared with the Baptism of John.")

ARIANS.—This once powerful party, which overspread the Eastern Churches, and held them in subjection to its tenets, derived its name from Arius, a presbyter of Alexandria. About A.D. 319 he first published his heresy, which consisted in the denial of the true divinity of our Lord. Arius appears to have been an ambitious man, of popular manners though reserved, and well calculated to become the leader of a party. He was one of the public preachers of Alexandria, and Alexandria was at that time perhaps the most eminent of the Christian Churches. His opinions spread with inconceivable rapidity, though with the clergy his influence was greater abroad than at home. Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, about the year 323 cited Arius before a meeting of his clergy, where he was allowed to state his doctrines freely and to argue in their defence. After some delay Arius and his followers were excommunicated. The sentence was ratified by a provincial council.

Thus expelled from Egypt, Arius found refuge in Palestine. The Church of Antioch was pre-eminent among the churches of Syria, Palestine, and Lesser Asia. The original centre of apostolic missions among the heathen, and numbering Ignatius and others of illustrious name among its bishops, it was regarded with something of that reverence afterwards paid by the Western Churches to the see of Rome. It had, however, lost its purity. In A.D. 272 Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch, was opposed by a council of eastern bishops held in that city on account of his heretical notions concerning the nature of Christ. It was here in a soil already prepared for its reception that Arianism struck its firmest roots. Several of the neighbouring bishops, Eusebius of Cæsarea, the ecclesiastical historian, Eusebius of Nicomedia, Patrophilus, Paulinus, and other Syrian bishops, espoused his cause. Even Athanasius, afterwards the most formidable of his opponents, seemed for a while to countenance him. Subsequent events render it probable that at this period his real meaning was but imperfectly understood. Meanwhile Arianism spread from province to province, and the Eastern Churches were in flames with the growing schism.

Constantine was now master of the Roman world, and was at liberty to turn his thoughts to the state of Christianity in the eastern provinces of his vast empire. Though a Christian, he was very imperfectly acquainted with the genius of his new religion,

and yet more ignorant of its doctrines. Eusebius of Nicomedia was an Arian, but he was the spiritual adviser of Constantia the emperor's sister; and through her influence the Arians obtained no small share of the imperial favour. On the other hand, the orthodox party, headed by Alexander, eagerly demanded his interference to crush the portentous heresy. Constantine was anxious only for the peace of the Church; and, as he himself admits, was unable to perceive, not only the merits but the importance of the quarrel. In a letter addressed jointly to Alexander and Arius he says: "On investigation, I must say, that the reasons for the eagerness on both sides appear to me insignificant and worthless. Is it right for brothers to oppose brothers for the sake of trifles?" Such an appeal could have no effect with the orthodox or Catholic Christians. They returned for answer a request that the matter might be submitted to the decision of a general council. Constantine consented, "and summoned," says Valerius in his life of Eusebius, "from all parts of the Roman world to Nicæa, a city of Bithynia, a general synod of bishops, such as no age before had seen."

The first general Council of Nice, A.D. 325, was attended by about three hundred prelates; the number of Arian bishops did not exceed twenty-two. These figures seem to show that the laity and inferior clergy had broken loose, and that the episcopate, the heads of the church, were comparatively sound while the whole body was infected. Arius defended his opinions before the Council with subtlety and courage. He offered great concessions. A creed was presented, drawn up by Eusebius of Cæsarea, in which every term of honour and dignity, with one exception, was bestowed upon the Son of God. But the orthodox clearly saw that these concessions did but conceal the real questions in dispute. The Arians said that Jesus Christ was a creature, the Catholics that he was very God. Many tests were proposed and accepted; at length the Arians were requested to subscribe to the proposition that the Son was *ὁμοούσιος θεῷ*, consubstantial with the Father; *i. e.*, that he was literally of, and in, the one indivisible essence which we adore as God. Arius refusing to assent was condemned and banished, and his followers excommunicated. But a great change soon happened in the fortunes of the party. Through the influence of his favourite sister, Constantine was induced to extend his favour to the Arians; the Arian

bishops were recalled to their dioceses. Arius himself returned in triumph to Alexandria furnished with a rescript from Constantine to the bishop, in which the latter was commanded to re-admit him into the bosom of the Church, before a certain day, on pain of expulsion from his see. Alexander, it is said, betook himself to prayer and fasting, and on the evening before the day of his proposed triumph, Arius suddenly expired. His death was regarded by the orthodox as an answer to the pious intercessions of the Church. But the cause of his death has been much disputed; it is not improbable, considering the violence and rage of his opponents as well as of his own followers, that he fell a victim to poison or secret violence. The loss of their leader did not disanimate his party. Constantius, the son of Constantine, espoused the cause. Three hundred prelates assemble at the great Council of Milan, A.D. 355, and Constantius himself was present. Here the condemnation of Athanasius, the champion of the orthodox creed, was universally agreed upon. The next year Liberius, bishop of Rome, subscribed to the Arian creed; and thus Arianism appeared triumphant over both the eastern and western Churches. Julian would of course, infidel as he was, treat the matter with indifference; succeeding emperors alternately befriended and opposed the heretics. At length Arianism was a second time condemned by the Council of Constantinople, A.D. 381. After this date it formed a sect without the pale of the Church, and chiefly amongst the barbarians, and in the outskirts of the Roman empire: we lose sight of it altogether when the Gothic nations forsook their ancient homes and rushed to the conquest of Italy and southern Europe.

The sudden outburst of Arianism and its rapid triumph deserve consideration. They serve to throw light upon the real state of the early Church in the fourth century, as well as to explain the dangers by which it had been for some time surrounded.

The explanation most favourable to the orthodox party is, that engaged hitherto in the simple practice of piety, surrounded with danger, and consisting for the most part of persons in humble life, it was taken by surprise. No formal creed existed, if perhaps the brief summary called the Apostles' Creed be excepted. The profound reverence which the primitive Church had for whatever concerned the nature of the Godhead, and especially of the Son of God, rendered it liable to the artifices of designing men,

and even exposed it to their attacks. A devout mind shrinks from the cold investigation of a subject it has been accustomed to approach only with adoration or with awe. The proper Deity of Jesus Christ had never been disputed ; his manhood only had been questioned ; but even this heresy, monstrous it was, clearly shows the undoubting reverence which was paid to his Divine nature. Accustomed only to worship the three Persons of the Trinity as one God, speculations upon the mode of their coexistence, or the nature of their personality, were unknown ; and when they first appeared their tendency was not all at once perceived. The equivocation of Arius after his opinions had been condemned, and his readiness to adopt the current phraseology of the orthodox church, no doubt added to the perplexity of simple minds. Misled by his zeal, it is probable that vast numbers followed him without being at all aware of the fact that he denied the Godhead of the Son, and, as a necessary consequence, the whole work of the Atonement. That so many of the orthodox bishops at first espoused his cause, and afterwards joined in his condemnation, seems greatly in favour of this conjecture. They were simple-minded men led astray by one, the tendency of whose doctrine they did not fully understand.

But other causes, less creditable to the Church of the fourth century, concurred. One of these was the *disciplina arcani*, or secret discipline, which the clergy studiously enforced. It consisted in the exclusion of the pagans, as far as possible, from all acquaintance with the peculiar doctrines and mysteries of the Christian faith. They were told, in general, that there was only one God, and that he was to be worshipped through Jesus Christ ; beyond this, everything was reserved until their baptism. Even the catechumens were held in ignorance of many of the essential doctrines of the Gospel. The Scriptures were not generally read ; and it was evidently the intention of the clergy to confine the people to such an acquaintance with the doctrines of Christianity as might be gained from a tradition deposited with themselves. Those points in which we now carefully instruct our children were then as carefully concealed. For example, the eucharist was treated as a mystery ; and the prelates of Constantinople are severely blamed for having officiously taken Constantine into the sacred precincts and explained the whole of the ceremonial before his baptism. On the whole,

it is not easy to avoid the conclusion that the laity were in a state of lamentable ignorance. When we see whole churches passing from orthodoxy to Arianism, and again from Arianism to orthodoxy, in the course of a few years, it is not uncharitable to infer their indifference to both creeds, or, at least, their want of a right perception of the importance of the points at issue.

It has long been a question keenly agitated, whether the Platonic philosophy was not the true parent of the Arian heresy. The discussion is still pursued, in our own times, with all the keenness that belongs to a party strife, the point which it involves being the purity of the ante-Nicene Church. However, it will not be denied that the writings of Plato were held, even from the second century, in high admiration with some of the fathers; or that a large body of "Platonists" existed within the Church itself, who openly avowed that the germs of Christianity lay hid in the writings of the great philosopher; that Christianity was, in fact, a development of Platonism. It was a frequent practice, even with those of the fathers of reputed orthodoxy, to present Divine truth, as far as possible, under the disguise of the Greek philosophy, rather than with the simplicity of Christ. Dr. Newman, in his learned history of the Arians, admits the fact, and suggests the following excuses for it:—"The reasons which induced the early fathers to avail themselves of the language of Platonism were various. They did so partly as an *argumentum ad hominem*; as if the Christians were not professing in the doctrine of the Trinity a more mysterious tenet than that which had been propounded by a great heathen authority; partly to conciliate their philosophical opponents; partly to save themselves the arduousness of inventing terms, where the Church had not yet authoritatively supplied them; and partly with the hope, or even belief, that the Platonic school had been guided in portions of its system by a more than human wisdom, of which Moses was the unknown but real source."

Arianism, properly so called, produced a multitude of sects, generally classed together as semi-Arians; these were the Eusebians, Aëtians, Eunomians, Acacians, Psathyrians, and others. They differed amongst themselves in assigning various degrees of exaltation to the second person in the Trinity; but all of them denied that he was *ὁμοούσιος*, consubstantial with the

Father. They disappeared with the parent heresy, and their history is not deserving of further notice. (See Eusebius's *Life of Constantine*; Valesius, *de Vitâ Eusebii Cæsariens*; Mosheim, *Ecc. History*; Blakey, *Hist. Philosophy*; Newman, *Hist. of the Arians*.

ARMENIAN CHURCH.—The Gospel was introduced into Armenia at a very early period, probably in the days of the apostles; and, if not by themselves, at least by some of their numerous converts in the neighbouring provinces of Asia Minor. But the remoteness of their situation, inclosed with mountains, and bordering on the Caspian Sea, prevented their intercourse with the Churches of Greece and Asia, and has left us ignorant of their history in its first and purest days. Armenia was a wild and barbarous land; it is probable that the population was scanty and communication slow; for the climate is in many parts severe, and the snow rests upon the mountains in July. Thus, it was not till the fourth century that Christianity was established. Gregory, called the Enlightener, from having dispelled the darkness of the Armenian superstitions, converted Tiridates, the king, and his nobles, about the beginning of this century. The Greek Churches of Lesser Asia naturally became the model and the preceptor of the newly-converted kingdom; and Gregory was consecrated bishop of the Armenians by Leontius, bishop of Cappadocia. In the year 457, the great synod of Chalcedon, the fourth general or œcumenical council, was held; but from the disorders of their country, or their ignorance of the Greek tongue, the Armenian clergy were not amongst the four hundred and thirty bishops assembled. Yet from this period we must date the corruption of the Armenian Church, and its exclusion from the orthodox communion.

In the year 424, Nestorius, patriarch of Constantinople, first broached the doctrine, that in the Saviour of mankind there were not only two natures, as the orthodox doctrine teaches, but two persons; or a Divine person, taking up his abode in a human person. Nestorius was a prelate of high character, and of that intellectual subtlety which passed for the loftiest wisdom. He defended his position with great skill, and soon had many converts. To put an end to the controversy, a general council,

being the third so called, assembled at Ephesus, in 431. The famous Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, presided, who, in his haste to condemn Nestorius, refused to wait for the bishop of Antioch and a large body of eastern bishops who accompanied him. Nestorius was deposed, and his doctrines anathematized, but such a proceeding was not likely to restore peace to the distracted Churches; and, notwithstanding the decision of the council, Nestorianism continued to increase. It is the nature of all error to generate its opposite extreme. Amongst the opponents of Nestorius, one of the most zealous was Eutyches, chief, or archimandrite, of a monastery of three hundred monks, near Constantinople, who in opposing Nestorius fell into the opposite error, and denied not only the duality of persons in the Saviour, but the duality of natures too; maintaining that, in the person of Christ, the human nature and the Divine are one; the human being, as it were, absorbed into the Divine. This error is, perhaps, in its consequences more serious than the former; it seems, if followed out to its legitimate conclusions, to overthrow the atonement and the eternal priesthood of Christ. Eutyches, however, like Nestorius, had many followers, and his doctrine was formally condemned by the council of Chalcedon which assembled for that purpose. Still it continued to spread rapidly, and at this day all the Eastern Churches, except the Greek Church, are divided between the heresy of Nestorius on the one hand, and that of Eutyches on the other. The Armenian Church espoused the cause, and embraced the errors of Eutyches; so too did the Syrian or Jacobite, the Coptic, and the Abyssinian Churches. Eutychianism, it is true, so far as its name and the precise statements of its leader were concerned, was soon repudiated; but the radical error introduced by him retains its ascendancy in these four Churches, which are hence called *Monophysite*, or, sometimes, *Monothelite*; and of course they reject the decrees of the fourth general council.

Armenia has been one of the most unfortunate of nations; from the earliest period to the present time, as Gibbon has remarked, the theatre of perpetual war, and seldom permitted to enjoy even the tranquillity of servitude. Yet the zeal of the Armenians for their religion has never failed. Overrun successively by Seljuks, Mamluks, Ottomans, and Persians, they have always adhered with intrepid devotion to the ancient faith.

About the year 1605, Abbas Shah of Persia, carried away twelve thousand families to Ispahan, where many of their descendants are to be found. Except the Jews they are probably the most widely dispersed of any people under heaven. Their merchants are found in every European market, in all Asia, in India, at Singapore, and in the islands of the Eastern Archipelago. Still their impoverished country boasted, in the last century, a splendid hierarchy and comparatively rich endowments. It was governed by four patriarchs, of whom the chief, or *catholicos*, resided at Etchmiadzin. Subject to these were about sixty archbishops, who, again, governed their own suffragans and inferior clergy. A great taste for literature prevailed in Armenia during the period known in western Europe as the dark ages; and, until a recent period, there were several Armenian presses, conducted by themselves in various capitals. An Armenian Bible was printed at Amsterdam in the sixteenth century; several religious treatises were published at Marseilles for the use of this wandering people; and at Venice a congregation of Armenian monks has existed on the Island of St. Lazaro since 1715, who constantly issue works on literature, theology, and science, for the benefit of their own countrymen. In wealth and numbers the Armenian Church is still the most important of the Eastern Churches with the sole exception of the Greek Church. Until nearly the middle of the sixth century it remained in communion with this as the mother-church; but in 536, at a synod assembled at Therin by the patriarch Nerses of Ardhar, the decree of the Council of Chalcedon asserting the two natures of Christ was formally condemned, and the Monophysite doctrine asserted, and thus it was the connection between the Armenian and the old Greek Church was dissolved.

In other respects the doctrines of the Armenian Church agree with those of the Greek Church. They deny that "the Holy Ghost is of the Father *and of the Son*;" they intercede for the dead, maintain the invocation of the Virgin, and of saints and angels, and hold the cross in superstitious reverence. The common people, at least, believe it has power to intercede with God, and to protect from evil; and they make crosses in imitation of it in metal and other materials which are consecrated in water and wine. They frequently make the sign of the cross,

which they consider the mark by which Christ knows his sheep. They hold that in the Eucharist there is a transmutation of the elements into the real body and blood of Christ, and that this sacrament is a propitiatory sacrifice to God.

The catholicos or primate, resides at Etchmiadzin; an Armenian bishop resides at Constantinople, and another at the Armenian convent in Jerusalem. Each of these assumes the title of patriarch, though it is said they are not strictly such, but rather superior bishops, possessing certain privileges which the catholicos confers. Since, by the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, a large portion of Upper Armenia was ceded to the czar, the catholicos is a subject of Russia; which indeed exercises almost unlimited sway over both the Greek and Armenian Churches.

The see of Rome has always displayed great anxiety to obtain a footing amongst the Churches of the East. The exclusion of the Monophysites from the Greek communion seemed to lay them open to her missions; and we find that so early as the fourteenth century a Roman Catholic archbishop was sent to Armenia and fixed at Soldan with authority to govern the Church, by Pope John XXIII. The present *Armenian Catholic Church* was founded in this manner; and is, in fact, a branch of the Church of Rome. Of this communion, the Armenian Catholic patriarch, who resides at Constantinople, is the head under the pope. But the successes of the Church of Rome in the East are trivial: the proselytes acknowledge little more than a nominal dependence; and what influence she possesses has been obtained by many concessions, both in doctrine and in discipline to the prejudices of her oriental subjects. Amongst the latter may be named the title of Patriarch, which is unknown to the Western Churches, and which is here conceded to the head of the Romish Armenians.

It may be proper to mention here the labours of Protestant missionaries amongst the Eastern Churches. In the year 1841, the Anglican bishopric of Jerusalem was established with a view, not only to the conversion of the Jews, but also to the cultivation of friendly relations with the oriental Churches. The bishop, however, was instructed rather to attempt the spiritual improvement of these several communions than to make proselytes to the Church of England. The American Episcopal Church have had a missionary at Constantinople for the last eighteen years

on the same principle. A mission chiefly of inquiry and investigation was formed by the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, about the year 1841, for the Nestorian churches: it was soon afterwards withdrawn, partly from want of funds and partly from reluctance to interfere with foreign churches. The Church Missionary Society, and the American Board of Missions, have long had their agents in Syria. From all these agencies combined a very extensive spirit of inquiry, a thirst for knowledge, and some earnest desires of reformation, have been excited in various parts; and it is now an anxious question (with which, however, it is not for us to deal in these pages) how these promising and hopeful appearances shall be met, whether by receiving the inquirers into our own communions, or by confining ourselves to the attempt to ameliorate and reform their own. From the circumstance that an Armenian patriarch resides at Jerusalem, and that a great number of Armenians reside in Palestine, the decision of this question is likely, whether for good or evil, deeply to influence the future character of the Armenian Church. At present, the decision of the bishop of Jerusalem is understood to be, that proselytes seeking admission may be received into our communion, and it deserves to be noticed that the American episcopal missionaries have concurred at length in a similar conclusion. (See Badger's Visit to the Nestorian Churches; *Christian Observer*, Jan. 1854; Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, chap. viii.; Mosheim, *Ecc. Hist.*, vol. ii.)

ARMINIANS.—This title belongs to those who hold certain doctrinal opinions, and are members of different Churches, rather than to any sect or insulated party. It is derived from Arminius, or Hermansen, a Dutch divine, who Latinised his name after the pedantic custom of his times. He was born at Oudewater in 1560, and was educated for the ministry under the great Protestant teachers of Holland, Aemilius and the elder Bertius; and afterwards at Geneva under Theodore Beza, Calvin's friend and pupil. He presided fifteen years over a flourishing church at Amsterdam, where, in one of the chief seats of learning and of the reformation, his eloquence and zeal placed him amongst the foremost men of his age. In the year 1603 he was invited to Leyden to succeed the celebrated Junius as professor of divinity.

He had not long undertaken this honourable post when his theological opinions on some important points underwent a great change. He rejected the peculiar tenets of Calvin, and became the great teacher of a contrary scheme of doctrine, which has been known ever since by his name as the Arminian scheme. In all the reformed Churches Calvin's fame was then high, especially in Holland, for the Dutch clergy received their education from Geneva. Arminius soon felt the weight of the civil and spiritual arm both laid heavily upon him. He was assailed as a heretic by his former associates, and often reviled in the most offensive language; and he was summoned before the States-General to defend and explain his principles. He appears to have been a man of a gentle though firm spirit, and sunk prematurely beneath the difficulties of his position. He died at the age of forty-eight in 1609. The bitterness of the controversies in which he was entangled provokes a melancholy smile. During his last illness the sight of one eye failing, his enemies exulted in the fulfilment of a prophecy of Zechariah, "Woe to the idol shepherd; the sword shall be upon his arm and upon his right eye." Peter Bertius, the younger, delivered a funeral oration on his death before the University of Leyden. "After all their profane appeal to Scripture," he exclaims, "it was not the right eye of Arminius that was disordered, but the left: neither was it utter darkness, only a dimness. Away, ye vile detractors, ye voracious blackbeetles of the age!" This is sufficient to show the spirit of the times.

The Arminian, or Calvinistic, or Quinquarticular controversy, for by these names it is known amongst divines, turns upon the following points:—1. Predestination, or the eternal decrees of election and reprobation, including a multitude of minor questions, such as, Whether these decrees, or either of them, exist. Whether they are absolute or conditional. Whether faith or holiness are foreseen in the elect so as to form the cause of their election, &c. 2. Free will. 3. Effectual grace; or whether saving grace can or cannot be resisted. 4. The extent of Christ's redemption: whether it extends to all mankind, or to those only who shall be finally saved. 5. The perseverance of the saints; or whether, having received grace, the recipient can finally fall away and perish. It is foreign to our purpose to enter, in the least degree, upon the discussion of these deep and solemn ques-

tions. A calm statement of the arguments upon both sides would form a considerable treatise, and one, we will take leave to add, which, if impartially written by a competent pen, would be an important addition to the Christian theology of the Catholic Church. Bishop Burnet, on the seventeenth Article, approaches more nearly to this idea than anything we have met with ; but his statement is brief, though sufficient, perhaps, for the general reader.

These controverted points have occupied pious and thoughtful men in all ages. Saint Augustine wrote upon them in the fourth century : and he it was, indeed, who first reduced into a systematic form the code of doctrines which, since the Reformation, are termed Calvinistic, holding the affirmative side on all of the five points aforesaid. Calvin warmly embraced the Augustinian theology (see CALVINISTS), and was followed by all the continental Churches of the Reformation, more or less exactly. But differences of opinion very soon arose, which no doubt were widened by the fact that Calvin's system, with regard to its more difficult and abstruse points, was often rudely pushed to an unwarrantable extreme, or stated with a want of that caution which the great master has displayed. Arminius's share in the controversy arose from a singular occurrence. A pamphlet was issued at Delft "in answer to the arguments adduced by Beza and Calvin concerning predestination from the ninth chapter to the Romans." This was transmitted to Arminius with a request that he would answer it. He readily undertook to do so, having recently left the University of Geneva, and "his ears still tingling with the sound of Beza's lectures there" upon the same subject. But, says Peter Bertius in his funeral oration, "he was converted by the force of truth, and at first became a convert to the very opinions he had undertaken to refute." The remainder of his life was spent in opposing the doctrines in which he had been educated, and founding a new school of theology amongst the Churches of the Reformation.

It is necessary that we should consider the sentiments of Arminius himself before we proceed to state those which, immediately after his death, were foisted on the world in his name, and have ever since been produced, from time to time, as if sanctioned by his authority. Arminius was the leader of the *evangelical* Arminians. His system of theology, as stated and

defended by himself before the States of Holland, when charged by his colleague Gomarus with teaching heresy, in 1606, includes the following propositions :—1. The decree of God, he says, has its foundation in his foreknowledge, by which he knew from all eternity those individuals who would, through his preventing grace, believe, and through his subsequent grace would persevere : by the same foreknowledge he knew those who would not believe and persevere. 2. Concerning the free will of man, this, he says, is my opinion : man is not capable of and by himself either to think, or will, or do, that which is really good ; but it is necessary for him to be regenerated and renewed in his intellect, and all his powers, by God in Christ, through the Holy Spirit ; and when he is made a partaker of this regeneration, I consider that he is capable of willing, thinking, and doing that which is good, but still not without the continual aid of Divine grace. 3. In reference to Divine grace, I believe that it is gratuitous on God's part, and that it consists of an infusion of those gifts of the Spirit which pertain to the regeneration and renewing of man. I ascribe to grace the commencement, the continuance, and consummation of all good ; and to such an extent do I carry this influence, that a man, although regenerate, can neither conceive, or will, or do any good at all, nor resist any evil temptation, without this preventing and co-operating grace ; but I deny, and the whole controversy reduces itself to this question, that the grace of God is an irresistible force. 4. My sentiments respecting the perseverance of the saints are, that those who have been grafted into Christ through true faith, possess sufficient power to resist all their spiritual enemies through Christ. He adds, with singular modesty, and the sentiment was repeated almost in the same words in a conference with Gomarus only two months before his death, "Though I avow openly I never taught that a true believer can either totally, or finally, fall away from the faith and perish ; yet I will not conceal that there are passages of Scripture which seem to me to wear this aspect ; and those answers to them which I have been permitted to see are not of such a kind as to approve themselves on all points to my understanding. On the other hand, certain passages which are adduced in favour of the contrary doctrine, namely, that of final perseverance, are worthy of much consideration." Arminius defends his doctrines from Scripture primarily : he maintains, further,

that none of the great doctors of the Church for six hundred years after Christ received St. Augustine's doctrine of predestination; and that, within the same period, no council admitted or approved it; that the Dutch Confessions of Faith were in his favour, as well as the Confession of the Church of England. He adds, in the custom of his age, an array of arguments which belong to metaphysics rather than to pure theology. Evangelical Arminianism, as thus expounded, is held extensively both by high and low churchmen in the Church of England; and it is a part of the systematic teaching of all the Wesleyan Methodists (see WESLEYAN METHODISTS). It may be worth while to quote the following passage from the writings of John Wesley:—"The errors charged upon those usually called Arminians by their opponents are five: 1. That they deny original sin. 2. That they deny justification by faith. 3. That they deny absolute predestination. 4. That they deny the grace of God to be irresistible. 5. And that they affirm that a believer can fall from grace. With regard to the two first of these charges they plead not guilty. They are entirely false. No man that ever lived ever asserted either original sin or justification by faith in more strong, more clear, and express terms than Arminius has done. These two points, therefore, are to be set out of the question. In these both parties agree. But there is an undeniable difference between the Calvinists and Arminians with regard to the three other questions: here they divide."

After the death of Arminius the controversy, which had hitherto been confined to the five points, very soon assumed another character. The bitterness of the contest had already induced the States-General to interfere, and to hear the defence of Arminius from his own lips. The Calvinistic party now made a resolute attempt to expel and silence the Arminians as disturbers of the common peace, and on the ground that the Belgic confession of faith, as they affirmed, condemned their tenets. Thus the magistracy were led to interfere. There were already two parties in the state, headed by Maurice, the prince of Orange, the stadtholder, on one side, and Barneveldt, Grotius, and Hoogerbeets on the other; and the Arminians at once became a political as well as a religious party. As the minority, and as men oppressed, they naturally fell into the hands of the liberal party, who were in opposition to Maurice the stadtholder, whom

they suspected of a design upon the liberties of their new republic. At the same time a new school of Arminian divines arose; speculative men, who began to question the whole system of evangelical truth. They were already charged with Pelagianism and Socinianism at a conference held in 1611, and the subsequent conduct of some of their leaders shows, that the suspicions of the Calvinists were not altogether without foundation. The learned editor of Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History maintains, indeed, that this was nothing more than the development of Arminius's own scheme, and that his followers were merely guilty of propagating his own doctrines with more courage and perspicuity. But the charge rests upon no better support than a wish he had expressed, that all true followers of Christ, except the Papists, with whom no union could be kept, "might form one flock on earth as they will be gathered into one fold in heaven." We cannot but state this, as a painful instance of the merciless bigotry with which the reputation of Arminius has been assailed. However, the flame spread; and, to put an end to a theological contest which convulsed the state, it was resolved by Maurice and the States General to assemble a synod or council, where the two parties should meet, and by whose decision the question should be set at rest. This was the famous synod of Dordt, which bore more of the character of a general council than any assembly hitherto convened by Protestants. It met in 1618, consisting of ecclesiastical deputies from the United Provinces, parts of Germany, and Switzerland. James I. of England sent four representatives—Carlton bishop of Llandaff; Hall, afterwards bishop of Norwich, Davenant, divinity professor at Cambridge, and Samuel Ward, master of Sydney College. The synod consisted altogether of thirty-six ministers, five professors' twenty elders of the United States, and twenty-eight coadjutors. It assembled in January and sat till May.

The proceedings of this synod are related in full by writers on both sides. There is no considerable disagreement with regard to facts, but the motives of the majority, and the spirit which animated them, are described in the most opposite colours. Calvinistic writers speak of them with the highest reverence. Richard Baxter declares that, since the days of the apostles, the Christian Church had never seen an assembly of more excellent divines. Capellus, a German professor, says the equity of the

fathers of this synod was such that no instance could be given, since the apostolic age, of any council in which heretics were heard more patiently, or the proceedings conducted with more sanctity. Bishop Hall speaks of them with high reverence, as worthy and eminent divines. On the other hand, the Arminian historians assert, that the condemnation of their party was resolved upon even before the synod met, and that the majority had bound themselves by an oath to that effect. This accusation was repeated to bishop Hall by Fuller the historian, who gives it the most emphatic denial in the bishop's own words, "Sir, since I have lived to see so foul an aspersion cast on the memory of those worthy and eminent divines, I bless God that I yet live to vindicate them, by this my knowing, clear, and assured attestation, which I am ready to second with the solemnest oath if I shall be thereto required." Balcanqual, a Scotchman, and John Hales of Eton, attended the English delegates, and were admitted to the sittings of the synod. From their letters it certainly appears, that Bogerman, the president, was violent and partial, frequently breaking out into railing and abuse. The Arminians were required to state their arguments in the first instance, and then listen to the refutations of the Calvinists. This they declined, choosing, as the accused party, to be themselves the respondents; in consequence they were expelled from the assembly. A solemn promise had been made to them, when summoned before the synod, that they should be allowed to defend and explain their opinions, as far as they should think proper, but this was refused. The English delegates seem to have acted the part of moderators. They several times interposed to soften the asperity of the synod, or to qualify its dogmas; still, upon the whole, they agreed with the Calvinists, and assented to the canons which the synod drew up. Mosheim says, in summing up the character of the divines assembled (and we acquiesce in his decision), that their sanctity, wisdom, and virtue have been exalted above all measure by the Calvinists, while their partiality, violence, and other faults have been exaggerated with some degree of malignity by the Arminians. Amongst the majority there were many who were equally distinguished by their learning and piety, and whose intentions at least were pure. On the other hand, the Arminians, if their complaints may be referred to the notions of equity of the nineteenth

century, had but too much reason for their indignant protestations.

The Arminians, then, were unanimously condemned. In consequence of the decision of the synod they were considered as the enemies of their country, and of the national faith. The civil power stepped in, and deprived them of all their posts and employments in Church or State; their ministers were silenced, and their congregations broken up. Barneveldt, their leader, died upon the scaffold on a political pretext; others were fined and imprisoned, and driven into exile. Many fled to the free city of Antwerp, others into France; others, accepting the invitation of Frederic duke of Holstein, settled in the duchy of Sleswick, and built, in honour of their benefactor, the town of Fredericstadt. Amongst the heads of this colony was the celebrated Vorstius, whose religious sentiments now varied essentially from the old Arminianism, and verged towards those of Socinus. On the death of Maurice, 1625, the exiles were permitted to return, and a religious toleration was proclaimed in Holland. They erected churches in several places, and founded a college at Amsterdam, of which Episcopius was the first professor. He too espoused the principles of Socinus; he was succeeded by Courcelles, Limborch, Leclerc, Wetstein, and others whose names have long been famous as critical scholars rather than divines. Indeed, according to Leclerc, all doctrinal or dogmatic teaching appears to have been laid aside. Some writers having said, that the Arminians acknowledged as brethren all those who held the Apostles' Creed, he expressly affirms "that this is a mistake; they go much further, they offer the hand of fellowship to all those who receive the sacred Scriptures as the only rule of faith and practice, and who are neither idolators or persecutors"—a definition which excludes only the Church of Rome. "*Ils se trompent; ils offrent la communion à tous ceux qui reçoivent l'écriture sainte comme la seule règle de la foi et des mœurs, et qui ne sont ni idolâtres ni persécuteurs.*"—*Biblioth. Ancienne et Mod.* tom. xxv. p. 110.

Arminianism was supposed to have received its death-wound at Dordt, but appearances were false: it merely changed its abode, and reappeared in England with fresh vigour. Through a complication of events, in which politics were strangely interwoven with theological opinions, the heads of the Church of

England, and with it the high prelatie party of churchmen, became Arminians. Laud was made archbishop of Canterbury, and became their leader. In the quarrel which ensued between King Charles and his parliaments, the Arminians gradually ranged themselves with the king, the Calvinists with the parliament. When the war was over the Church of England was destroyed, and once more Arminianism seemed to perish with it. The restoration of Charles II. took place, Arminianism returned with prelacy, and held, for more than half a century, undisputed sway in the Church of England. It must be observed, however, that as the Arminianism of Laud differed from that of the Dutch leader in many points, so did that of the divines of Charles II. and their successors in many more. Laud combined it with views of sacramental efficacy which Arminius would have denounced as superstitious; the later school of divines, though far from Socinianism, threw the doctrines of grace into the shade, and dwelt more on the example of Christ than his atonement. Arminianism at last became a negative term, implying a negation of Calvinism rather than any exact system of theology whatever.

The disputes, and we may add, the violent passions, engendered in the discussion of these profound subjects, were not confined to the reformed Churches. During the whole of the sixteenth century the Church of Rome was agitated with the controversy upon grace and free-will. The Benedictines and Dominicans had already broken the ground; but the battle raged in its greatest fury between the Jesuits and the Jansenists, the latter being ably represented by the religious of the monastery of Port Royal, near Paris. Here again it happened, just as in Holland and Great Britain, that the controversy extended itself from religion to politics. The Jansenists of France became the reformers of the age, the men of free thought and bold discussion, while the Jesuit party were the advocates of the court and the old abuses, both in Church and State. At the same time, it is a curious fact that in Holland the Arminians were the friends of liberty and free discussion, in France the Calvinists; the two parties had changed places. The Jesuits, who were Arminians, were now the persecutors, and the Jansenists, or Calvinists, the patient and afflicted sufferers. In the course of the controversy appeals were made repeatedly by the

Jesuits to the court of Rome, and in every instance the papal decision condemned the Calvinists, and thus the papacy has placed itself in the curious dilemma of holding patristic authority while at the same time it condemns for heresy the opinions of Augustine, the greatest of the Latin fathers. A full history of these stirring events, which still leave their traces visible both in Paris and at Rome, will be sought in the writings of the great actors in the quarrel. The leading points were these. Many disputes existed among the French clergy upon these subjects, when Jansenius, bishop of Yprés, published his "*Augustinus*," in 1640. It was intended as much to expose the Jesuits, their dangerous casuistry and loose morals, as to circulate the doctrines of the great father. The Jesuits appealed to Pope Innocent X., who in 1653 issued a bull condemning, as impious and blasphemous, five propositions said to be extracted from the "*Augustinus*." The Jansenists remonstrated. They declared that the extracts condemned were unfairly made, so as to present, if not a false, a distorted, view of the meaning of Jansenius. But the Jesuits were again victorious, and in 1656 the former bull was confirmed by Alexander VII. The Port Royalists had already espoused the cause of Jansen; and this year one of their order published a work of such originality, wit, and purity, as at once to claim an undisputed place with literature of the highest class. Of course we speak of Pascal's "*Provincial Letters*." The Jesuits were appalled; their boldest casuists were silenced; and, in fact, no serious attempt was made to answer the "*Provincial Letters*" for forty years. The Jesuits now, however, in possession of the pope's bull, and supported by the government of France, determined on the destruction of their adversaries, and in 1660 obtained the suppression of the schools of Port Royal, and in 1664 the suppression of the abbey. The buildings were afterwards levelled to the ground by Louis XIV., as defiled by heresy. The contest with the pope languished till the beginning of the last century, when it was suddenly revived by the publication of Quesnel's "*Reflections on the Four Gospels*." Quesnel was a priest of the Congregation of the Oratoire, who had embraced the views of Jansen and the Port Royalists. The popularity of his work was immense, showing clearly how strong a hold the principles of the Anti-Jesuit party had on the mind of France. The Jesuits once more appealed to Rome, and

obtained from Clement XI. the bull *Unigenitus*, in which Quesnel's work is condemned, and one hundred and one propositions extracted from it are declared to be heretical and blasphemous. Amongst them we find a number of propositions, the denial of which involves Arminianism of a much lower school than that of the Dutch divine. For instance, the following propositions are condemned :—1. "That the grace of Jesus Christ, the efficacious principle of every kind of good, is necessary to every good action." 2. "That the true idea of grace is this, that God wills our obedience and is obeyed." 3. "That no graces are given except by faith : faith is the first grace and the fountain of all others." On free-will, Quesnel speaks precisely as Arminius did. 4. "The will which is not prevented by grace has no light but to go astray, no strength but to wound itself ; it is capable of all evil, and incapable of all good." Indeed, many of the doctrines which were fundamental to the system of Arminius are declared heretical by Clement ; for instance : "that faith justifies when it works, but it does not work at all except by charity or love." That "he who does not lead a life becoming a child of God and a member of Christ ceases to have inwardly God for his father and Christ for his head." That "all other means of salvation are contained in faith as their seed and bud ; but this faith includes love to God." Since the bull *Unigenitus*, Calvinism, in all its shades, has therefore been excluded from the Church of Rome as well as the evangelical Arminianism of the divines of Holland previous to the synod of Dordt.

The Arminian controversy was again revived in England, with great warmth, about the middle of the last century. The disputants were Wesley and his friends (the most able of whom in this discussion was Fletcher, vicar of Madeley), Benson and others on the Arminian side, and Toplady, Rowland Hill, and Whitfield on that of Calvinism. It is no slight upon these names, worthy in many ways of high respect, to say that they added nothing, on either side, to the weight of the arguments and objections already arrayed against each other, by the great masters of the previous century. The discussion now, however, for the first time, was purely theological. Neither party sought the assistance of the civil power or feared its interference. The result was, that each desisted from the conflict more

resolute, if possible, in their old opinions; but their descendants of the present age seem to have agreed to hold their principles with a degree of moderation and forbearance new in the history of these contentions. (Works of Arminius; Nicholl's Life of Arminius; Fuller's Church History, &c.)

BAPTISTS; OR ANABAPTISTS; so called (from *ἀνὰ* again, and *βάπτω* to wash or plunge) because they again baptize those adults, who, in their infancy, have once received baptism. But they deny the validity of infant baptism (on which account they are also termed, sometimes, Antipædo-Baptists), and, therefore, reject the charge of anabaptism, and consider the word itself reproachful. By the older writers they are occasionally designated cata-baptists; an epithet of nearly similar import. They themselves adopt the name of Baptists.

They differ from other Christian Churches upon two points:—first, as to the mode in which baptism ought to be administered; and secondly, as to the persons who are qualified for the reception of the rite. Of these, however, the second is by far the more important question.

The Baptists, in general, though not universally, maintain that baptism requires the immersion or plunging of the whole body, and that mere sprinkling or the effusion of water is not baptism. The question of immersion depends, to a great extent, upon the meaning of the verbs *βάπτω* and *βαπτίζω*, which the translators of our English Bible, in order, perhaps, to avoid the difficulty, naturalize, rather than translate, into the word baptize. That these words often signify plunging or submersion is not questioned, the difficulty is to ascertain whether, in the New Testament, they are used exclusively in this sense. The Baptists answer in the affirmative; they maintain that the Greek word, of which baptism is but the English form, signifies immersion, and that, consequently, the command to baptize can only be fulfilled in this manner. In the critical discussion of the subject, some of their body argue that immersion is not at all a mode of baptism, but rather baptism itself; on the same ground that to represent immersion as a mode of immersion would be a palpable absurdity. In defence of these opinions they argue from philology and criticism, from what they affirm to have been the

uniform practice of the primitive Church, from that of the Greek and Armenian Churches of the present day, from the admissions of bishops Burnet, Jeremy Taylor, and Tillotson, besides Whitby, Doddridge, and others, of modern times; and lastly, from the rubric of the Church of England herself, which requires, in the baptism of adults, that the minister shall "take the person to be baptized by the right hand, and shall dip him in the water or pour water upon him;" and, in the baptism of infants, the minister is required "to dip the child into the water discreetly and warily;" only, if the parents certify that the child is weak, it shall suffice "to pour water upon it." Baptism, as now generally practised by merely sprinkling, can scarcely be regarded as a compliance with this rubric. A parent may always demand that his child shall be baptized by immersion, and few clergymen, we suppose, would feel indisposed to comply with his request.

With regard to the subjects for baptism, the question is more difficult and more important. Christendom, in general, maintains that it is the duty of Christian parents to dedicate their children to God, by baptism, in infancy. The Baptists, on the contrary, assert the positive unlawfulness of infant baptism. Believers only, they say, are the proper subjects for this rite. The profession of faith cannot be received from a proxy, it cannot be made by those who are unconscious of what is done on their behalf. The person who comes to be baptized, must, first of all, give satisfactory evidence of repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ. And, on these grounds, they deny the validity of infant baptism, whether by sprinkling or submersion. These two questions have long been the subjects of a vast controversy. On the side of the Baptist it may be sufficient to direct the general student to the writings of Andrew Fuller and Robert Hall. On the other side, Dr. Wall's Defence of infant baptism, though written more than a hundred years ago, has left nothing to be said; and, in fact, no work of importance has since been attempted on a subject which he is allowed to have treated with such consummate learning and ability.

At the period of the Reformation, there was no Church in existence which rejected the baptism of infants, or retained any tradition of its unlawfulness. The Anabaptists say that their opinions were entertained by the Lollards in England, and by

the Waldenses of Switzerland, before the Reformation. They first appear in history, however, in Germany, about the year 1520. Their leaders Münster, Storch, Stubner, and others, were violent and fanatical men, who mingled the wildest enthusiasm with their notions concerning baptism. But it is to be carefully observed that, from their very origin, the anabaptists were subdivided into various sects, which differed from each other as widely as any of their own body differed from the rest of the Reformed Church. Some were sober and orthodox; others Arians or Socinians; others, again, held the wildest notions upon the millennium. Münster himself was of the latter class: under the delusion that Christ was about to assume the government of the world, he declared war against all laws, governments, and magistrates; and madly attempted to propagate these fanatical doctrines by force of arms. In 1525, he assembled the peasants of Swabia, Saxony, and the neighbouring kingdoms, and headed their crusade, sword in hand. They were soon routed and dispersed; and Münster was executed with much needless cruelty. But the death of their leader served only to increase the exasperation of the party; they were bitterly persecuted, but this increased their numbers: they collected congregations through the whole of Germany, Switzerland, and Holland. The more violent foretold, in the spirit of prophecy, the approaching abolition of laws and magistrates: some of them were guilty of the most flagitious crimes. The moderate were satisfied with maintaining that the Church of Christ was exempt from all sin, that all things ought to be in common among the faithful; that all usury, tithes, and tribute, ought to be abolished; that the baptism of infants was an invention of the devil; that every Christian was invested with a power of preaching the Gospel; and, consequently, that the Church stood in no need of ministers or pastors; that in the kingdom of Christ civil magistrates were absolutely useless; and that God still continued to reveal his will by dreams and visions.

In the sixteenth century it was universally held, throughout Christendom, that errors in religion were to be punished as crimes against the state. The Anabaptists were the first of Protestant sects to feel that even the reformed Churches could rival the intolerance of Rome. In Saxony penal laws were enacted against them in 1525; at Zurich, in the same year, capital

punishment was decreed against them; in 1527 and 1529 Charles V. issued similar edicts in Germany. Vast numbers perished in the flames or on the scaffold; the innocent and the guilty were involved in the same fate, and amongst the victims there were not a few whose only crime was, that, with the most upright intentions, they had embraced an erroneous tenet. Persecution, which always makes fanaticism desperate, soon produced its legitimate results. In 1533 the city of Munster was the scene of strange disorder. John Bockhold, otherwise John of Leyden, was the ringleader of a handful of madmen who persuaded themselves that Munster was to be the seat of the new Jerusalem, from whence their spiritual dominion was to extend over the world. They made themselves masters of the city, deposed the magistrates, and committed enormous crimes. Bockhold was proclaimed king of the new hierarchy: his conduct seems, if fairly represented, to show that enthusiasm had been succeeded in him by sheer insanity. He ran naked in the streets, married a number of wives at the same time, and styled himself king of Sion. He formed the design of burning the city of Leyden to ashes, and asserted his right, by a divine donation, to the cities of Amsterdam, Wesel, and Deventer. It was not till three years after, in 1536, that Munster was retaken after a tedious siege; John of Leyden was put to an excruciating death, and the Anabaptist government and hierarchy was of course destroyed. Similar scenes, however, took place in Amsterdam (where the city narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the Anabaptists by a surprise), in Friesland, Groningen, and other provinces of the Netherlands.

But between these excesses and the doctrines of the Anabaptists, properly so termed, there does not seem to be the slightest connexion. The fanaticism of the early Anabaptists is sufficiently explained by the obvious tendency which exists in human nature to rush into extremes. The iron hold of the papacy, which had cramped the Church for ages, being suddenly relaxed, men had yet to learn what were the true conditions whether of civil or religious liberty. But these considerations were overlooked, and the reformed Churches, with one consent, regarded the Anabaptists with abhorrence and disdain. The correspondence of the reformers, lately published, is full of allusions to the subject. They are seldom spoken of but with the severest reprobation, and

no distinction is drawn between the sober Christians and the worst fanatics of the party. It is probable, at least, that their faults have been exaggerated even by the best writers. A modern writer on their own side asserts, that "it has been proved by irrefragable evidence from state papers, public confessions of faith, and authentic books, that the Spanheims, Heidegger, Hoffman, and others, have given a fabulous account of the German Baptists; and that the younger Spanheim had taxed them with holding thirteen heresies, of which not a single society of them believed one word; yet later writers quote these historians as devoutly as if all they affirmed were allowed to be true."—ROBINSON'S *History of the Baptists*..

The modern continental Anabaptists, repudiating the follies of Münzer, regard Menno as the Luther of their church. Like most of the reformers, he had been a Romish priest, but in 1536 he renounced his office and publicly joined the Anabaptists. He was a man of considerable ability, had a natural and persuasive eloquence, and, as even his opponents grant, a meek and tractable spirit, of gentle manners, and of great probity. Under such a leader, the cause of the Anabaptists revived: he spent five-and-twenty years of an active life in travelling about, like Wesley, in later times, to diffuse his principles. From Holland, where his labours began, he extended the circuit of his mission, through Germany, to the shores of the Baltic Sea, and the confines of Russia; encountering frequent persecution, and suffering the greatest hardships; but at the same time spreading his tenets with wonderful success. Except on the great question of infant baptism, his doctrines were those of the Reformation; he preached against the licentious tenets of the Münzer Anabaptists, and openly censured their fanaticism. He is said, however, to have held the unlawfulness of oaths, and of war, and the doctrine of Christ's personal reign on earth for a thousand years; and to have depreciated human learning and science. Some foolish subtleties with regard to the immaculate conception were also charged upon his memory, and were certainly maintained by his followers.

The German Anabaptists first appeared in England early in the reign of Elizabeth. They were regarded with abhorrence, and treated with the utmost severity. In 1575 eleven of them, all Germans, were condemned to be burnt: nine of these were

banished, but the dreadful sentence was inflicted on the other two in Smithfield. Foxe, the martyrologist, wrote to the queen, imploring her to have pity on the misguided men, and not to stain the Reformation with blood; but his intercessions failed. In addition to their peculiarities respecting baptism, they taught the community of goods, the unlawfulness of oaths, and of civil government. No doubt it was this last dogma which enraged the queen. They seem to have held it as a consequence of the position, that Christian men are equal—a Christian state being a family or brotherhood of love—and not by any means to have meant it as a political maxim leading to practical results. The tenet, no doubt, is false and mischievous, but the cruelty of the sentence was horrible. During the reigns of Elizabeth, James, and Charles, the Anabaptists in England were a proscribed race; never mentioned either by Prelatists or Puritans but in the language of severe reproach, and classed amongst the “Sectaries,” to whom the two great parties were equally opposed. Yet they slowly spread themselves, and in 1640, they had seven congregations in London, and about forty more in the country. It is remarkable that up to this period they do not appear to have received any accessions from the higher classes, or amongst educated men. In 1644, Mr. Jessey, rector of St. George’s, Southwark, became a convert, and submitted himself to baptism by immersion. Neal, the historian of the Puritans, speaks of him as the father of the English Baptists, and states that he was the pastor of their first congregation; but this is questioned by their own writers. At the Westminster Assembly, convened by the Long Parliament in 1643, with the avowed intention of remodelling the Church of England and establishing the reformed religion upon a new basis, the Anabaptists had no place assigned them; but their tenets were condemned without a hearing. During the few years immediately subsequent, while the Presbyterian party was in power, the Anabaptists were severely harassed. Calamy, in his *Lives of the Non-Conformists*, mentions an instance in which the dead body of a Baptist minister was carried to its resting-place in a cask of sugar, as Christian burial would not have been allowed by the dominant powers! Indeed, until the Revolution of 1688 the history of the English Baptists is altogether discreditable to their countrymen. Perhaps, however, the same remark would apply to the annals of every

sect and party, except that which chanced to be in power, whether it were a political or a religious one. The asperity of their manners, and the violence with which they treated their opponents, led them to be regarded as a kind of religious outlaws. The celebrated Richard Baxter, who was their unceasing foe, blames them severely for "pride and factiousness;" but still he admits that there were to be found amongst them some exemplary men of sincere piety.

Since the Act of Toleration the Baptists, no longer oppressed, have become an important body. And they now form one of the three great denominations within which the old English nonconformity is comprehended. The Baptists are divided into two great classes, who are called General and Particular Baptists. The distinction has reference to their theological principles, and originated thus. Soon after the Revolution, the principles of the English nonconformists became unsettled on the doctrine of the Trinity, as well as upon the whole Calvinistic system, which had been rigidly embraced by the old Anabaptists. The consequence was a secession of the General or Arminian Baptists from the Particular or Calvinistic Baptists; the former holding, that men in general are the objects of divine mercy, and, at the same time, rejecting, to a great extent, the atonement, together with the deity of Christ; the latter holding particular election and the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity. The schism on both sides produced disastrous consequences. Many of the General Baptists soon verged towards infidelity; the Particular Baptists pushed their Calvinism to its extreme point; so that the biographer of Robert Hall, Dr. Olinthus Gregory, informs us, that towards the close of the last century few Baptist ministers ever thought of addressing sinners from the pulpit; confining their addresses to the elect. About the year 1770, the orthodox portion of the General Baptists seceded from the old body; in doctrine they are Evangelical Arminians; they now out-number the old, or Unitarian, General Baptists. The census of 1851, gives in England and Wales one hundred and eighty-two congregations of the one, and ninety-three of the other. The General Baptists are described by one of themselves, Robinson, of Cambridge, in these terms: "Having no masters and having no notion of a power lodged anywhere, they parted into innumerable societies of different faith and practice. Some are Socinians, others Arians; some

Trinitarians, others Arminians; others Calvinists; others place religion more in virtue than in faith." This was written sixty years ago. The Particular Baptists of the present day are scarcely entitled to be so called in the sense originally designed, since they hold no distinguishing doctrines upon these points, except those which are common to Calvinistic churches. Robert Hall, the writer with whose works the public are most familiar, for instance, can scarcely be classed with systematic Calvinists. He is rather an Evangelical Arminian; or at least the shades of difference are almost imperceptible. In their mode of worship they tenaciously adhere to the simplicity of the ancient Anabaptists, till within the last few years neither permitting liturgies, nor gowns, nor instrumental music. Organs have lately been introduced into some of their chapels, and architectural decoration is no longer discouraged. The Church polity of the English Baptists is strictly congregational or independent. Each congregation regards itself as a complete Church. "Nothing," says Dr. Cox, "that professes the character of ecclesiastical authority, as councils, or synods, is admitted amongst us." "All Baptists," says Robinson, "reject canon law, and place councils, synods, convocations, kirk sessions, and all such tribunals, along with a history of the inquisition." A Baptist union was formed in England in 1812; it now consists of upwards of a thousand churches, in nominal connexion with each other; but the union is voluntary; the members of it associate upon equal terms for conference and mutual aid, and, except by its own voluntary act, no congregation loses its right of independent action. (See INDEPENDENT.) The Baptists are not a very large community. The Particular Baptists, by far the larger body, have about two thousand chapels in England and Wales. But, with the exception of a few large congregations in our great towns, they are distinguished rather for respectability and zeal than numbers. From the late census, it appears that the accommodation provided in their places of worship is sufficient for five hundred and eighty-three thousand souls. Their chapels are most numerous in the southern counties; but the congregations are small; consisting, for the most part, of the labouring poor, and amongst them, something of that antinomianism lingers which is said to have marked the early Anabaptists. It is in America that the cause of the anti-pædo Baptists has won its triumphs. Why a

system which has not wanted advocates of a high order of genius, piety, and zeal, should have accomplished so little at home, while it has done so much abroad, among the same Anglo-Saxon race, is a subject which seems to invite consideration, and one, we believe, of which no sufficient explanation has been hitherto given.

The general literature of this denomination, says an eminent Baptist, Dr. F. A. Cox, "must be regarded as on the whole somewhat inferior. The reason of this may be traced to the unhappy fact, that learning has been generally undervalued. High Calvinistic sentiments have been so predominant, that classical attainments have been viewed as repugnant to spiritual religion, and the ministry itself supposed to be deteriorated rather than benefited by the alliance." But if their early history was clouded by fanaticism and disgraced by ignorance, they have made noble amends during the present century. The English pulpit has produced no preacher superior to Hall; and no moral or politico-religious essayist has left a greater impression on the age than Forster. Robert Hall, himself the son of a Baptist minister, and little indebted to the advantages of early training, good models, or the still more specious aids of manner, voice, and figure, placed the art of preaching on a height, in England at least, unknown. Wanting something of their excursive fancy and brilliant imagination, he had all the grace and purity, the pathos and the force, of the most accomplished foreign preachers of a previous age. Every sentence was exquisitely polished, or if not, the chasteness and simplicity of his manner hid the defect from the keenest critic. The hearers seemed to listen, half entranced, to a swelling tide of the noblest thoughts, uttered in the sweetest strains and the most appropriate language. When he preached at Cambridge the wisest and most learned men crowded the little Baptist chapel, while, at the same time, the poor and illiterate heard him with instruction and delight. As an author, though less celebrated, he will always stand amongst writers of a high, though not perhaps of the highest, class. His treatise "On the Work of the Spirit," and his sermon "On Modern Infidelity," will surely never cease to be read. Nor are his controversial writings less worthy of attention. The tenacity of the Baptists for immersion and adult baptism, induces many of their churches to exclude, even from occasional communion with them in the

Lord's Supper, those whose piety they admit, but who want these qualifications. Others exhibit a more catholic spirit and decline to impose these tests. Thus the Particular Baptists are again divided into the advocates of free and open communion. Hall wrote several treatises against Fuller, Booth, and Kinghorn, in defence of free communion. Apart from the question itself, they are of great value as specimens of cogent reasoning, clothed in graceful words ; and to them we must refer the reader who may be desirous to pursue the subject. Forster, as an essayist, seems deficient in those graces which, in general, are necessary to secure the attention of the public. He appears to have written, what the reader at first peruses with great difficulty. The style has to be learned before we can follow the author. At length, however, we begin to confess his power, and feel the magic of his thoughts. Few readers of his essays perhaps begin to study the volume without being conscious of an effort ; still fewer have laid it down unfinished, or finally closed it, without regret. Of living writers we do not speak, nor of the periodical literature of the Baptists, though both claim respect. Their missions have long held a distinguished place amongst those benevolent institutions. The Serampore mission, conducted for many years by Carey and Marshman, is renowned for its contributions to oriental literature. In 1842 the Baptist Missionary Society had translated the Scriptures, wholly or in part, into forty-four languages or dialects of India ; and printed, of the Scriptures alone in foreign languages, nearly half a million.

The tenets of the Baptists were introduced into America by Roger Williams, the founder of the state of Rhode Island. He was one of the first Puritan settlers of Massachusetts, from whence he was expelled by the Presbyterians on account of his obnoxious principles. He founded the first Baptist Church at Providence in 1639. It was long before his followers made much progress beyond Rhode Island. In the other colonies they were a proscribed people ; there, as at home, the discipline of persecution fell heavily upon them. In Massachusetts they were whipped, fined, and imprisoned. In Virginia their ministers often preached through the grated windows of the gaol. When freedom of conscience was allowed they made but few converts for a century. At the commencement of the revolutionary war in 1770 they had but eighteen Churches. From this period their progress has been

one of marvellous success. In 1812 they had, in the United States, two thousand Churches; in 1832 upwards of five thousand; in 1840 seven thousand seven hundred and sixty-six. Above three millions of souls, or about a sixth of the whole population, were in connexion with the regular Baptists. In 1847 they had established missions in every quarter of the globe; besides a home mission, a Bible translation society, several colleges, and other religious institutions. In 1850 the number of congregations was nine thousand three hundred and seventy-five. In the slaveholding States many of the slaves are members of the Church, and not unfrequently the minister himself is a slave-owner.

A general convention of the Baptist Churches meets every three years. It held its first meeting in 1814; but it is restricted by its constitution to matters connected with foreign missions. There are also Baptist conventions in some of the States. That of the State of New Hampshire recently adopted a form of Church government and a declaration of faith. But like the "Unions" in England it possesses no authority, and can only recommend the adoption of its resolutions to its own constituents. The American Baptist form of Church government is purely congregational.

Both in England and America there are several small sects of Baptists, seceders from the larger communities. The chief of these are—

1. The Seventh-day Baptists, who differ from the orthodox Baptists only in observing the seventh and not the first day of the week. In England they have but two chapels; in America about fifty, with a population of nearly 30,000 beneath instruction.

2. The Scotch Baptists, who originated in 1765. Their doctrinal views are those of the Particular Baptists, from whom they differ in a more strict observance of what they consider apostolic usages, such as agapæ, or love-feasts, a plurality of pastors, washing each other's feet, and great plainness of attire. In England they have but fifteen congregations; nor are they numerous in Scotland. In America, a Scotch Baptist communion was formed in 1812, by Mr. Campbell, whose name they sometimes bear; they do not, however, belong to the same body. They profess to reject all creeds and confessions of faith, and hold "that everyone who believes what the evangelists and

apostles have testified concerning Jesus of Nazareth, is a proper subject for immersion." They are stated to number 200,000.

3. The Free-will Baptists, who date their rise from New Hampshire, America, in 1780. They appear to differ from the evangelical section of the General Baptists in England only upon certain points of Church government. Like that of all the Baptists, their government is vested primarily in each congregation. These send delegates to quarterly meetings, these to yearly meetings, and these, again, to a general conference. Their ministers are elders and deacons; the former being ordained jointly by the Church to which they belong and the quarterly meeting acting by its council. There is an annual conference, which assists the general one, and these regulate the affairs of the ministry. Thus, their ecclesiastical polity is peculiar, resembling that of Wesley more nearly than Congregationalism.

The following account of a religious service, attended and conducted entirely by negroes, will be read with interest. It is extracted from Sir Charles Lyell's "Second Visit to the United States," 1849:—"I attended afternoon service in a Baptist church at Savannah, in which I found that I was the only white man, the congregation consisting of about six hundred negroes, of various shades, most of them very dark. As soon as I entered I was shown to a seat reserved for strangers, near the preacher. First the congregation all joined, both men and women, very harmoniously, in a hymn, most of them having evidently good ears for music, and good voices. The singing was followed by prayers, not read, but delivered without notes, by an African of pure blood,—a grey-headed, venerable looking man, with a fine sonorous voice. He, as I learnt afterwards, has the reputation of being one of their best preachers; and he concluded with a sermon, almost without notes, in good style, and for the most part in good English, so much so as to make me doubt whether a few ungrammatical phrases in the negro idiom, might not have been purposely introduced for the sake of bringing the subject home to their familiar thoughts.

"Nothing in my whole travels gave me a higher idea of the capabilities of the negroes and the actual progress which they have made, even in a part of a slave State where they outnumber the whites, than this Baptist meeting. To see a body, of African

origin, who had joined one of the denominations of Christians, and built a church for themselves, who had elected a pastor of their own race, and secured him an annual salary, from whom they were listening to a good sermon, scarcely, if at all, below the average standard of the composition of white ministers,—to hear the whole service respectably, and the singing admirably, performed, surely marks an astonishing step in civilization.”

From the seventh census of the United States, it appears that in 1850 there were in the Union 8,791 churches; affording accommodation for 3,130,000; and possessing Church property to the amount of about 11,000,000 dollars.

BEHMENITES.—These were a religious sect that flourished in the seventeenth century; their founder was Jacob Behmen, or Böhm, of Görlitz, in Germany. Except his own followers, theologians of every class have, till very lately, agreed to speak with great contempt of Behmen and his doctrines. He was a mystic, and his writings are obscure, and often to a cursory reader, perfectly unintelligible; but there is at present, amongst metaphysical writers of the highest class, a disposition to treat Behmen with more respect. The author of the very able article on Metaphysics, in the “*Encyclopædia Metropolitana*,” even assigns him a place beside Descartes, as one of the great precursors of the modern system of philosophy, and attributes his obscurity to Behmen’s want of acquaintance with the language of philosophy rather than to any confusion of thought, or the incoherence that arises from an imperfect apprehension in the writer’s mind of that which he undertakes to explain to others. We are disposed to take this view of the subject, only we would add, that it seems to us that Behmen, no less than the illustrious Descartes, mistook, to a great extent, the nature of true philosophy, both with regard to its *methods* and its *objects*. It is not denied that he was a man of piety, integrity, and virtue; or that amongst his followers were numbered some wise and eminent men, of his own countrymen, whose conduct was blameless; but others are said to have acted like delirious fanatics; and two of these were burnt at Moscow, in 1684, for their heresy.

Behmen was termed by his admirers the German Theosophist. He speculated much on the Divine nature, and upon the method

in which spirits commune with one another, and God with man. His followers became mystical, and were, in the true sense of the term, enthusiasts. They described their inward feelings in unintelligible terms, and professed to hold sensible communion with invisible spirits; but, beyond this, we do not learn that their doctrines were immoral. Their opponents blame their understandings rather than their lives. Mosheim writes thus:—"Never did there reign such obscurity and confusion in the writings of any mortal as in the miserable productions of Jacob Behmen, which exhibit a motley mixture of chemical terms, crude visions, and mystic jargon. Among other dreams of a disturbed and eccentric fancy, he entertained the following chimerical notion, 'That the Divine Grace operates by the same rules, and follows the same methods, which the Divine Providence observes in the natural world; and that the minds of men are purged from their vices and corruptions in the same way that metals are purified from their dross;' and this maxim was the principle of his fire theology." The truth is, that he traces out a parallelism between the visible and the spiritual world; and illustrates God's doings in the latter from his known conduct in the former.

During the Commonwealth in England, the Behmenites appeared in great numbers, much to the annoyance of the Puritan clergy. Richard Baxter describes them, in his *Autobiography*, as men of greater meekness and more self-control than any of the other sectaries. Their doctrine, he says, is to be seen "in Jacob Behmen's books, by him that hath nothing else to do than to bestow a great deal of time to understand him that was not willing to be easily understood, and to know that his bombastic words do signify nothing more than before was easily known by common familiar terms." Some of the party were, however, men of education; a Doctor Pordage and his family are mentioned by Baxter as pretending to hold visible and sensible communion with angels; whom they professed sometimes to see, and sometimes to discover by the sense of smell. He believed that his house was also molested by evil spirits, one of which assumed the shape of a fiery dragon. He was formally accused before the "Committee for the trial of Scandalous Ministers" for these and similar absurdities; he also denied the doctrine of Christ's imputed righteousness, dissuaded from marriage, and

taught and practised a community of goods. The Behmenites of that day professed to be waiting for the descent of the Holy Spirit upon them, in order to go forth as missionaries to reconcile and heal all Christian Churches. They believed that the highest spiritual state consisted in communion with angels, or rather, perhaps, was rewarded with such visions. They were not fond of disputation, for they held that spiritual things were known by a higher light than reason, by intuition, or the extraordinary irradiation of the mind.

Behmenism may be considered as extinct. It disappeared as religion and philosophy were better understood; the former content to base all she knew upon the written Scriptures, the latter satisfied to proceed no longer upon theory, but by the safer and simpler processes of induction. Yet Sir Isaac Newton is said to have been a reader of the works of Behmen. Amongst his papers autograph extracts from Behmen's works are said to have been found; and he is even conjectured to have derived some important principles from his acquaintance with the German mystic. His works were translated into English, not, however, for the first time, by the celebrated William Law, of Oxford, in 1764. Law himself has been placed at the head of the English school of mystical divines: his style, however, of writing is pure and lucid, and it is the more singular that he should have taken pleasure in deciphering the works of Behmen. Baron Swedenborg appears to have adopted many of his mystical notions, and they still exist among those communities of which he was the founder—the Swedenborgian, or New Jerusalem, churches of our own times. It was no part of Behmen's intention to be the founder of a sect, but rather to instruct sincere Christians in what he conceived to be the mysteries of the true faith; and he himself lived and died a member of the Lutheran Church. His death occurred in 1624.

BRETHREN; generally termed PLYMOUTH BRETHREN, from having first appeared, about the year 1830, in the town of Plymouth. By the census of 1850 it appears that they returned 132 places of worship in England and Wales; of these, many are rooms in private houses; and the influence which the Plymouth Brethren undoubtedly possess upon English Chris-

tianity is to be ascribed rather to their position in society, their zeal and earnestness, than to their numbers. Still, their principles are adopted by a considerable body of our countrymen in India and the colonies, and we believe they have made some progress in America.

There is some difficulty in laying before the reader in a simple form the principles of this body. It puts forth no standards of faith, nor publishes any forms of worship or discipline. It professes to practise Christianity as Christianity was taught by our Lord and the apostles in the New Testament. It regards all Churches as either corrupt in practice, or partial and exclusive. The tracts, which are issued in great numbers by the "Brethren," are either of a practical nature, or they consist, mainly, of attacks upon the constitution and Church government of other bodies; and we are, in a great measure, left to infer their own principles by remarking those points which they condemn in all existing Churches. This results, in some degree, from the necessity of the case. Professing neither to teach nor practise anything but the religion of the Gospel in its primitive simplicity and purity, their aim is, naturally, to show that other Christians are more or less in error, trusting chiefly for the defence of their own peculiarities to the letter of the New Testament. "The main peculiarity," they say, "which marks the position of those called 'Brethren,' is, that they desire to stand together in heart and in action upon God's ground for the union of His people; and, consequently, in separation from all that, to their consciences, takes away this ground." ("The Brethren," by J. K.)

The Brethren equally object to the national Church and to all forms of dissent. Of national Churches, one and all of them, they say, "that the opening of the door to receive into the most solemn acts of worship and Christian fellowship the whole population of a country, is a latitudinarian error." Dissenters, on the other hand, "are sectarians, because they close the door on real Christians who cannot utter the Shibboleth of the party." In a word, the characteristic evil of the latter is, "that they do not treat as Christians many who are known to be such, whereas, the equally characteristic evil of the former is, that they do treat as Christians many who are known not to be such at all." The one system, they affirm, makes the Church wider, the other

narrower than God's limits; thus, in either way, the proper scriptural idea of the Church is practically destroyed: dissent virtually affirming that it is not one body, but many, while nationalism virtually denies that this one body is the body of Christ.

That which constitutes a Church is the presence of the Holy Spirit. "It is the owning of the Holy Ghost as Christ's vicar—the really present, sole, and sufficient sovereign in the Church during our Lord's absence—which is the leading feature in the testimony of 'Brethren.'" From this position they draw two inferences: first, that it is not by baptism, whether infant or adult, nor by the reception of any creed, but by the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, that any man becomes a member of the Christian Church, and, possessing this, he is a member of the universal Church, not merely of any particular section of it; and he is entitled to all the privileges of communion with the Church Catholic throughout the world. Beyond this, all tests are sectarian, and ruinous to the Churches which impose them, though the Brethren do not deny that inasmuch as they contain amongst them those who are led by the Spirit of God, they may, in a certain sense, be Churches still. Secondly, that "the government of the Church is, if one may be permitted the phrase, the monarchy of the Holy Ghost." He abides within his Church and governs it. All ecclesiastical appointments are made by Him. It is no humanly-divided caste, the Brethren contend, whom He employs to be the narrow and exclusive channel of His blessings, or else he would vacate His own sovereignty. "It is not, therefore, the pleasure of a preacher, nor of a synod of preachers, nor of a congregation, nor of a sect, nor of the Church itself, much less of any worldly power which ordains a minister. It is the Spirit of God, dividing to every man severally as He will."

These propositions contain the basis upon which the Brethren act. Scripture, they say, never prescribes a human commission as necessary for the Christian minister. Doctrine, not ordination, is the divine test of rejecting or receiving those who profess to be ministers of Christ; and every Christian man who can do so, is not only at liberty, but is bound to preach the Gospel. The parable of the talents, in Matthew xxv., teaches the danger of waiting for other warrant than the possession of the necessary gift; "and to doubt the grace of the master, or to fear because

one has not the authentication of those who presumptuously claim, and trifle with, this right, is to bury his talent in the earth, and to act the part of the wicked and slothful servant." For the Lord of the harvest alone has the title to send forth labourers. In a word, say they, the question is not whether all Christians are qualified of God to preach the Gospel, but whether those who are so qualified may not preach without waiting for any human authoritative call; and Scripture, as they affirm, decides that they may. Thus, too, they argue as to the ground of Church membership. The distinction of people and clergy they hold to be essentially a Jewish element, which afterwards crept into and undermined the Church. The Christian people are the clergy. "The gifts of the Spirit are for the whole body of Christ, not one of them for a particular section, but all open to the whole Church, and the whole Church open to all." It is not easy to reconcile some of these propositions with the historical facts of the New Testament; particularly with the ordaining of elders in every city mentioned by St. Paul to Titus. And it is curious and instructive to remark how closely extreme opinions approximate. The Brethren escape the difficulty by throwing themselves upon this dilemma:—"If any one could give satisfactory proof that he was an apostolic delegate, his appointments of elders ought to be respected; if such proof be wanting they ought to be disowned. Apostolic succession seems the only consistent plea in its pretensions as to this." ("The Brethren," by W. K.) So that the validity of orders in the Christian Church hangs on the question of the apostolic succession after all, by the admission of the Brethren.

These principles have exposed the Plymouth Brethren to frequent censure. The present bishop of Calcutta has made their opinions the subject of refutation in one of his charges. Dr. Octavius Winslow, in a recent publication, "The Silver Trumpet," has the following remarks:—"It will not suffice to meet the designs of Christ in the formation of Christian Churches that there are 'gatherings' of the saints in small parties, in obscure places, and in irresponsible forms—without a pastor—without an overseer—without officers—without gospel order—without holy discipline—without a proper, authorised, and constant oversight. Such collections of believers, as substitutes for distinct gospel Churches, however spiritual and edifying the

object of their meeting together may be supposed, are contrary to the Scriptures of truth, are opposed to the New-Testament order of Christian Churches, and tend to throw contempt upon the word of God, to shade the light, and impair the holy influence of Christians."

To these charges they, of course, object; and the whole question once more resolves itself into this simple form—What is the constitution of a Christian Church? We have only to add that the doctrines held by the Plymouth Brethren agree in all essentials with the Church of England and other Churches of the Reformation. Their worship is conducted in the simplest manner. Circumstances apart, any brother is competent to baptize or to "break bread;" that is, administer the Lord's Supper. They deny, however, that all Christians are ministers of the word, or that they undervalue a Christian ministry. W. K., in answer to Dr. Winslow, says, "So far from supposing there is no such thing as ministry, Brethren hold, and have always held, from Eph. iv. 12, 13, that Christ cannot fail to maintain and perpetuate a ministry as long as his body is here below. Their printed books and tracts, their teachings in private and in public, affirm this as a certain, settled truth; insomuch that it is as absurd to charge them with denying the permanent and Divine place of ministry in the Church on earth, as it would be to charge Charles the First with denying the Divine right of kings. Wherever it has pleased God to raise up pastors after his own heart, they gladly, thankfully own his grace, and esteem them very highly in love for their works' sake." We infer, that a minister is received as such when the brethren are satisfied of his fitness for the office; but that he then obtains no other distinction or authority than that of a teacher or exhorter. Not claiming to be a Church, and, indeed, rejecting the imputation, as they do with considerable warmth, they have no ecclesiastical officers. They live in primitive simplicity; and reject as unbecoming the luxuries of dress and furniture. It has been recently said that they neither pray for the pardon of sin, nor for the presence and influence of the Spirit, and carefully exclude such petitions from their hymns; but this statement, which we transcribe from a recent account of "Christian Sects in the Nineteenth Century," is extremely unjust. It is only true so far as this: the Brethren, regarding themselves as, in theological language, in a state of grace, do not

ask for blessings they have already received, but rather for an increase of the gifts of which they have already partaken. In this sense the charge is equally true of all earnest Christians, and, we may add, of all Christian Churches. The Plymouth Brethren in general accept that interpretation of prophecy which teaches us to look for the personal coming of our Lord, and his reign upon earth during the millennium. But these opinions are not peculiar to them, nor are they a test of fellowship.

BRETHREN OF THE FREE SPIRIT; also called Beghards and Beguins. All that we know of this sect has come down to us through the representations of their enemies, the ecclesiastical writers of the Romish Church, and ought, therefore, to be received with caution. They appeared at the first dawn of the Reformation, early in the thirteenth century, in France and Germany, and were probably connected with the Albigenses. Roman Catholic historians describe them as the worst of heretics; and Protestants, without sufficient consideration, have confirmed the charge. Mosheim in particular (from whom, until very lately, almost all our acquaintance with the ecclesiastical history of the middle ages has been sought, for almost a century) speaks of them with abhorrence; and yet he is obliged to confess that there were among them men of exemplary piety, distinguished by the gravity and austerity of their lives and manners, who suffered death, in the most dreadful forms, with the utmost resolution and constancy. It is certain that they resisted the pope's authority, and denied the peculiar doctrines of the Church of Rome. They were severely handled by the Inquisition; and their examinations, as taken down and published by the inquisitors, are not to be regarded as a fair exposition of their tenets. Three heavy charges are brought against them: mysticism, antinomianism, and sensuality. We are disposed to think that of these indictments the first was true, the second questionable, and the third undoubtedly false. Their mystical doctrines were, in fact, little more than a revival of those ancient heresies, or rather follies, of the early Church, when men attempted to engraft Platonism upon Christianity. They are said to have held that all things flowed by emanation from God, and were finally to return to their Divine source; that rational souls were so many

portions of the Supreme Deity, and that the universe, considered as one great whole, was God ; that every man, by the power of contemplation, and by calling off his mind from sensible and terrestrial objects, might be united to the Deity in an inexplicable manner, and become one with the Source and Parent of all things ; and that they who, by long and assiduous meditation, had plunged themselves, as it were, into the abyss of the Divinity, acquired a glorious and sublime liberty, and were delivered, not only from the violence of sinful lusts, but even from the common instincts of nature. Similar notions have been entertained in almost every age by men who have suddenly woke up to a consciousness of the reality and importance of spiritual things, and aimed at high attainments in religion, while they disclaimed or overlooked the *practical* instructions of the New Testament. It was, in fact, a revival of the ancient Gnosticism : " Man," said they, " is only a passive instrument in the hands of the Divinity. Science comes solely from this source ; and reason should detach itself, not only from the influence of the senses, but even from itself. The ascetic, or he who elevates himself to God, alone possesses true knowledge. All is then pure ecstasy." Some of the fathers wrote in the same strain ; and it is curious to observe the reappearance of this mysticism amongst illiterate Germans in the dark ages. Like all mystical writers, they were often, and sometimes no doubt wilfully, misunderstood ; and the worst construction was put upon each ambiguous proposition. Amalric, professor of logic and theology at Paris (whose bones were dug up and burnt in 1209), is considered as one of the founders of the sect. He is charged with having taught that the universe was God ; and that not only the forms or essences of all things, but their material substances, proceed from the Deity, and are again absorbed into the Source from whence they came. He was charged with reviving the heresy of Alexander the Epicurean ; but it has been suggested by the Abbé Henry and others, that the errors of Amalric were of a very different kind, such, indeed, as are altogether inconsistent with these opinions. He taught, says the abbé, " that every Christian was obliged to believe himself a member of Jesus Christ ; and that without this belief none could be saved." The learned Spanheim imagines that various absurd opinions were falsely imputed to him in order to render his memory odious, because he had opposed the worship

of saints and images. David of Dinant, another Parisian professor, expressed, it is said, the fundamental proposition of his master, Amalric, in these terms: "God is the primary matter or substance of all things;" for which he was charged with heresy, and fled from France in order to escape the death of a heretic. The bishops assembled in council at Paris, and condemned the works of Aristotle, which they regarded as the source of these impious tenets—tenets which would probably have been considered harmless had they not been associated, in those who held them, with views of Christian doctrine, on certain other points, at variance with those of Rome.

The charge of antinomianism must be proved, if at all, by attending to the *sense* of their, often extravagant, assertions, rather than the *sound*. Their doctrines were set forth in a treatise *De novem Rupibus*; the nine Rocks, signifying the different steps or gradations by which man ascends to God. A great part of it seems to have been purely unintelligible. Its statements with respect to morals were such as these:—"If it be the will of God that I should commit sin, my will must be the same, and I must not even desire to abstain from sin. This is true contrition. And although a man, who is united to God, may have committed a thousand mortal sins, he ought not to wish that he had not committed them: he should even be ready to die a thousand deaths rather than omit any one of these mortal sins." Perhaps the meaning of this bombast was nothing more than that man's will ought, in everything, to resolve itself into the will of God. The notion that, God being the author of sin, it became no longer sin, has, however, found its advocates, in later times, even within the Church of England, and is antinomianism of the worst kind. The inquisition proceeded against the Brethren of the Free Spirit upon these grounds, and charged them with teaching "that the sin of man is not sin if he be a child of God, because God works in him, and with him, whatever he does." (Mosheim, note, p. 255, vol. iii.) It seems probable, on the whole, that they misunderstood the meaning of St. Paul—Romans viii. 2-14—and inferred that a Christian was "free from the law," in a sense never contemplated by the apostle.

The morals of the Brethren of the Free Spirit have been bitterly assailed. They are said to have treated with contempt

the ordinances of religion, looking upon fasting, prayer, baptism, and the Lord's Supper, as of use only to those whose piety was in its elementary state, and of no value to the perfect man, whom long meditation had raised above all external things, and carried into the essence of the Deity. Beyond this they are charged with the wildest fanaticism—going from place to place with an air of lunacy and distraction; refusing to labour, as an obstacle to divine contemplation; begging their bread with wild shouts and clamours. They were accompanied by women, called sisters, [hence they were styled in Germany *Schwestriones*,] with whom they are said to have lived in intimate familiarity. They maintained, that by continual contemplation, it was possible to eradicate all the instincts of nature, and regarded modesty as the token of inward corruption. It is said that they held their meetings in a state of nudity, considering as at a fatal distance from the Deity all who felt the carnal suggestions of nature. How far these accusations were true, in any sense, it is perhaps impossible to determine. We receive them at the hands of their enemies, who, having exhausted all the horrors of the inquisition upon them, and extirpated them from the face of the earth, may not uncharitably be supposed to have had some interest in depicting their excesses and errors in dark colours. The early history of the Quakers is disfigured by extravagances very similar to those which are ascribed to the Brethren of the Free Spirit; yet we know that in their case licentiousness was abhorred. The inquisitors acknowledge that the Beghards, though destitute, as they affirm, of shame, were not in general chargeable with a breach of chastity; and they confess with wonder their patience in suffering, and their constancy beneath the most frightful torture, and in the presence of death itself. It is not to be questioned that great numbers of them were men of sincere piety. These held the liberty of the Spirit, upon the whole, in the scriptural sense, as a release from the law as a means of justification before God, not as an exemption from it as a rule of life; but they held themselves exempt from the duties of external worship, and from the laws of the Church; placing the whole of religion in internal devotion. Monastic institutions, then had in profound respect, they treated with contempt. About the middle of the thirteenth century, they persuaded a considerable number of monks in Suabia “to live

without any rule, and to serve God in the liberty of the Spirit, as the most acceptable service that could be offered to God." It seems highly probable to us that the injunction to live without any rule, had reference chiefly, if not entirely, to the monastic vow. The inquisitors placed another interpretation upon it, and condemned the Beghards and their converts to the flames for heresy. They died, by the testimony of their judges, with triumphant feelings of joy and exultation. The sect disappears towards the close of the thirteenth century under dreadful persecution; probably the enthusiasts of the party died off, and the devout members, who escaped the inquisition, joined the Albigenses, and disappeared at length with them.

BRETHREN, UNITAS FRATRUM, or MORAVIANS.—An ancient episcopal Church, which was formed in Bohemia and Moravia about the middle of the fifteenth century, and traces up its origin through the Waldenses to the time of the apostles, without connexion with the Church of Rome. The romantic history of this Church, the touching simplicity of its character, and the extraordinary zeal and wonderful success of its missions amongst the heathen; and, we may add, its cordial recognition in times past by the Church of England as a sister Church, entitle it to something more than a brief mention in these pages.

The Waldenses dated their origin from the age of the apostles (see **ALBIGENSES** and **WALDENSES**), asserting that they derived episcopacy from them, in an uninterrupted succession, through the Paulicians in the East. One of their own body, Reinerius Sacho, apostatized, and rose to the dignity of an inquisitor in the Church of Rome. He became a relentless enemy, but his charges against the Waldenses rest entirely on their schism. He admits the orthodoxy of their creed and the purity of their lives. "Among all sects or religious parties, separated from the Romish Church," says this inquisitor, "there is not one more dangerous than the Leonists or Waldenses, for the following reasons: first, because this sect is older than any other. It existed, according to some, in the days of Pope Sylvester, in the fourth century, and, according to others, even in the days of the apostles. Secondly, because it is widely spread; for there is scarcely a country into which it has not found its way. Thirdly, because

while other sects create disgust by their blasphemous doctrines, *this* has a great appearance of piety, as its members lead a righteous life before men, believe the truths concerning God and divine things, and retain all the articles of the apostolic faith, only hating the Romish Church and clergy." Waldo, from whom the Waldenses are said to have received their modern appellation, driven from Lyons by persecution, took refuge in Bohemia, where he laboured for twenty years with great success, and died in 1179. His followers in Bohemia and Passau are said, in 1315, to have amounted to eighty thousand; and, a few years afterwards, their numbers in Europe were computed at eight hundred thousand. Bohemia and Moravia continued in heathenism as late as the ninth century, when they received the Gospel from Chyrrillus and Methodius, two missionaries of the Eastern Church, or of the Paulicians, about A.D. 860. But the emperor Otho the First having conquered the independence of the nation, and added Bohemia to the western empire, the Roman pontiffs exerted all their influence to alienate the Slavonians from the Greek Church, and subject them to the papal see. A struggle now commenced which continued above a hundred years, when the Bohemian and Moravian confessors still continued firm, protesting against the Church of Rome, and suffering, from time to time, the severest persecution. During another century they still retained their independence, although, according to their own historians, they gradually lost much, both in purity of doctrine and simplicity of worship. The Waldenses now made their first appearance in Bohemia, and soon afterwards was formed an intimate union between the Bohemians and Moravians of the Greek ritual and themselves. Sheltered by their poverty and the remoteness of their home, the united Moravian, Bohemian, and Waldensian Church now enjoyed repose for about two centuries. At length the Reformation dawned, and the court of Rome, irritated by their zeal and offended by their practices, resolved upon the total subjugation of the Bohemian and Moravian Churches. Celibacy was enjoined, the cup forbidden to the laity, and the Latin language introduced in the performance of public worship. Great numbers perished, with the usual cruelties, by the scaffold or the stake. At length, John Huss was burnt at Constance in 1415, and the next year Jerome of Prague shared the same fate. They were the two leaders of the Bohe-

mian party. The Council of Constance followed ; it was dissolved without any attempt at conciliation ; and two years after, the pope, Martin V. published an edict, charging the Hussites with " the most damnable heresies," and invoking all civil powers " by the wounds of Jesus and for their own salvation " to assist in their extirpation. The Bohemians rose in arms under their renowned leader Zisca. A war began which was carried on for thirteen years. The ferocity of the Bohemians was aroused by the cold-blooded cruelties of Rome ; it was a war of extermination on both sides. Zisca died while the war was raging, in 1424, and the want of his strong arm was instantly felt in his own party. The Hussites quarrelled and divided, and formed two parties ; the *Calixtines* (from calix, a cup), consisting of men of rank and learning, would have been content with the restitution of the cup to the laity, the permission to hear and read God's word, and the enforcement of a stricter discipline. The *Taborites* went much further : they contended for the abolition of all popish errors and ceremonies, and for a pure and scriptural Church. Their name was derived from a hill, which had been fortified by Zisca, where they performed divine worship. Tabor, it is said, signifying in the old language of the country a fortified hill. A conference or council was held at Basle in 1431, to which both the Hussite parties were invited. The Calixtines were received back into the Church of Rome, and four articles were agreed upon, called the compact, which, however, were soon afterwards annulled by the pope. It conceded the free preaching of the word of God, but neutralized the concession with a clause which made the sanction of the spiritual authorities, and the pope himself if appealed to, necessary ; it left the property of the Church to the management of the clergy ; and this, said the Calixtines, afterwards, was the only article which was faithfully complied with. The use of the cup was granted to the Bohemians, but upon the express condition that the people should be distinctly taught, that Christ existed entire in each of the elements. The Taborites of course disdained these delusive concessions ; and the policy of the Church of Rome now was to diffuse discord between the two parties, in which it was but too successful. Rokyzan, the head of the Calixtines, and soon afterwards chosen archbishop of Prague by the states of the empire, prevailed upon his party to take up arms against their brethren.

The Taborites were completely defeated, and Procopius their leader fell in battle. They retired to Mount Tabor, where the emperor permitted them to settle, and follow their own religious opinions. Rokyzan himself impressed, it is said, with the truth of the evangelical doctrines of Huss, was soon afterwards convinced of the hollowness of the compact, and irritated against Rome by the pope's refusal to confirm his election, unless he would consent to give up the Bohemian compact altogether, as well as the use of the cup to the laity. He now seemed anxious to promote a further reformation: by his exertions at the diet, in 1450, he prevailed on the different states of Poland to send a deputation to Constantinople and solicit a reunion with the Greek Church; but within three years the Turks had taken Constantinople, and his scheme failed. However, he obtained permission for the Taborites, from the reigning sovereign, to retire to the lordship of Lititz, on the confines of Moravia and Silesia, and there to establish a colony and regulate their own worship and discipline. This first migration was in 1451. In 1453 many citizens of Prague, some of the nobility, and several learned men from Bohemia and Moravia, joined them. Their numbers increased rapidly. There were amongst them several ministers of the Calixtine party, and warm discussions took place as to the doctrines they should profess. At last, in 1457, a conference was held, at which the more pious Calixtines were present, and certain constitutions were agreed upon as the basis of their union. They now assumed the designation of *Fratres legis Christi*, or brethren of the law of Christ; but as this seemed to convey the idea of a new monastic order, they laid it aside and adopted the name which they still retain, *Unitas fratrum*, or the United Brethren.

Three years of peace followed. But the missionary character, by which the Moravians have always been distinguished, immediately displayed itself. They made many converts, and even formed different congregations, in various parts of the country. The Calixtines, now united with the Romish party, resolved on their destruction. They were denounced as incorrigible heretics, accused of sedition, and cited before the Consistory of Prague. The unprincipled Rokyzan, afraid of losing his own dignity in the Church, withdrew his patronage and joined their persecutors; and the reigning sovereign, George Podiebrad, refused them his protection, having solemnly sworn on his accession to extirpate

all heretics. A bitter persecution broke in all its fury on the helpless Brethren. All the prisons in Bohemia, especially in Prague, were crowded with them; they were declared to have forfeited their civil rights; their property was confiscated; and they were driven, in the depth of winter, from their homes in Lititz, and other towns and villages where they had gained a settlement. Many had their hands and feet cut off, others were quartered or burned alive; and many died in prison. These outrages continued with little abatement till the death of the king in 1471. Rokyzan died a few days before him; it is said in despair, and the agonies of remorse.

During this period, the Brethren had employed themselves, not only in comforting each other, but, singular as it may seem, in perfecting the constitution of a Church. They even ventured to hold a synod in a private house; though living, for the most part, in forests and under the shelter of rocks, only kindling their fires at night. They say that seventy persons were present, including several noblemen, scholars, and citizens, besides their clergy, and the poorer peasants. At this synod, which was convened in the village of Lhota, in 1467, two resolutions were adopted which marked the future character of the infant Church. In the first place it was necessary to provide fit men for the ministerial office. After much deliberation, with prayer and fasting, it was determined to choose their future ministers by lot. Their method of proceeding deserves to be recorded, and we shall give it in the words of a Moravian minister. "With the example of the election of the apostle Matthias before them, who was appointed by lot, they conceived they were not acting contrary to Scripture by adopting the same mode; and they reposed implicit confidence in the Lord, who alone hath the disposal of the lot, that in a case of such emergency as the present, which involved such important consequences to their whole Church, he would counsel them according to his will. They first nominated twenty men, from among whom nine were chosen, being in their opinion duly qualified for the office of the ministry. Of this number they determined that three should be appointed by lot for the ministerial office. They prepared twelve slips of paper; on three they wrote *est*, this is the man, and left the others blank; all the twelve slips of paper were then rolled up, put into a small vase and mixed together. After this they repeated

their supplications to the Lord, entreating Him to so overrule their present proceedings that the affirmative lot might be opened by such only of the nine men previously nominated, as He himself designed to appoint to the ministry; or, if none of the present candidates were approved of by *Him*, he would cause each of them to receive a blank or negative lot. On opening the papers it was found that the three inscribed with *est* had been received by Matthias of Kunewalde, Thomas of Preschelauz, and Elias of Kreschenow. The whole assembly now joined in a solemn act of thanksgiving, joyfully receiving these three men as pastors and teachers, and promising them obedience. The ceremony was closed with the administration of the Lord's Supper." (*Holmes's History of the United Brethren*, vol. i. p. 51.) The Church of the Brethren still adhere to the decision by lot. Their most important determinations are taken in this manner, and they are, we believe, the only Church, or religious community, that does so. It is, however, a fundamental principle in their constitution, that the lot ought not to be used in any of the following cases:—1. When the subject is clearly decided in Holy Writ. 2. When the will of God is distinctly marked out by Divine Providence. 3. When the point in question is already determined by a fixed rule in the Church. Its use therefore is restricted to those cases on which no decisive judgment can be formed by any of these rules. Instances of this kind are constantly recurring in its government; such as the appointment of bishops, the choice of new settlements, or the establishment of new missions. The right of using the lot, again, is limited to those who bear office in the Church; no bishop or minister may use it privately; and before any question is submitted to its decision the arguments on both sides must be fully discussed, and the members of the conference must, all of them, agree on the propriety of using it, and of acting in strict conformity to its decision. But it is never to be placed in opposition to the conscientious conviction of an individual to the contrary. If, for instance, a person be appointed to an office by lot, it is still left to his own judgment whether to accept or decline the appointment. The lot is not absolute; it determines only that the vacant office shall, in the first instance, be offered to such an one rather than another. And it is further to be remembered that the Brethren do not attach any infallibility to its use; nor

do they consider it essential to the government of the Christian Church at large ; nor indispensable even in their own ; yet, they say, it is a fact well known to all who are conversant with their history that failures in their plans of operation have been less frequent since this mode of decision has been systematically adopted, than when the decision was taken by a majority of votes. The Brethren never use it except as a religious act. (See *Loretz*, in his *Ratio Disciplinæ Unitatis Fratrum*.)

The second point decided by the Synod of Lhota was that of episcopal orders. Three ministers had been chosen by lot ; should they be ordained anew ? They had already received orders from the Calixtine bishops as presbyters. Could they in this capacity ordain others, and provide for a succession in the Church ? In short, were they to adopt the presbyterian or episcopal forms of government ? A hundred years afterwards, the same difficulties beset the Churches of the Reformation ; and, with the exception of the Church of England, they made their decision in favour of a presbyterian discipline. The Moravians determined, in the first place, that presbyterian ordination would not have been inconsistent with apostolic practice, as recorded in the New Testament ; nor with the usage of the primitive Church as proved from the writings of the early fathers. But for many ages no ordinances had been deemed valid, or had indeed been practised, except episcopal. They foresaw that their ministry would be discredited unless it were placed on the same footing as that of other Churches ; and they highly revered the episcopal office, in spite of all the corruptions with which they had seen it associated. They resolved upon episcopacy ; and now another difficulty presented itself. Where could they look for episcopal ordination ? There could, in effect, be but one opinion on the subject. The great communions of the East and West, the Greek and Roman Churches, considered them heretics. The Waldenses, their ancient friends, might possibly again befriend them ; and they traced the succession of their own bishops from the times of the apostles. They dwelt in considerable numbers in Austria, where they had several Churches, under Stephen the Waldensian bishop. To him then three presbyters were sent. They informed him of the object of their visit, related the transactions of the synod, and described the unity of the Brethren. He received them with the most cordial joy, and in

his turn related the leading events in the history of the Waldenses, explained their constitution, and especially the succession of their bishops. Assisted by another bishop, he then ordained the three presbyters, bishops of the Brethren's Church. Melchior Brada-cius is the only one whose name has been handed down to us. Of the other two, one had previously exercised his ministry among the Waldenses, and the other in the Romish Church.

Another synod was immediately convened, when the newly consecrated bishops ordained the three persons who had been already designated by lot, presbyters of the Brethren's Church. One of them, before the close of the synod, was consecrated bishop. Ten co-bishops were soon afterwards appointed; elected of course from the presbyters. Thus it appears that, independent both of the Eastern and Western Churches, an apostolic episcopal succession has been retained, and exists in our time, amongst the Moravian Brethren. Nor has its apostolicity been questioned by those who have placed the highest value on episcopal orders. John Wesley, a century ago, sought episcopal orders at the hands of a Moravian bishop. Thirty years afterwards the Episcopal Church in the United States of America contemplated a similar step, though circumstances did not require them to carry it into effect, and they obtained orders from Lambeth. An attempt was now made to form a union with the Waldenses. The project was defeated by the timidity of some of the Waldenses, who were unwilling to share the persecution to which the Moravians were exposed; and by a fiercer persecution which soon raged (in consequence, it is said, of the projected union being made public) against themselves, their last surviving bishop, Stephen, being burnt alive. The Waldenses were dispersed, and the name was lost; great numbers joined the Church of the Brethren; more particularly at Lititz and at Fulneck in Moravia. Thus the ancient Waldenses were in fact incorporated with the Moravians.

Thirty years followed, of alternate persecution and repose. The Brethren were banished from Moravia, but they were kindly received in Hungary and Moldavia by the Hospodar Stephen. Under their heaviest afflictions, their energy never failed them. About the year 1470, they published, in the Bohemian language, a translation of the whole Bible—Wickliffe's excepted, the first translation upon record into any of the

European tongues. It passed through several editions rapidly ; and they soon after established three printing offices—at Prague and Buntzlau, in Bohemia, and at Bralitz, in Moravia, which for some time were solely occupied in printing Bohemian Bibles. Their eager spirit of activity induced them, in 1474, to send deputies throughout the whole of Eastern Christendom, in order to discover whether there anywhere existed Christian congregations like themselves, with whom they might unite. They travelled through Greece and Dalmatia, visited Constantinople and Thrace, and several provinces of Russia and Sclavonia, and penetrated into Egypt and Palestine. After an absence of some years they returned with melancholy tidings ; nominal Christendom was everywhere sunk into vice and superstition. In 1489 they sent a deputation to Italy and France in search of the Waldenses, but these too had disappeared ; they had found, they said, and they had witnessed the burning of, some noble *individuals*, confessors for the truth ; but they nowhere found a *Church*, in which they could unite. It was the dark night which immediately preceded the Reformation, and they stood alone, and apparently they too were ready to expire amidst the general gloom.

In 1517, the intrepid Martin Luther opened his vigorous assault upon the Church of Rome. It was not long before the tidings reached the Brethren of Moravia ; and in 1522 they deputed John Herne and Michael Weiss to visit the German reformer, to present him with the sincere gratulations of their whole body, to express the cordial interest they took in his labours, and the lively joy they felt at the success with which it had pleased God to crown his exertions and to give him a faithful account of their doctrine and constitution. Luther received them cordially. They were anxious at once to unite with him ; but before they could do so, it was necessary, they told him, that he should establish a wholesome discipline. Luther replied, that the time had not yet come : “ We have not yet arrived at that state in which we are able to establish, amongst us, those rules for the instruction of youth and the maintenance of holy conduct, which we are informed exist amongst you : with us things are in an unripe state and proceed but slowly.” But the Brethren were impatient, and two years afterwards they sent a second deputation, urging the necessity of discipline, and com-

plaining of the tardy manner in which the subject was pursued. Luther was displeased, publicly blamed some part of the Brethren's discipline, and for a time their intercourse ceased. The truth was, that the Brethren had begun to lose their members, many of whom attached themselves to the Lutheran Churches, where the same doctrines were taught while an easier discipline was enforced. To prevent a complete rupture, and as an expression of their good-will, the Brethren, in 1532, transmitted to Luther a copy of their Confession of Faith. It agreed substantially with the great German Confession, soon afterwards published as the Confession of Augsburg, which is now the standard of faith in the Moravian Church. Luther was so much pleased with the Confession that he printed it at Wittemberg with a preface, in which he declares that his suspicions against the Brethren had vanished. "Among them I have found, what I deem a great wonder, and what is not to be met with in the whole extent of popedom. The Brethren, commonly called Picards, setting aside all human tradition, exercise themselves day and night in the law of the Lord; and though they are not as great proficient in Hebrew and Greek as some others, yet they are well skilled in the Holy Scriptures, have made experience of its doctrines, and teach them with clearness and accuracy. I therefore hope all Christians will love and esteem them." Similar testimonies in their favour were given by most of the Protestant leaders; by Melancthon, Martin Bucer, Fabius Capito, and John Calvin. Thirty years of repose followed; but in 1546, the emperor Charles V. took up arms against the Protestants of the German empire. The Bohemian nation refusing to fight against the elector of Saxony, whom they regarded as the protector of the Reformation, were declared rebels; and the emperor's vengeance fell heavily upon the Brethren, to whose influence the reluctance of the Bohemians was ascribed. Their property was confiscated, their nobles outlawed or imprisoned, their senior bishop, John Augusta, three times racked and scourged repeatedly. A numerous body emigrated into Prussia, where they met with a kind reception at first, but after awhile the clergy of the Reformed Church were jealous of their discipline, and most of them returned into Poland; but from this period they were found in great numbers in all the surrounding German states. About this time they made several

ineffectual attempts to unite themselves with the Lutheran and the Reformed Churches (the former of whom adopt the Helvetic Confession, the latter that of Augsburg); but the peculiarities of their rigid discipline, and other causes, frustrated the design. At length, in 1570, by a *consensus*, or agreement, termed the *Compact of Sendimír*, the Polish Churches of the three Confessions united. The union, however, did not materially benefit the Moravian Church; what it gained in numbers it lost in zeal; and in Poland almost ceased to have a separate existence. In Moravia, the Brethren made use of an interval of rest to procure a new translation of the Scriptures into the Bohemian language, and in raising the standard of education amongst their young men. Their historians describe them as now possessing great influence. At one of their assemblies, besides the clergy, there were present seventeen grandees, and one hundred and forty-six nobles, of Bohemia. In 1609, the free exercise of their religion was secured to them by imperial letters patent; they were admitted into the consistory of Prague, and one of their bishops was appointed president; "but," says their honest historian, "they lost much of the vitality of religion, and of their former energetic piety; and some were even led into sinful deviations from the principles of the Bible." But a wholesome persecution once more aroused them. The Romish party resolved to enforce the edicts of the Council of Trent for the suppression of heresy. The Thirty Years' War broke out; the Protestants were defeated in a disastrous battle at Prague, in 1620, and their cause was almost lost. The vengeance of the conquerors fell heavily on the Moravians, and twenty-seven were beheaded at Prague on one day; their churches were destroyed, and their ministers slain, exiled, or imprisoned. In 1627, all the Protestant nobles were banished; and when peace was finally concluded, in 1648, the Protestant powers abandoned their brethren in Bohemia and Moravia to the rage of Austria. Their schools and churches were closed, their Bibles and religious books burned beneath the gallows. Their venerable bishop Comenius fled to Frankfort, and thence to Amsterdam; here he published a history of the Brethren's Church, in Latin, in 1649. It is dedicated, with affectionate respect, to the Church of England. "Should it please God," he says, "at a future period, to educe good from our present

afflictions, and, according to his promise, make Christendom, after having received wholesome correction, instrumental in propagating the Gospel among other nations; and doing with us, as he did to the Jews, cause our fall to be the riches of the world, and our diminishing the riches of the Gentiles; we, in that case, commend to you (the English Church) our beloved mother, the Brethren's Church that you may take care of her, whatever it may please God to do, whether to restore her in her native land, or, when deceased there, revive her elsewhere." His pious hope was not to be disappointed; the Moravian Church has found in later days a loving sister in the Church of England. Comenius died at the age of eighty years, of which nearly forty-four had been spent in banishment; but not until (intent on preserving his Church from utter ruin, and to prevent the total extinction of episcopacy amongst the Brethren) he had ordained two bishops. The election fell on Nicholas Gertichius and Paul Jablousky; the former being appointed for the congregations in Poland, the latter for the scattered members of the Church who might still be found in Bohemia and Moravia. But Jablousky dying before Comenius, his son Daniel Ernestus Jablousky, chaplain in ordinary at the court of Berlin, was ordained his successor in 1669, and through him episcopal orders were conveyed to the later, or renewed, Church of the Brethren. At present, their Church was almost extinguished, and at the beginning of the last century the very name of the Moravian Brethren was almost lost, and Moravia and Bohemia were under the papal yoke. A few of the Brethren still lingered in Poland; and, in 1712, a synod was even held, in which Daniel Jablousky ordained two bishops. England, perhaps, was the only country in which any sympathy was felt for the outlaws of Moravia.

Some Polish deputies arrived in London, in the year 1715, with "a humble petition from bishops and clergy of the Reformed Episcopal Churches first settled in Bohemia, and since forced, by the persecutions of their enemies, to retire into Great Poland and Polish Prussia." The archbishop of Canterbury, interested in their mission, entered into a correspondence with their bishop, Jablousky, whose answer was so satisfactory that he had no further hesitation. A brief was obtained in the usual form, upon a representation made to his majesty by Dr. William

Wake, archbishop of Canterbury, and Dr. John Robinson, bishop of London, and collections were made throughout the kingdom on their behalf. It was in the same year that the modern Moravian Church may be said to have renewed its life. A few of the Brethren resided still at Fulneck, in Bohemia, and several remarkable men appeared amongst them; one of these was Christian David, a man of humble birth, but of a courageous spirit, great piety, and natural eloquence. He had been bred up a zealous Roman Catholic; he was now the apostle of a faded Church. He soon prevailed on two brethren, the Neissers, to join his great enterprise. They encountered severe persecution for some years: at last they fell in with Count Zinzendorf, the owner of a large estate, who offered, for themselves and their associates, a home at Bertholdsdorf, the title of his patrimony. The offer was gratefully accepted; and, in the year 1722, the Moravian Church was formed anew, and located at Herrnhut. This is still one of the chief settlements of the Moravians; and from this period they have enjoyed comparative repose.

But activity, not rest, was their natural condition. They were no sooner in possession of a quiet home than they thirsted for new enterprise. Their high ambition was to carry salvation into heathen lands. In 1728, Zinzendorf, who was admitted into the ministry and afterwards became a bishop, and his companions, had visited most of the nations of northern Europe,—England, Holland, Switzerland, Denmark, Prussia, Sweden, and Russia,—with a view to the revival of religion amongst their own people, now widely dispersed, as well as to impart instruction to others as opportunity might offer. In the same year they first entertained the project of converting Greenlanders and negro slaves. In 1734, three Moravian Brethren penetrated into Lapland; they found that the Swedish government had already made provision for the religious instruction of the natives, and returned to Archangel. About the same time Count Zinzendorf, being at Copenhagen at the coronation of Christian VI., his servants became acquainted with a pious negro, named Anthony. This man visited Herrnhut, and his presence, and his stories of the deplorable condition of the negroes, fanned the missionary zeal of the infant colonists. Two young men, whose names deserve a lasting memorial, offered themselves for the service. Leonard Dober and Thomas Leupold declared that they were ready not

only to sacrifice life, but, if necessary, to sell themselves for slaves, in order to obtain access to the plantations and evangelize the negroes. The Church, however, while it respected their well-meant zeal, disapproved of the enterprise, regarding it as, on the whole, unreasonable. For a whole year this opposition was continued; at length, at Zinzendorf's suggestion, the decision was made by lot; and it was determined to undertake the mission. Two other young men now offered themselves as missionaries to Greenland; again a year's delay interposed; at length they set out in January, 1733. "There was no need," says one of them, "of much time for our equipment; the congregation consisted chiefly of poor exiles, who had not much to give us, and we ourselves had nothing but the clothes upon our backs." Arrived at Copenhagen, they applied to the Danish government, but their mission seemed romantic. There was already a colony in Greenland, but it was on the brink of ruin, and likely to be abandoned. Still they pressed their suit, especially when they learned that the king was about to despatch a ship once more to the Greenland colony. "But how," said the lord-chamberlain Plesse, "do you mean to live in Greenland?" "We intend to build a house, cultivate the soil, and live upon the produce." "But," he rejoined, "there is no wood in Greenland." "Then," said they, "we will dig into the earth, and lodge there." Struck with their energy, he presented them with fifty dollars to purchase wood; and with this, and a few other contributions, they purchased some building materials, implements of husbandry, and articles for household use, and sailed with light hearts for Greenland. Within ten years the Moravians had sent forth missionaries to Greenland, to St. Thomas, to St. Croix, Surinam, Berbice, to the Indians of North America, to the Negroes of South Carolina, to Lapland, Tartary, Guinea, to the Cape of Good Hope, and to the island of Ceylon. The mother-church at Herrnhut consisted at this time of about six hundred persons.

John and Charles Wesley, the founders of the English Methodists, sailed to Georgia, in 1736, in company with David Nitschman, a Moravian bishop, and twenty-six Germans of the same communion. John Wesley gives, in his Journal, a touching account of them. He says:—"I had long before observed the great seriousness of their behaviour. Of humility they have

given continual proof by performing those servile offices for the other passengers which none of the English would undertake, and for which they would receive no pay, saying it was good for their proud hearts, and their loving Saviour had done more for them. And every day had given them occasion of showing a meekness which no injury could move. If they were struck, pushed, or thrown down, they rose again, and walked away, but no complaint was found in their mouths. There was now an opportunity for trying whether they were delivered from the spirit of fear, as well as from that of pride, anger, and revenge. In the midst of the Psalm, with which their service began, the sea broke over, split the mainsail in pieces, covered the ship, and poured in between the decks, as if the great deep had already swallowed us up. A terrible screaming began among the English. The Germans calmly sang on. I asked one of them afterwards, 'Were you not afraid?' He answered, 'I thank God, no.' I asked, 'But were not your women and children afraid?' He replied mildly, 'No, our women and children are not afraid to die!'" Wesley took up his abode with them for a time at Savannah, where he witnessed their mode of proceeding in their election and ordination of a bishop. "It carried me back," he says, "to those primitive times when form and state were not; but Paul the tent-maker and Peter the fisherman presided; yet 'with demonstration of the Spirit and with power.'"

Yet this simple-minded people lay for some years beneath the suspicion, if not the hatred, of the greater part of Protestant Christendom. And, it must be confessed (indeed, it is candidly admitted by their apologists, with a simplicity greatly to their honour), that they themselves, by the indiscretion of their language, had given more than a pretext for the charges with which they were assailed. It is acknowledged that, at one period, particularly from 1747 to 1753, great extravagances made their appearance among some of the congregations in Germany. Count Zinzendorf set the example by making use of allusions relative to the believer's love to the Redeemer, of which we speak gently in saying that they were extremely foolish, and, to pure minds, disgusting. Others followed his example, and carried it, of course, to a worse excess. In their discourses, hymns, and other writings, they employed the strangest expres-

sions, and the wildest allusions in speaking of the love of Christ to his people, and of their communion with him. Dr. M'Lean, the English translator of Mosheim, has charged the Moravians, upon these grounds, with gross immorality; and the accusation is sustained by what professes to be an extract from Zinzendorf's writings. Dr. Haweis, a clergyman of the Church of England, writing at the end of the last century, "after near forty years' acquaintance with the Brethren," says, in answer, that "the charge is impure and malignant. I am informed," he adds, "that it would have been removed, from a conviction of its injustice, by the editor; but a copy being shown to Dr. Warburton, the author of 'The Divine Legation,' the bishop engaged him to let it stand; and there it remains, a monument of the bitterness, the bigotry and falsehood, of these accusers of the Brethren." However this may be, it is admitted that a species of wild fanaticism existed, and that the Church of the Brethren was in imminent danger of making shipwreck. The error into which they fell was one which has often beset earnest Christians, and from which the Church has suffered reproach, even from the first ages. The delight which they took in speaking of the sufferings of Christ by degrees degenerated into fanciful allegories, their style lost its simplicity and became turgid and childish, abounding in playful allusions to Christ as the Lamb and the Bridegroom, and to the Church as the Bride. In describing the spiritual relation between Christ and his Church, the Oriental imagery of the Canticles was preferred to the simplicity of the New Testament. The hearers were kept in a state of constant excitement. It seemed to promise a certain joyous perfection, representing believers as innocent, playful children, who might be quite at ease amidst the trials and difficulties, and even the temptations of life. Many of the wiser members of the Church withdrew; others bitterly lamented the evil which they deemed incurable; not foreseeing how speedily the storm of public indignation would provide a remedy. It is to be remarked, however, that the conduct of those who were most infected was never criminal, or immoral, though disgraceful to their profession. Zinzendorf, who now resided in London, addressed a pastoral letter to the congregations abroad, sharply reproving them for excesses which might be traced to his own example. A synod was held at Barby, in Saxony, in 1750, when the Brethren,

conscious that in many things they had been to blame, frankly acknowledged their faults, implored the forgiveness of God and man, and resolved to restore scriptural purity in their doctrines and practices. But, still feeling conscious of their own integrity, they requested their bishop, Spangenberg, to draw up an "apologetic declaration" on their behalf. Protestant Europe seems to have been roused to a degree of indignation that strangely contrasts with the apathy and immorality of the age. Spangenberg has made a collection of more than seventeen hundred accusations against the Brethren, including every form of vice and every shade of blasphemy. The candour of the synod, and its courage, had an immediate effect; the alarmists were satisfied, the malicious silenced, and the wrath of Christendom appeased, but not until the Moravians had been expelled from Herrnhäag by the government as a heretic and dangerous sect that ought not to be tolerated in Christendom. They bowed submissively to the hand of God, and acknowledged the justice of the sentence, for at Herrnhäag these extravagances had first arisen. The hymns and other sentimental publications which had given offence, were condemned by the synod, and replaced by others of a better character. And the purity of the Moravian Brethren has never since been seriously impeached.

The Moravians in England were looked upon with some suspicion, from these and other causes, when the rebellion occurred in 1745. All foreigners were regarded with jealousy, and the Moravians were accused of favouring the Pretender, of being papists in disguise, and of concerting measures, at their meetings, of a treasonable kind. They had now formed several congregations or settlements in England, and the mob threatened to demolish their chapels, and, in Yorkshire, some of their ministers were imprisoned for refusing to serve in the militia. Many of them refused to take the oath of allegiance, believing oaths unlawful. They were led, in consequence, to claim the sanction of the legislature; and in 1747, obtained an act of parliament which recognized their Church, and protected their missionaries in our colonies. In 1749, they presented a petition to parliament praying for a strict examination into the doctrines and institutions of their Church, in order to obtain a further confirmation of their civil and religious rights, and a legal sanction for their future undertakings at home and abroad.

The bill encountered some opposition at first. One article of the bill stated that the Brethren were an episcopal Church; and this, it was feared, would excite opposition in the lords. Dr. Sherlock, then bishop of London, who had at first entertained a different opinion, after an interview with Count Zinzendorf, withdrew his opposition; a meeting was held at Lambeth, when the whole bench agreed not to oppose the bill. On the third reading the bishop of Worcester stated, in his place in the house of lords, that the measure had the approbation of the whole episcopal bench. It was passed unanimously; and, on the 6th of June, received the Royal assent. This act, equally generous and just, besides removing a load of obloquy, and silencing many absurd and malicious calumnies, conferred the following important privileges:—

1. The *Unitas Fratrum* was acknowledged to be “an ancient Protestant episcopal Church, which had been countenanced and relieved by the kings of England, his majesty’s predecessors;”—“their doctrine to differ in no essential article of faith from that of the Church of England, as set forth in the thirty-nine articles.” And, consequently, the free and full exercise of their own ecclesiastical constitution was guaranteed.

2. A simple *affirmation*, in the name of Almighty God, was allowed to those members of their Church, who had conscientious scruples against the form of an oath.

3. A dispensation from serving as jurymen in *criminal* cases was granted them.

4. They were exempted, under certain conditions, from actual military service.

In order to guard against the abuse of this act it was stipulated:—

1. That the advocate, or secretary, of their Church, in England, shall treat with government, whenever required, respecting the affairs of their Church, and, from time to time, notify the names and residences of their bishops.

2. That any person, claiming the benefit of the act, must be furnished with a certificate that he is a member of the Brethren’s Church, by one of its bishops or ministers.

We may here notice that the Moravians, a missionary Church

elsewhere, have been satisfied in England to instruct the descendants and families of the ancient refugees, making no attempts to gain proselytes. They have been joined, from time to time, by a considerable number of new adherents, who have rather been attracted by their piety and primitive simplicity, than induced by argument or persuasion. At present, we believe, besides a church in Fetter-lane, London, and three settlements at Fulneck, Fairfield, and Ockbrook, they have ten or twelve scholastic establishments, boarding-schools, in which children of various denominations are educated. The number of pupils, whose parents are not in connection with the Brethren's Church, in England, upon the Continent, and including four schools in North America, is reported at upwards of fourteen hundred, in about forty schools (Bost's History of the Bohemian and Moravian Brethren, Geneva, 1848). From this time the history of the Moravian Church presents few striking incidents. Zinzendorf, expelled from his country and deprived of his estates, was permitted to return after ten years' exile, by a royal decree, reinstating him in all his former privileges, in 1747; and soon after a royal charter was issued, by which the Brethren were authorized to form settlements in any part of the Saxon dominions, and liberty of conscience was granted to them. Zinzendorf expired in 1760. Three bishops, sixteen presbyters, and two thousand lay brethren, followed his coffin to the grave, at Herrnhut. The Moravians are anxious to have it understood that, highly as they revere the Count, his writings are not to be received as authoritative or symbolical. "With all their veneration for his person and services, they do not consider him as a perfect character, for he was but a man, and, therefore, liable to err, and they attach no higher merit to his writings than what is due to any human composition, the general tenor of which is in accordance with the Holy Scripture," (Holmes' History of the Protestant Church of the United Brethren). They admit that he wrote too much and was careless of revision, that the style and language were often extravagant, and apparently paradoxical, even in the original. But they blame the English translations, especially those of his hymns; many expressions which are inoffensive in the original, and which Luther and others had made use of, are presented in a coarse and naked form, so as to disgust the English reader. On the whole we

may safely admit that, while Zinzendorf betrayed eccentricity and want of judgment, he devoted his life and fortune to the promotion of pure religion, with a self-denial of which few examples are to be met with.

The CONSTITUTION of the Brethren's Church is peculiar in some respects. In matters of doctrine it professes, as a fundamental principle, "that the Holy Scriptures are the only rule of faith and practice." At the same time a distinction is made between those doctrines which are essential to salvation, and those that are not essential, and on which Christians may differ. In this latter class are placed "all rites and customs, and everything which belongs to the exterior of Divine worship and ecclesiastical regulations. These are alterable, and to be made according to the best of human judgment, so that the salvation of men, agreeably to God's gracious will, may be thereby promoted." Thus essentials, as they conceive, being few, their Church has scarcely ever been agitated by controversy. The Brethren have never published a creed, or confession of faith, satisfied with a general adherence to the Confession of Augsburg, and reluctant to assume the appearance of dissent and separation. The litany for Easter morning, which is also read occasionally on other festivals, is, however, strictly speaking, a confession of faith. Theologians may, perhaps, complain of its want of precision in some points, and its deficiencies on others; still, its primitive beauty and simplicity must be admired. We here transcribe a portion of it:—"I believe in the one only God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, who created all things by Jesus Christ, and was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself.

"I believe in God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath chosen us in him before the foundation of the world.

"Who hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of his dear Son:

"Who hath blessed us with all spiritual blessings in heavenly places in Christ; who hath made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light; having predestinated us unto the adoption of children, by Jesus Christ to himself, according to the good pleasure of his will, to the praise of the glory of his grace, wherein he hath made us accepted in the Beloved.

"I believe in the name of the only-begotten Son of God, by whom are all things, and we through him; I believe that he was

made flesh, and dwelt amongst us ; and took on him the form of a servant ; by the overshadowing of the Holy Ghost, was conceived of the Virgin Mary ; as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, he also himself likewise took part of the same ; was born of a woman, and being found in fashion as a man, was tempted in all points like as we are, yet without sin.

“For he is the Lord, the Messenger of the covenant, whom we delight in. The Lord and his Spirit hath sent him to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord ; he spoke that which he did know, and testified that which he had seen : as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the Sons of God.

“I believe in the Holy Ghost, who proceedeth from the Father, and whom our Lord Jesus Christ sent, after he went away, that he should abide with us for ever ; that he should comfort us, as a mother comforteth her children ; that he should help our infirmities, and make intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered ; that he should bear witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God, and teach us to cry, Abba, Father ! that he should shed abroad in our hearts the love of God, and make our bodies his holy temples ; and that he should work all in all, dividing to every man severally as he will.

“To him be glory in the Church, which is in Christ Jesus, the holy, universal Christian Church, in the communion of saints, at all times, and from eternity to eternity. Amen.

“I believe that by holy baptism I am embodied as a member of the Church of Christ, which he hath loved, and for which he gave himself, that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the Word.

“In this communion of saints my faith is placed upon my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who died for us, and shed his blood on the cross for the remission of sins, and who hath granted unto me his body and blood in the Lord's Supper as a pledge of his grace.”

The constitution of the Church is episcopal ; the bishops are usually elected and consecrated at a synod. Bishops are not distinguished from other ministers by external rank or larger incomes, nor can they ordain any minister without a commission from the elders' conference, or from a provincial conference,

which act under the authority of the synod when its sittings are suspended. There were, in 1830, eighteen bishops. Of these, six resided in Germany, two in England, one in Ireland, one in Asia, and three in America.

The presbyters have the charge of their several congregations. They are assisted by deacons, who are authorized, in the absence of the presbyter, to administer the sacraments. The office of deacon is sometimes conferred on laymen, who are intrusted with the temporal affairs of a church or of a congregation. The clergy are assisted by *lay elders*; they are the public functionaries of the Church in temporal things. The office is not clerical or spiritual, it resembles that of churchwarden in the Church of England, though with a larger field of action.

The acoluths are a class composed of persons who are employed as assistants in the missions, in preaching, or in other services, but whose office does not require regular ordination. In the early Moravian Church, every minister took one, two, or more youths of this description under his care. They lodged in his house, and he directed their studies, and they were expected to be obedient and submissive, to assist in visiting the sick, and catechising the young, and the like. The female acoluths are elderly matrons, chosen, by a majority of votes, by the female part of the congregation. Their duties are entirely confined to their own sex; they take care of the widows; and it is especially required of them to prevent and oppose everything which might endanger female modesty. They insist on great simplicity of attire.

Their religious ceremonial is simple; they frequently use extempore prayer, but on Sunday mornings a prescribed form is used, called the Church Litany. They have also litanies for baptisms and funerals. Singing forms a prominent part of their worship; all their religious services are begun and closed with a hymn; most of their chapels are furnished with an organ; and on festivals, anthems and chants are performed.

They retain the agapæ, or love-feasts, of the primitive Church: tea, or some slight refreshment, is handed round the congregation, while addresses are made upon religious subjects, varied with singing hymns and reading the Scriptures. Infant baptism is practised, without other sponsors than the parents. Confirmation is performed by each presbyter, in his own congregation, by

imposition of hands. The Lord's Supper is received kneeling; and the minister wears a surplice.

The discipline of the Brethren is strict. In their settlements, and where their plans are fully carried out, each congregation is divided according to the age, sex, and condition of life of its members. These divisions, called *choirs*, embrace the children, the youths and girls, the single brethren and single sisters, the married people, the widowers and widows. Separate meetings are occasionally held with each of these divisions, having special reference to their circumstances and relations in life. With the children this is done more frequently, at least once or twice in the week.

Wherever local circumstances admit of it (as is the case in every settlement), not only the children, but also the boys and girls, are regularly instructed in the doctrines of Christianity by the minister; to whom the superintendence of the schools is usually committed. All clandestine marriages are disallowed, and, if contracted without the sanction of the elders of the congregation, subject the parties to Church discipline. The salary of the minister, and all other ecclesiastical expenses, are defrayed by voluntary contributions. In the settlements, which are a kind of civil community, workshops and manufactories are established, and each member is usefully employed; but there is no community of goods; and the members of their religious houses, which they term choir-houses, or of the mercantile abodes, termed diaconias, are not compelled to remain in them longer than they please. No other body of professing Christians can with so much propriety be called a missionary Church. To their labours amongst the heathen some reference has been made already; the details must be read at large in their own publications (Periodical accounts relating to the missions of the Church of the United Brethren established among the heathen). Whilst they were yet a handful of persecuted men, their zeal had carried the Gospel to the ends of the earth. In 1736, they had established a mission to the Hottentots; in 1737, another on the coast of Guinea; in 1739, a third, in South Carolina, and a fourth, at Algiers; in 1740, a fifth, at Ceylon, besides a mission to the Jews at Amsterdam, and another to the Gipsies. At the close of the year 1851, there were, under the care of two hundred and ninety-six missionary-teachers, at seventy stations, not

fewer than seventy thousand converts, of whom twenty thousand were communicants. Of these, fifty-nine thousand were Negroes, six thousand Hottentots, and upwards of three thousand Greenlanders and Esquimaux. The total expense of these missions, to the Church at home, did not amount to thirteen thousand pounds. Of this sum, the Brethren furnished three thousand; the remainder being contributed by members of the Church of England, and other friends. The European congregations do not amount altogether to ten thousand members at the present time.

BROWNISTS, THE.—Of the early opponents of the Church of England after the Reformation, the Brownists were, for a period of fifty years, the most considerable of Protestant sects. While the Puritans in general allowed the Church of England to be a true Church, though faulty in matters of discipline, the Brownists declared that she was popish and antichristian; and that her preachings, prayers, and sacraments were all of them invalid. The Puritans, for the most part, were contented to remain within the bosom of the Established Church; the Brownists shrunk from it with abhorrence. During the reigns of Elizabeth and James, while the Puritans vigorously assailed the Church, the Brownists, with even greater warmth, assailed the Puritans. The first leader of the party, whose name furnished them with a title, was Robert Brown, a clergyman, of good family, nearly related to the lord-treasurer Burghley, and whose grandfather had obtained by charter from Henry VIII. the singular privilege of wearing his cap in the king's presence. He embraced in youth the principles of the Puritans, and being, as all allow, a rash and headstrong man, he soon proceeded to enunciate a new reformation, and to defend it in violent language. He inveighed not only against the discipline and ceremonies of the Church of England, but denounced it as a limb of Antichrist. Such conduct was certain, in those days, to provoke the severest punishment. In the year 1571, he was cited before archbishop Parker, at Lambeth, but seems to have been protected by his noble patron Burghley, whose chaplain he was, and who claimed on his behalf, on that account, an exemption from the jurisdiction of the Court. In 1581, we find him exercising his ministry in the city of Norwich, and again in trouble. After

repeated arrests, examinations, and imprisonments, he fled to Middleburgh, in Holland ; where, in 1582, the first Brownist, or Independent Church, on record, was formed under his pastoral care. But within three years he quarrelled with his people, and returned to England. Soon after his arrival we find him again convened before archbishop Whitgift ; and again rescued by his kind patron the lord-treasurer. But he was soon after excommunicated by the bishop of Peterborough, whose citation he had treated with contempt. It is said that the solemnity of this censure made such an impression upon him, that he renounced his principles, and, through the influence of his patron and the Earl of Exeter, a kinsman, was even presented to the rectory of Achurch, near Oundle, in Northamptonshire. His temper was still violent, and his life not remarkable for piety. The historian Fuller was acquainted with him, and thus describes his last days : " In a word, he had a wife with whom he never lived, a church in which he never preached ; and, as all the other scenes of his life were stormy and turbulent, so was his end. For, being poor and proud, and very passionate, he struck the constable of his parish for demanding certain rates ; and being beloved by nobody, the officer summoned him before Sir Rowland St. John, a neighbouring justice, in whose presence he behaved with so much insolence, he was committed to Northampton gaol. The decrepit old man, not being able to walk, was carried thither upon a feather bed, in a cart ; where, not long after, he sickened and died, in 1630, aged upwards of eighty years ; boasting he had been committed to two-and-thirty prisons, in some of which he could not see his hand at noon-day."

But the party which he had formed and abandoned exhibited none of their leader's versatility ; for consistency, energetic zeal, and dauntless courage under cruel sufferings, the Brownists were behindhand with no other sect whatever. Their objections against the Church of England, together with their own tenets and doctrines, may be gathered from a treatise published by one of the leaders at Middleburgh, entitled " Anti-Christian Abominations yet retained in England." Of the charges against the Church of England, let it suffice to say, that they comprehend perhaps every objection of every kind which, at any period, may have been urged against it by Protestant assailants. It is more to our purpose to state what were their own principles. They

taught, "That every particular Church, with its pastor, stands immediately under Christ, the Arch-pastor, without any other ecclesiastical power intervening, whether it be of prelates, of synods, or any other invented by man." Thus they differed from the Puritans not only in rejecting episcopacy, but synodical authority likewise: each congregation was independent of all other churches; and hence arose the congregational or independent system of Church government (see INDEPENDENTS). For this they believed they had the authority of the New Testament. "The Church," they say, "ought not to be governed by popish canons, courts, classes, customs, or any human inventions, but by the laws and rules which Christ has appointed in his Testament." Francis Johnson, an eminent Brownist, was imprisoned and expelled from the university of Cambridge, in 1588, for maintaining, in a sermon at St. Mary's, the following amongst other propositions: 1. That a particular form of Church government is prescribed in the Word of God; 2. That no other form ought to be allowed; 3. That the Church of God ought to be governed by elders; 4. That we have not this government; 5. That the neglect to promote this government is one chief cause of the present ignorance, idolatry, and disobedience; 6. That there ought to be an equality among ministers, which the popish hierarchy, and all who belong to it, do not like. These principles rapidly diffused themselves, and gave the greatest uneasiness both to the Hierarchy and the State. Dissent was now punished as sedition. In 1580 an act had been passed "to retain the queen's subjects in their due obedience," which punished absence from the parish church with a penalty of twenty pounds a-month, and imprisonment till paid; if absent a whole year, besides the fine, the delinquent was bound in two sureties for two hundred pounds till he should conform. The weight of this enactment fell heavily upon the Brownists. Utterly refusing occasional conformity, great numbers died in gaol; others were handed over to the Court of High Commission, then recently created. Amongst these were Copping and Thacker, clergymen of Suffolk. After seven years' imprisonment, they were tried, condemned, and hanged, at Bury Saint Edmunds, with Brown's books tied round their necks, in 1583; the crime alleged against them being that they read, and led others to read, Brown's writings. The Brownists now held their meetings in the fields

and woods, and under the hottest persecution they rapidly increased. In 1590, they are said to have amounted to twenty thousand; and another act was now passed, "for the punishment of persons obstinately refusing to come to church." All persons found present at a conventicle, or meeting, under pretence of religion, were to be committed to prison till they should conform; if they continued obstinate, they were to be banished for life beyond the queen's realm; and, if they returned home, the punishment was death. Again the oppression of this statute chiefly fell on the Brownists. Hiding themselves from the bishop's officers and pursuivants, those in London met at a retired place in the fields at Islington, where a Protestant congregation had formerly assembled, under similar circumstances, in the reign of Mary. About fifty-six were apprehended on the Lord's-day, while singing hymns, and sent, two by two, to different prisons in London. They suffered a long, miserable confinement, and many died under their barbarous usage; amongst whom was Roger Rippon. He expired a prisoner in Newgate; and his fellow-prisoners placed the following inscription upon his coffin:—"This is the corpse of Roger Rippon, a servant of Christ, and her majesty's faithful subject; who is the last of sixteen or seventeen which that great enemy of God, the archbishop of Canterbury, with his high commissioners, have murdered in Newgate within these five years, manifestly for the testimony of Jesus Christ. His soul is now with the Lord, and his blood crieth for speedy vengeance against that great enemy of the saints." We see the indomitable character of the Brownists, and can we fail to mark the folly of persecution?

Towards the close of the reign of queen Elizabeth, all non-conformists were treated with great severity. The queen's temper grew sour with increasing years; the Spanish invasion irritated the people; and there was a very prevalent impression abroad, which the prelatists improved to the utmost of their power, that the Brownists and Anabaptists were the dupes or agents of the Jesuits. Little discrimination was exercised; not only did the innocent suffer with the guilty, but the courts of justice took no pains to discriminate between different shades of guilt, or between a contumacious and a misdirected conscience. Greenwood and Barrow, two of the leaders of the Brownists in London, were brought before the Court of High Commission in

1592, after being four or five years in close imprisonment. In their examinations they maintained that all forms of prayer were unlawful; that the Book of Common Prayer was popish, superstitious, and idolatrous; that the sacraments, as administered by the Church of England, were no sacraments; and the Church itself no Church. These opinions, boldly avowed, would, at any period before the overthrow of Laud's influence fifty years afterwards, have provoked severe punishment; for, indeed, no party as yet existed in England, or in Europe, which tolerated religious differences. Greenwood's examination turned at last upon the question of the queen's supremacy; and his opinions upon this point, no doubt, marked him out to the high commissioners as a very dangerous person. "Do you hold," said the court, "that the Church ought to be governed by a presbytery?"

Greenwood. "Yes; every congregation of Christ ought to be governed by that presbytery that Christ hath appointed." The examination then proceeds thus:—

"Q. What are those officers which Christ has appointed?"

G. A pastor, teacher, and elder.

Q. And must the Church be governed by no other officers?

G. No, by no others than Christ hath appointed.

Q. May this people and presbytery reform such things as are amiss, without the prince?

G. They ought to practise God's laws, and correct vice by the censure of the word.

Q. What if the prince *forbid* them?

G. They must nevertheless do that which God *commandeth*.

Q. If the prince offend may the presbytery excommunicate him?

G. The whole Church may excommunicate any member of that Church, if the party continue obstinate, and in open transgression.

Q. May the prince be excommunicated?

G. There is no exception of persons; and I doubt not that her Majesty would be ruled by the word, for it is not the *men*, but the *word of God* that bindeth and looseth."

The Court of High Commission must have listened with amazement, holding as they did these opinions to be treasonable. Of all princes that ever lived, Elizabeth was amongst the last to tolerate, in her own subjects, the preaching which went to set up the doctrine that a presbytery might excommunicate the sove-

reign ! She had heard and despised the excommunication which the pope thundered against her, but these opinions, broached by her own subjects, were more offensive, and, as she thought, undoubtedly more dangerous.

The examination concludes thus :—

“ Q. May the prince then make laws for the government of Church ?

G. The scripture hath set down sufficient laws for the worship of God and the government of the Church ; so that no man may add unto it, nor diminish from it.

Q. What say you of the prince's supremacy ? Is her majesty supreme head of the Church in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as civil ?

G. She is supreme magistrate over all persons, to punish the evil and to defend the good.

Q. Is she over *all causes* ?

G. No, Christ is the only head of his Church, and his laws may no man alter.

Q. But the pope giveth this to princes, doth he not ?

G. No, he doth not. He setteth himself above princes, and exempteth his priesthood from the magistrate's sword.

Q. What say you to the oath of supremacy ? Do you approve of it ?

G. If these ecclesiastical orders mean such as are agreeable to the scriptures, I do ; for I deny all foreign power.

Q. It means the order and government, with all the laws, in the Church, as it is now established.

G. Then I will not answer to approve of it.”

Greenwood and Barrow fairly represent the Brownists at this period. And it must be admitted that, however dangerous their principles might appear to those in power, their undoubted loyalty, in other respects than those which concerned the supremacy of the queen in spiritual things, and the purity of their lives, ought to have procured for them a better fate. They were remanded to prison ; and at length, in March 1592, they, with four others, were placed at the bar of the Old Bailey for “ writing and publishing sundry seditious books and pamphlets, tending to the slander of the queen and government.” On their trial they conducted themselves with great firmness, protested their inviolable loyalty to the queen, and their willing obedience to her

government, in all things lawful. They declared that they had written nothing against her highness, but only against the bishops and established Church. They were all found guilty, and, while the rest were imprisoned, Greenwood and Barrow, as the leaders, were reserved for a public example. Barrow appealed to the attorney-general on behalf of himself and his fellow-prisoner. He says, "I protest to your worship in the sight of God, at whose judgment I look hourly to stand, that I hold not anything out of singularity or pride of spirit, but am certainly persuaded by the grounds of God's word, the profession and practice of reformed Churches, and learned men of other countries. I will utterly forsake any error I shall be proved to hold, and will humbly submit in all matters proved by the word of God." But sentence of death was passed on them, and several divines were appointed to persuade them to recant. Remaining stedfast, they were taken, on the thirty-first of March, in a cart to Tyburn, and exposed under the gallows for some time before the people. They continued firm, even in the near prospect of death, and were carried back to Newgate. The government was disconcerted, but it decided in favour of taking vengeance. A week afterwards, on the sixth of April, 1593, they were carried to Tyburn a second time, and there hanged. Dr. Reynolds attended them in their last moments, and had the courage to tell the queen, "that had they lived they would have been two as worthy instruments for the Church of God as any that had been raised up in that age." About the same time, Udal and Penry, two young clergymen, were capitally convicted for holding Brownist opinions. Penry was executed, and Udal only escaped by dying in prison, the victim of anxiety and hard usage. These instances of cruelty and injustice have long been regarded, by writers of every class, as the greatest blots upon the character of England and the English government, during the long and prosperous reign of Elizabeth.

The severity of these measures seems to have caused a reaction in the public mind; and the queen is said to have expressed her displeasure that she had been so ill advised. This may account for the fact that Johnson, the chief pastor of the Brownist Church in London, who had been imprisoned with the rest, was released after a short imprisonment. He, immediately afterwards, accompanied by a large number of the Brownists, removed to Am-

sterdam and opened a church. It seemed, however, as if the pressure of adversity were necessary to give cohesion to the Brownists; they soon quarrelled, and their congregation was broken up. A few years later, namely 1604, John Robinson, a Norfolk divine, who had suffered much from his nonconformity in England, emigrated to Leyden, and formed a congregation on the model of the Brownists. Robinson was a man of piety, and of far greater capacity and of a more catholic spirit than any previous leader of the party, or perhaps indeed than any other man of the age in which he lived. He at once renounced the narrow prejudice that there were no true Churches but his own; he admitted the members of other reformed Churches to his communion, and encouraged his people to join with the Dutch Churches in prayer and other religious exercises. And further, he taught his people to take the written word of God as their guide, and be afraid of no conclusions to which it led them. He is generally considered to be the father of the Independents, into whom the Brownists finally merged. His congregation were amongst the first of those *pilgrim fathers* who colonized New England—the founders of the great city of Boston; and amongst them the name of Robinson is still had in reverence, and his principles of Church government still flourish. During the reigns of James and Charles the First, the Brownists may be said to have maintained their position rather than to have gained any great accession of strength. Their rigid views of Church discipline excluded them from the great body of the Puritans, with whom indeed they waged a constant warfare; and rejecting, on the other hand, all commerce with the Anabaptists, whom they denounced as heretics, they remained an isolated band. They were to be found in great numbers in the parliamentary army; but during the Commonwealth they merged into the Independents, and after the Restoration we lose sight of them entirely. Brownism, notwithstanding its dreadful afflictions, was in its palmy state towards the close of the reign of Elizabeth. Many able men embraced it, and defended it from the pulpit and the press. The literature of the Brownists is chiefly controversial; but it must be studied by those who would have a real acquaintance with the state of English feeling, and English parties, at this critical period of our history. The Brownists have generally been made to bear the odium of the Martin-Marprelate

tracts, which were published about 1580, the year of the Armada. Udal and Penry, on their trials, were charged with the authorship, or with a wilful knowledge of the authors. But they refused to make any revelations, and the real authorship of these once dreaded and proscribed, but now ludicrous, lampoons remains a mystery. The government denounced them in royal proclamations, and tracked the itinerant printing-press from county to county. But Martin-Marprelate escaped their vigilance, and replied to their proclamations with coarse, popular jests, and libels on the bishops. There is some reason to believe that the whole was a contrivance of the Jesuits. The reader may consult Osborne's "Hidden Works of Darkness" for further information on the subject.—In a graver tone the Brownists carried on a long controversy with Cartwright, the leader of the Presbyterian or Genevan Puritans. Cartwright himself had suffered heavily from the Prelatists, but he was shocked to hear it asserted that the Church of England was Antichrist. He held that it was a true Church, though he desired many reformations in it. "There are," he says, "I confess, in the Church of England, divers things not suiting well with the purity of the Gospel; yet are there also those wherein you bring a wrong report of her, charging her with the evil which she doeth not, and taking from her the good which the Lord doeth in her. Your [Brownist] assemblies seek, indeed, divers things which are to be desired; yet overcharged, not only in the disordered manner of seeking them, but also in the things themselves which you seek to obtain." "Those assemblies," he said, "which had Christ for their head and their foundation, were, in his opinion, the Churches of God, and such he considered the parochial congregations of the Church of England. The testimony of the Spirit of God, by his manifold graces poured upon them, bore witness that they were the Churches of God. The Lord in mercy had set divers burning lamps in those assemblies, whereby light was conveyed, more or less, to most parts of the land. All the Churches of Christ in Europe gave the Church of England the right hand of fellowship; and, though he pressed not this as an argument against separation, yet," he observed, "that the fact ought to stay all sudden and hasty judgment to the contrary, and to silence all severe objections until the cause on both sides should be fully examined by the light of divine truth." (Brook's

Life of Cartwright, page 305.) A noble and generous testimony in favour of the Church of England, from the first and greatest of her adversaries, and honourable to the man who wrote it!

CALVINISTS.—This term is vaguely used to designate those, whatever Church or sect they belong to, who receive the theological tenets of Calvin. With more propriety it is applied to the Reformed Churches of Switzerland, France, and Germany, of which Calvin was the first great leader. In the present article it is employed, in a still more limited sense, with reference to the Reformed or Calvinistic Churches of Germany and Switzerland as distinguished from the Lutherans. It is thus used in general upon the Continent, where its application to doctrinal views is almost unknown. In this latter sense, Calvinism is a theological system, the nature of which must be learned from those who treat on dogmatic divinity, or from the writings of Calvin himself.

John Calvin was born in 1509 at Noyon in Picardy, and sent early to the university of Paris. He was at first designed for the Church, but his father, perceiving his wonderful and precocious talents, changed his mind and had him educated for the law, as a certain path to high distinction. Young Calvin had already begun to read the Scriptures, and to feel misgivings as to the soundness of the Church of Rome. He repaired to Orleans, and afterwards to Bruges, where he was instructed in Greek, then a very rare accomplishment, by Melchior, from whom he also learned the doctrines of the Reformers. He was possessed of two benefices, although not yet in priest's orders, which he now resigned, and devoted himself to the work of the Reformation. Returning to Paris he avowed his new principles, and so doing incurred the anger of the Sorbonne, the high theological academy of France, and of the parliament of Paris. Francis I. was then upon the throne, a zealous champion of the papacy, and Calvin was more than once in imminent danger of the flames; from which he was saved by the good offices of the queen of Navarre, Francis's sister, a Protestant lady of great worth and piety. Calvin retired to Basle, and here, before he had completed his twenty-seventh year, in the year 1536, he

published his "*Institutio Christianæ Religionis*," dedicated in a conciliatory preface to Francis himself.

Whatever differences may have existed as to certain peculiarities in Calvin's creed, or some points in his personal history, there has never been, amongst those who were competent to judge, a dissentient voice as to the extraordinary merit of this wonderful performance. It was designed, not merely as an answer to the Church of Rome, but as a complete body of practical and dogmatic theology. It was the first attempt of the kind by any of the reformers, and it still retains its supremacy amidst innumerable rivals, all of which it may be said to have provoked into existence. It has been said of it, that its effect upon the Christian world was so remarkable, that it must be looked upon as one of those books that have changed the face of society. It was written in Latin; Calvin himself translated it into French; and it was soon republished in English and in other languages. Within twenty years it took its place at Oxford and Cambridge by the side of Aristotle, and was lectured on in the Protestant universities of all Europe. Calvin, still a young man, had achieved successes such as the wisest men seldom reach till after a life of toil. He surpassed all the reformers in mental power and genius; it is said he exceeded them as much in asperity and turbulence. Perhaps his early triumph was dearly purchased, in the loss of something of his modesty and meekness!

Calvin returned to Geneva in 1536, and found the reformed religion just established there by law. Viret, Farel, and others, leaders of the Reformation, were then preaching and labouring at Geneva, and at their desire Calvin joined them, became a distinguished teacher, and very soon, by the force of his mind and character, the Protestant leader and chieftain. In conjunction with Farel, Calvin prepared a confession of faith and a system of Church government; but the Genevese, urged by the Romish priests and still attached to their old ceremonies, rose against the reformers, and in consequence Calvin and Farel were banished. Calvin retired to Strasbourg, where he became the minister of a French congregation, amongst whom he introduced his own method of Church government. This was the first Calvinistic Church, properly so called; and to this event we may trace the peculiar characteristics of the Huguenot, or French

reformed Church, in subsequent times. But in a short time, Calvin and his friend, too important to be spared in difficult times and from so small a republic, were recalled to Geneva and their sentences reversed. Calvin was now in the height of his power, revered at home and courted or dreaded abroad. In November, 1541, his code or system of Church government was promulgated by the civil authority, and the Calvinistic Church established at Geneva.

He now conceived the vast and laudable ambition of providing all continental Christendom, or at least all Protestant Europe, with one and the same system of Church government. It was a noble design,—to reduce all the reformed Churches to one rule of faith and one form of polity. Its failure was perhaps inevitable; perhaps, too, greater advantages have resulted from its failure than would have attended upon its success. No similar attempt has since been made, and the possibility of uniting all Protestant Churches in one visible union is a problem not yet solved.

Before Calvin entered upon this great design, the field had been already, to some extent, preoccupied by other labourers. Zuingli had formed a Church in Switzerland, and Luther in Germany. Of the Lutheran Church we shall speak hereafter (see LUTHERANS). It is sufficient for our purpose to mention here, that Luther, notwithstanding his dauntless courage in opposing what he saw to be the corruptions of the papacy, had retained some things which gave offence to other reformers, and seemed a compromise with superstition. He was disposed to treat with toleration images, altars, wax tapers, exorcism, and private confession. Above all, upon the subject of the eucharist he seemed almost to symbolize with the Church of Rome. It was not the mass itself, but the abuses of the mass, against which Luther protested. In the Confession of Augsburg, in which the doctrines of the Lutheran Church were formally propounded in 1530, we have these words, “Our Churches are wrongfully accused to have abolished the mass; for the mass is still retained among us and celebrated with great reverence, yea and almost all the ceremonies that have been in use; saving that, with the songs in Latin, we mingle certain psalms in Dutch;” and it proceeds to refute the various corruptions with which the Church of Rome had obscured the sacrament. This confession, the

earliest of all Protestant creeds, was republished in 1531 and 1540, but with no material alterations; and the real presence in the mass is repeatedly asserted. "There is one common mass appointed according to the institution of Christ, wherein the pastors of the Churches do consecrate for themselves, and give unto others, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ."

"Touching the supper of the Lord, together with the bread and wine, the body and blood of Christ are truly exhibited to them that eat of the Lord's supper." As the Reformation advanced, these views appeared to the reformers in other countries, who were beyond the immediate influence of Luther's mind, obscure and dangerous. Zuingli, in Switzerland, avoiding Luther's error, fell into the opposite extreme. His aim was to establish, in his own country, a form of worship which should be remarkable for its simplicity, and as far remote as possible from everything which might have a tendency to revive the superstitions, in which alone he saw danger to the Church of Christ. On the eucharist he differed widely from Luther. The bread and wine he maintained were nothing more than symbols of the body and blood of Christ—appropriate signs to show the Lord's passion and keep it in remembrance; or, to use an expression common amongst the Zuinglians, "*Nihil esse in coenâ quam memoriam Christi.*" Zuingli died in 1530, while the Swiss Church was scarcely yet cemented. Martin Bucer succeeded him, and endeavoured to moderate some of his statements, and bring about a union between the Swiss and German Churches. The Helvetic confession of 1536 was presented by him to the divines at Württemberg with this hope, and it modifies the absolute negation of a spiritual presence as held by Zuingli. "We say that the supper is a mystical thing, wherein the Lord doth indeed offer to them that are his, his body and blood, that is himself, to the end that he may more and more live in them and they in him." Some of the clergy of the Swiss Church now joined the Lutheran party, and great hopes were entertained by the friends of peace on both sides, that a reconciliation might be effected. But in 1544 Luther published his confession of faith in reference to the eucharist, which was directly opposed to that of Zuingli and Bucer, and the prospect of a union seemed to be more remote than ever. Luther died in 1546; and Melancthon, a reformer, firm and earnest, but of the gentlest mould, again attempted

peace. But the violence on both sides prevented his success. The discussion between the two Churches was disgraced with those bitter and personal invectives which, in that age, found a place even in the discords of critics and philosophers; and Calvin himself at length entered the field as the opponent of the Lutherans, though by no means as the defender of the positions of Zuingli, or even of the Helvetian Church.

The doctrine of the Sacraments as taught by Calvin is that which was soon afterwards embraced by the Church of England, and which is now received by all the orthodox Churches of the Reformation, with the exception of the Lutherans. "The holy mystery of the supper," he says (in his *Institutes*, chap. 17, book 4), "consists of two things; that is to say, of the bodily signs, which being set before our eyes represent unto us spiritual things; and of spiritual truth, which is in those signs both figured and delivered." He explains this proposition against the Romish transubstantiation, and the newer Lutheran consubstantiation. Of the latter he says: "They hold that the bread of the supper is verily a substance of an earthly and corruptible element, and suffers no change in itself, but yet has under itself the body of Christ enclosed. If they meant no more than that, when the bread is delivered in the sacrament, there is adjoined the delivering of the body, since the reality cannot be separated from the sign, I should have no great contention with them. But, placing the body in the bread, they feign for it a being in every way contrary to the nature thereof. And their error, rashly conceived, is obstinately defended; some of them do not hesitate to say that the body of Christ never had any narrower limitations, but is as far and wide as earth and heaven. What else is this but to raise up Marcion out of hell! For no man can deny that the body was a mere phantasy if it were such as they pretend. Some, with more subtlety, maintain that this body which was given in the sacrament is a glorious and immortal one; and therefore it is no absurdity, if it be contained in many places, or in no place, or under no form, or under the form of the Sacrament. But what, I ask, was that body which Christ gave to the disciples the day before he suffered? Was it not the same mortal body which was afterwards delivered up? He had, it is true, as they remind us, showed his glory to three of his disciples on the Mount—to give them a taste of immortality for an hour. But

we never find that Christ had a double body; it was the same body garnished with new glory. If their opinion be correct, the body of Christ is at the same time (as Marcion taught) mortal and immortal, base and glorious. Nay, being in its nature visible it lies hid invisibly under the sign of bread!"

With equal force he refutes the Helvetian theory,—that the Sacrament was only a commemorative rite. "We must certainly determine that Christ is truly given us in this Sacrament as if he himself were set visibly before us and handled with our hands. For this word can neither lie to us nor mock us, Take, eat, drink; this is my body which is delivered for you; this is the blood which is shed for the forgiveness of sins. The chief, and in a manner the whole, pith of a Sacrament stands in these words: Which is delivered for you; which is shed for you; for it would not profit us much that the body and blood are now distributed unless they had once been given forth for our salvation. Therefore they are represented under bread and wine, that we should learn that they are ordained for the nourishment of spiritual life. They do not satisfy me who, acknowledging that we have some communion with Christ, make us partakers only of the spirit, without making any mention of flesh and blood. As though all those things were said without a meaning, That his flesh is verily meat; and that none hath life but he that eateth his flesh and drinketh his blood."

A union with the Lutheran Church was now hopeless; Calvin's influence was such that shortly after the death of Zuingli he was permitted to remodel the Helvetian Church and to modify its doctrinal statements. Zuingli, for instance, had allowed to the civil magistrate the supreme power, in his ecclesiastical constitution. The clergy were subordinate to each other, and at their head was placed a perpetual president, or bishop, superior to the clergy but controlled by the civil magistrate. Calvin reduced the power of the magistrate within narrow bounds. He declared the Church a separate and independent body endowed with the power of legislation for itself. He maintained that it was to be governed, like the primitive Church, only by presbyteries and synods, that is, by assemblies of elders composed of both clergy and laity; and he left to the civil magistrate little more than the privilege of protecting the Church and providing for its wants. Thus he introduced into the republic of Geneva

the Presbyterian system ; rejecting bishops, and asserting the principle that amongst the clergy no subordination is due to one another ; all, by the law of Christ, being equal in rank and authority. He established a consistory of ruling elders, pastors, and laymen, invested with a great degree of power. Of this consistory he was chosen president for life ; but on his death-bed he made it his last request, that the precedent should not again be imitated. So much power, vested for life in the hands of a single person he regarded with jealousy, as unfriendly to the independence of the clergy and the safety of the Church. Calvin also set the example of those synods, convened by different Churches for the establishment of a common order, which have so often been attempted since, and for the most part with faint success. His religious discipline was severe, and excommunication was a civil sentence. These measures could not have been effected in a free republic, if Calvin's influence had not been that of a dictator, rather than a simple minister of Christ. On other points he was no less successful. Shortly after the death of Zuingle the Swiss Churches abandoned his doctrine of the eucharist, and within a few years, not only they, but almost every branch of the reformed Church, had accepted, as their standard of faith, a system of theology in which it would be ridiculous to deny that the influence of Calvin may still be traced.

And yet there were points in his theological system which gave rise to the greatest contentions that, on questions of pure theology, the Church had witnessed since the Arian controversy shook it to its centre. In divinity Calvin was an implicit follower of St. Augustine, and taught, with the great Latin father, the doctrine of the absolute decrees. He considered election to eternal life, on the one hand, as the correlative of reprobation on the other ; and both originating in the sovereignty of God. (Institutes, book 3, chap. 23, which the reader will see is little more than a reduction into a formal method of St. Augustine's arguments in favour of absolute reprobation, gathered from his various works.) These questions did not enter into the theology of Zuingle, nor did they find a place in the Augsburg Confession of the Lutherans. The Church of England afterwards omitted the question of reprobation entirely, and placed the doctrine of election on a wider base ; leaving it apparently an open question whether it results from faith and good works fore-

seen, or merely from the Divine sovereignty. (See Dr. Macbride. Lectures on the 39 Articles.) The Swiss Church, with those of Berne and Zurich, was not easily persuaded to accept as an article of faith the doctrine of predestination as taught by Calvin. The prudence, however, of this great man, seconded by his resolution and his vast renown, triumphed at length so far as to bring about a union between the Swiss Churches and that of Geneva, first in relation to the doctrine of the eucharist and afterwards on the subject of predestination. The doctrine and discipline of the Reformed Church, as modelled by Calvin, were soon afterwards established over a great part of Europe. In 1560, Frederic III. removed the Lutheran teachers in Germany, and filled their places with Calvinists, and at the same time obliged his subjects to accept the rites and discipline of the Church of Geneva. This order was annulled by his son Louis in 1576, but again enforced in 1583; and Calvinism regained a sway, which in Prussia it has lost only in the present generation. The republic of Bremen, and the Protestants of France, entered into a close union with Geneva; and (of all his triumphs, the noblest and the most enduring), the Church of Scotland, acknowledges as its founder, under God, John Knox, the disciple of Calvin. It at once adopted, and still retains unaltered, and guards with watchful jealousy, those doctrines, forms of worship, and ecclesiastical institutions, which were first established at Geneva, though with sundry alterations in the last (of which a more full account will be given in the article on the CHURCH OF SCOTLAND). Other reformed Churches, as those of Denmark, Nassau, and Anhalt, without absolutely submitting themselves to the direction of the Church of Geneva, accepted many of its peculiarities in opposition to the Lutheran scheme of doctrine and polity: and thus a modified Lutheranism prevailed where systematic Calvinism was excluded; or the two Churches co-existed in the same state.

Thus Geneva became the mother and mistress of the reformed Churches. The Theological College which arose under the auspices of Calvin was the resort of the most inquiring minds, and it was directed by men whose fame to this day stands unimpaired by the lapse of centuries. Indeed the Helvetic Church was singularly happy in its roll of illustrious names, far outstripping in this respect the less gifted, or at least less successful, Churches

of the Baltic and the Rhine, and even of Great Britain. Calvin, Beza, Ecolampadius, Musculus, Zuingli, and Rodolph Gualter, were the leaders from whom Protestant Europe learned her first lessons, and at whose feet not a few of our English reformers sat. Their letters, still preserved in the archives of Zurich, show a depth of regard, and a respectful deference, to the founders of the Helvetic Church which are honourable to both sides. A selection of this correspondence, first brought to light by Bishop Burnet, has recently been printed, and to the historical student is invaluable. But, from various causes, the fame of Calvin grew dim at Geneva; and the Swiss churches seemed, twenty years ago, on the point of making final shipwreck of their long-cherished Calvinistic faith. The laxity of Zuingli, upon the Sacraments, was communicated to many of his followers, and, after his death, the same kind of freedom was made use of upon other subjects. Socinus, the reviver of the lowest Arian theory, was himself a member of the Swiss Church, and even adopted the Helvetic confession. He settled at Zurich, where he died in 1562—just two years before Calvin himself. Servetus, denying the godhead of Christ, was burnt as a heretic at Geneva during Calvin's life. The share which the great reformer had in this atrocious (though, in those days, and long after, by no means unusual) act of judicial cruelty, is disputed; but he certainly defended the sentence after it was carried into effect, and, we have no reason to doubt, secretly approved it. Thus, even while Calvin was living, the seeds of decay were already sown in the Church: they lay dormant for a time, and then came to a rapid maturity. Geneva soon ceased to be heard of as a leader amongst the reformed Churches, and when, after a slumber of two hundred years, she again revived, it was as the champion of a system, termed rational Christianity—from which all the peculiar doctrines of Calvin and the Reformers were totally excluded. A late writer, a member of the Church of Scotland, describes the Protestant Cantons of Switzerland, as, at this time, the least religious of all Protestant communities. "The Swiss people present the remarkable social phenomenon of a people eminently moral in conduct, but eminently irreligious; at the head of the moral state in Europe, for ready obedience to the law, for honesty, fidelity, sobriety—at the bottom of the scale for religious feeling, observances, or knowledge." (Laing. *Notes of a Traveller*, &c.

1842.) The same writer describes the state of religion in Geneva in these graphic words: "I happened to be at Geneva one Sunday morning as the bells were tolling for church. The very sounds which once called a Calvin, a Knox, a Zuingli, to religious exercise, were now summoning their descendants to the same house of prayer. I hastened to the ancient cathedral, to see the pulpit from which Calvin preached, to sit perhaps in the very seat from which Knox has listened, to hear the pure doctrines of Christianity from the preachers who now stand where once the great champions of the Reformation stood; to mark too the order and observances of the Calvinistic service here in its native church; to revive too in my mind Scotland and the picturesque sabbath days of Scotland in a foreign land. But where is the stream of citizens' families in the streets, family after family, all so decent and respectable, in their Sunday clothes? where the quiet, the repose, the stillness of the sabbath morning, so remarkable in every Scottish town? Geneva, the seat and centre of Calvinism, the fountain-head from which the pure and living waters of our Scottish Zion flow, the Rome of our Presbyterian doctrine and practice, has fallen from her original doctrine and practice lower than ever Rome fell. Rome still has superstition; Geneva has not even that semblance of religion. In the head church of the original seat of Calvinism, in a city of five-and-twenty thousand souls, at the only service on the sabbath-day—for there is no evening service—I sat down in a congregation of about two hundred females, and three-and-twenty males, with scarcely a youth, or boy, or working man amongst them. A meagre liturgy, or printed form of prayer, a sermon, which, as far as religion was concerned, might have figured the evening before at a meeting of some geological society, as an essay on the Mosaic chronology, a couple of psalm tunes on the organ, and a waltz to go out with, were the Church service. A pleasure tour, publicly advertised, around the lake in the afternoon, and overflowing congregations in the evening at the theatre, the equestrian circus, the concert saloons, ball-rooms and coffee-houses, are all that distinguish Sunday in the city, in which, three centuries ago, Calvin moved the senate and the people."

The supine state of the Protestant Church is equally visible throughout the cantons of Switzerland. In 1839 an insurrection broke forth in the canton of Zurich, in consequence of the local government having appointed Dr. Strauss to the chair of theology.

Dr. Strauss, in his "Leben Jesu" (Life of Christ), having avowed his disbelief of those events of our Saviour's history which do not admit of explanation by the ordinary laws and operations of nature; and being, in fact, the leader of the nealogian school of divines. The peasantry were headed by some of their clergy, and blood was shed; but the movement was rather political than religious, and was neither accompanied nor followed by any revival of religious feeling in the people. The attempt, however, on the part of the local government to appoint a theological professor, who denied and controverted the primary facts on which Christianity stands, sufficiently explains the low state of religion in Switzerland.

The causes of this decay have been thus explained. — Besides the original taint which the national character received from the daring speculations of Socinus, the State and Church were engrafted on what has been termed "a bastard Lutheranism." Calvin, in imitation of the Lutherans, or in order to prevent the excitement of the people by the prayers of fanatical preachers, who adapted their effusions to the passions of the hour, or with a view of preserving the hearer from other doctrines and impressions, prescribed a set form of prayer. But it was extremely meagre, wanting the venerated antiquity, the pure eloquence, and the application to every condition of mind and body which marks our English liturgy, and in some degree that of the old Lutheran Church. There is little in the public service to engage the affections of the hearer; and, unless the preacher be eloquent, nothing even to interest him. The usual form of Church duty is this: the minister first reads a short prayer, the people standing; then gives out two verses of a psalm, which are well performed, there being an organ generally even in country churches, and all the psalm-books having the notes of the music printed with the psalms, and the common people understand music enough to use the notes. The text is read while the people are still standing, and they then sit down, and old men and peasants generally put on their hats while the minister delivers his sermon. The sermons are always read from papers; but some of the young clergy use the papers very little, and seem to have them merely as notes to refresh the memory. The printed forms of prayer are then read. They have at least the merit of being very short. None of the congregation have them in their hands. They are not used, like the English Prayer-book, by the congre-

gation as well as the minister, but only by the minister. A couple of verses of a psalm conclude the service, which, with a brisk tune on the organ—the fashionable opera air of the day—to go out of the church with, occupies about three-quarters of an hour. This is all the Church service on Sundays.

During the last twenty years the state of religion has shown great improvement in consequence of the labours of Dr. Cæsar Malan, the eloquent and energetic Dr. Merle D'Aubigné, and others. In Geneva, and at various towns in the cantons, the doctrines of the ancient Church are again preached to crowded congregations, and, perhaps, with more practical wisdom than in Calvin's days. A "Société Evangelique" has been formed, with the view of recovering Switzerland and southern France to the principles of the Reformation and the practice of true piety. Their proceedings are full of interest; but the subject is scarcely ripe for history.

The history of the Calvinistic Church in Germany, and more particularly in Prussia, still requires our attention. The whole of Germany is computed to contain fourteen millions and a half of Protestants. Prussia alone contains upwards of eight millions and a half. These have been all along divided unequally, the preponderance, on either side, varying in different states between Lutherans and Calvinists; the members of other Churches, Moravians, Baptists, and the like, being comparatively few. Attempts have been repeatedly made since the days of Calvin to unite the two Churches. A scheme, termed the Form of Concord, was devised by Andreas, a Lutheran professor, in 1572, revised by the great divines on both sides, and adopted, for a time, by most of the Lutheran Churches: but the Calvinists were dissatisfied, and the endeavour to enforce it created fresh dissensions. A second, and equally fruitless endeavour, was made by a convocation of divines from Saxony, Brandenburg, Brunswick, and the Palatinate, in 1583. In 1615, 1631, and 1662 these attempts were repeated by the electors of Brandenburg; and in 1703, 1707, and 1736 by their successors, the kings of Prussia. Frederic William, at the last of these conferences, proposed to drop the Calvinistic doctrines of predestination, if the Lutheran Church would abandon those ceremonials which were offensive to the Calvinists, such as the high altar, the wafer, the priestly robes, and the chanting of the prayers after

the Romish custom. Many Lutherans were disposed to accept the terms; but other subjects now began to occupy the minds of continental kings and nations, and the congregations slumbered on, each after its ancient use and custom.

Under Frederic the Great infidelity and indifference were the fashion of the times. Germany had no literature of her own; and the writings of Voltaire, and the example of Frederic, were grossly irreligious. The seven-years' war was followed by a period of yet deeper profaneness and irreligion; and during the wars of the French revolution, at the close of the century, Germany, one great battle-field for twenty years, had neither the inclination nor the power to revise and amend her spiritual institutions; and when, in 1817, the third centenary commemoration of the Reformation appeared, the people of Prussia were in a state of great apathy and indifference on all religious questions. The late king, anxious to accomplish a project which so many of his ancestors had in vain attempted, resolved to seize the favourable moment, and to commemorate the centenary by the union of the two Churches. In a proclamation, dated September 27, 1817, the union was decreed in the following terms:—"My illustrious ancestors, the elector John Sigismund, &c., &c., laboured with anxious and pious care, as the history of their lives and government shows, to unite the two divided Protestant Churches, the Lutheran and the Reformed, or Calvinistic, into one evangelic Christian Church. Honouring their memory and salutary intentions, I willingly join in this purpose, and pray that a work, pleasing to God, which in their days met with insurmountable obstacles from an unhappy sectarian spirit, may, under the influence of a better spirit, which sets aside the non-essential, and holds fast by the essential in Christianity, in which both confessions of faith agree, be accomplished in my states, to the honour of God and the welfare of the Christian Church, at the approaching centenary commemoration of the Reformation. . . . To this long wished-for union, in which the (Calvinistic) Reformed Church will not be compelled to embrace the Lutheran, nor the Lutheran the Reformed, but both will form one newly-created Evangelical Church, in the spirit of their holy founder, no obstacle now exists, provided both these parties desire it earnestly and in a true Christian spirit; and on the approaching occasion of returning thanks to Divine Providence

for the unspeakable blessing of the Reformation, show that they truly honour the memory of its great founder by carrying on his work. But much as I wish that the Reformed and Lutheran Churches in my dominions may partake with me of these views, I respect their rights and liberty, and am far from pressing them on this occasion to adopt and establish it. This union can only be of real value if neither persuasion nor indifference induce its acceptance, but a real and free conviction; and if its roots and existence be not planted in the very soul, and not in outward forms. . . . I leave it to the wisdom of the consistories, and the pious zeal of the clergy and their synods, to determine the outward concurring forms of this union, convinced that the congregations will, in a true Christian spirit, gladly follow them. The forms will be easily adjusted, and the externals will be simple, dignified, and true. May the promised time arrive when all shall form one flock under one Shepherd, having one spirit, one love, one hope!"

It is impossible not to respect the piety of this appeal, and to applaud the endeavour to heal the breach between the two ancient Churches of the Reformation. Of about 8,950 congregations of Protestants in Prussia, 7,750 were reported to have joined the union, and adopted the new ritual. On the 30th of June, 1817, an order from the Minister of State abolished the names of Lutheran and Reformed or Calvinistic Churches, and also the name of Protestant, common to both, and commanded the Church to be known and designated for the future as the Evangelical Church of Prussia. There was a general acquiescence, if not a hearty submission, on the part of the nation; and thus at length the Church of Calvin disappeared in the most potent state of Germany.

So great a change was not easily brought about. Difficulties presented themselves which the king and his advisers had not foreseen, and the royal mandate was not executed without severities strangely at variance with its mild and placid tone. The Berlin synod, to whom the formation of the new Church had been intrusted, endeavoured to effect a compromise on the question of the presence in the Sacrament; and instead of the words used in the Lutheran Church, "This is my body," substituted, "Christ said, this is my body." But this gave great offence to many pious Calvinists, and by Lutherans was con-

sidered in the light of an evasion. In 1822 a new liturgy and "agenda," to give perfect uniformity to the service of the new Prussian Church, was drawn up by the same divines and submitted to the revision of Dr. Neander. When, however, it came to be introduced it met with great opposition in various places. The king was irritated, and the objections having assumed a political form, they were denounced as treasonable. In some poor villages in Silesia, which refused to exchange the old Lutheran service for the new, troops were quartered on the people till they should conform. They were reduced to utter ruin, and a few of them, about six hundred in number, calling themselves old Lutherans, fled from persecution across the Atlantic, and found a home with the descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers. The magistrates of the city of Berlin were required, as patrons of the city churches, to introduce the new liturgy. They answered in a declaration, dated July 13, 1832, which seems to show that the monarch had mistaken the temper of his subjects. "If," they say, "this liturgical right of the sovereign is to be held one of the inherent rights of sovereignty, it must extend with equal force to all his subjects, alike to Catholics as well as Protestants. But the king claims no such right over his Catholic subjects, and the Protestants will be induced rather to go over to the Catholic faith than to be exposed to the constant disquietude of conscience by ever-changing forms of worship imposed at the pleasure of each succeeding sovereign. If inherent, this liturgical right must belong to other sovereigns, to Roman Catholics, and how is the Protestant religion to subsist at all in Catholic states if the Catholic sovereign has this inherent right over their religious observances?" This document was backed by a memorial from twelve ministers of Berlin, in which they repeat their own objections to the new service-book. It has been ably defended, on the one hand, by bishop Eylert, of Potsdam, and assailed, on the other, by Dr. Von Schutz, of Wurtzburg, and a host of polemical writers, Roman Catholic and Protestant. What its future destiny may be, or whether the experiment will utterly fail, and if so, what is destined to occupy its place, are speculations on which it would be hazardous to offer an opinion. Chevalier Bunsen, in his "Church of the Future," seems to prepare an edifice for which the foundations have been scarcely laid at present; how far it may exist in the reasonable hopes or

wishes of his countrymen, we cannot tell. The present distractions of Germany will, no doubt, interfere with any project of Church reform, even were Prussia ripe for the change. We conclude with a description of the service in the new Prussian Church by the keen observer whose volume we have already quoted; though it seems to us not free from a touch of sarcasm. There is an altar railed in, and covered with an altar-cloth. Two lighted wax candles and a crucifix stand upon the altar, and behind and around it are pictures of saints and holy subjects, as in a Roman Catholic church. The only difference observable is, that the priest at the altar is in a plain black gown, instead of the embroidered robes in which the Catholic priest officiates. He reads the new liturgy standing with his back against the altar, and facing the people. The Amen to each prayer is finely quavered out by the choristers behind the altar, and the "Halleluia," the "Holy, holy, holy," the "Glory to God in the highest," &c., are delivered with great musical effect, as might be expected in so musical a land. But, as justly objected to by the twelve ministers in their protest against this new service, the congregation have no part in all this; they are not made partakers, as in the former, and in the English liturgies, in the act of public worship. They are but passive listeners, as to an opera.

So little has it been intended that the congregation should take part in this new service, that no book of the liturgy, equivalent to the English Common Prayer Book, are in their hands. The liturgy is for the clergyman only, and is not even to be got at the booksellers' shops. The only book of public worship in the hands of the congregation is the *Gesangbuch*. This is a sort of hymn-book in doggerel verse, which supersedes the Psalms of David and the paraphrases of portions of Scripture used in our Church services. It is printed as prose, but each clause of a sentence is a line rhyming to another clause. It is divided into sections and sentences, which are numbered; and the numbers being stuck up in conspicuous parts of the church, the congregation, on entering, sees what is to be sung without the minister or clerk giving out the place and verse. The whole part that the congregation has to take in the public worship by the new service is to sing or chant a portion of this *Gesangbuch*, with the accompaniment of the organ, before the minister comes to

the altar to read the liturgy, and again, in the interval between the liturgy and the sermon. The whole liturgy occupies about half an hour; and as the ministers in the new church are prohibited in the agenda from occupying more than one hour, the sermon seldom exceeds five-and-twenty minutes. This, in the more serious part of the congregation, occasions great dissatisfaction. In so short a time the preacher can scarcely give an exposition of his text, much less apply it to the wants and circumstances of his hearers. It prevents also the possibility of entering upon a wide and varied course of instruction from the pulpit, and may in part account for the growth of that rationalism or nealogianism which, since the establishment of the Evangelical Church, has found its strongest citadel in Prussia. (See RATIONALISM.)

COPTIC CHURCH.—This is the Monophysite Church in Egypt. Its head is styled the Patriarch of Alexandria, though he resides at Cairo. It has a bishop or titular patriarch of Jerusalem, who also lives at Cairo, visiting Jerusalem at Easter. The Copts have a convent at Jerusalem, and a chapel within the church of the holy sepulchre. The history of the Coptic Church may be very briefly stated.

In the fifth century, Eutyches taught that the two natures, human and divine, in the person of Christ, were so blended as to become one nature, the human being absorbed in the divine. (See ARMENIAN CHURCH.) He raised a formidable party, and amongst his followers was Dioscorus, patriarch of Alexandria. By his influence it was that Eutyches escaped condemnation at the General Council of Ephesus, A.D. 449, summoned expressly on the subject of his heresy; but by a decree of the Fourth General Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 457, both Eutyches and Dioscorus were condemned; and, in consequence, the latter was banished from his see. But his friends in Egypt were powerful enough to prevail ultimately against the decision of the orthodox party. A Eutychian, or Monophysite, Church was established in Egypt, which, under the title of the Coptic Church, continues to the present time. Probably no section of the Christian Church is reduced to a lower state of degradation, ignorance, and poverty. Besides the patriarchs there are twelve bishops, and a great

number of archpriests, priests, and deacons; but it frequently happens that neither the priest nor any of his congregation can read, and the conduct of the former is often such as to entitle him to no respect. Missionaries were sent out by the Church Missionary Society some years since, with the benevolent wish of restoring the Coptic Church to a purer state. They found the clergy and people sunk in sloth and superstition; the clergy using the gospels as charms, and some of them teaching that the Virgin Mary was a person in the Godhead. The churches contain no images; but they are decorated with gaudy pictures of the saints, before which the people prostrate themselves. They suppose that if a child die unbaptized, it will be blind in a future state. They are said to practise circumcision on their children. (Lane's "Manners and Customs of Modern Egyptians." London, 1836.) They maintain the doctrine of the transmutation of the elements into the real body and blood of Christ; and offer prayers for the dead. The invocation of the Virgin is commonly practised. The Coptic language has long fallen into disuse, and is now understood by few; but the services of religion are still conducted in it, with occasional explanations of some parts of the service in Arabic, now the spoken language of the country.

The number of Coptic churches and convents is stated at about one hundred and fifty. The Coptic Christians do not exceed one hundred and fifty thousand, of whom, perhaps, ten thousand reside at Cairo. They have long suffered great oppressions from the Mahomedan rulers of Egypt, and bear the mark of a degraded race. They are said to be suspicious, sullen, and faithless. The men are obliged to wear a coloured turban to distinguish them from the Moslems, and the women are concealed with a veil. Under the present ruler of Egypt their condition has been considerably improved. There are numerous schools for boys; and the British and Foreign Bible Society has furnished them with the Scriptures in Coptic and Arabic.

It was in Egypt that, in the early ages of Christianity, the monkish system was practised in its severest forms; and the same disposition still exists. Monastic seclusion is common amongst the Coptic Christians, and great austerity is practised. The number of their convents exceeds that of their churches; but the monks are profoundly ignorant, and their chief virtue is the hospitality they cheerfully extend to travellers. Manuscripts

of great value have been discovered in some of these refuges, and no doubt many more exist, and will one day, we trust, reward the diligence of our enterprising travellers.

The Abyssinian Church is a branch of the ancient Coptic Church of Egypt. The *abuna*, or bishop of Abyssinia, is required by a canon of his own Church to be appointed or consecrated by the patriarch of Alexandria, to whom he is subject. (See ABYSSINIA, CHURCH OF.)

COVENANTERS, by writers of the last century termed CAMERONIANS; a once numerous body of Scotch Presbyterians. Their leader, Richard Cameron, fell in battle at Airmoss, fighting against prelacy, in 1680. The history of the Cameronians is that of a political no less than a religious party; but it is interwoven with the spiritual affairs of Scotland during the reign of Charles II., and forms a painful episode in the history of the Scottish Church.

To understand the nature of the principles for which the Cameronians fought and suffered, it will be necessary to carry back the reader to the affairs of Scotland in the time of James I. In the year 1581 a confession of faith, or national COVENANT, was subscribed, first by the king and his nobility and afterwards by all ranks, in which episcopal government was condemned and a Presbyterian Church established. An unsuccessful attempt was made a few years afterwards by some of the nobility to restore episcopacy, which led to a solemn ratification of the Covenant in the year 1590; and James himself being suspected of a too favourable regard for popery and prelacy, the Covenant was again renewed by the General Assembly at Edinburgh in 1596. James succeeded to the throne of England upon the death of Elizabeth in 1603, and was scarcely seated in his new dignities when he plainly discovered his aversion to the Presbyterian kirk. In 1610, three bishops were consecrated in London, and sent down to Scotland to take possession of the sees of Glasgow, Brechin, and Galloway: they proceeded to consecrate an archbishop of St. Andrews, and to place bishops in the other anciens sees. These proceedings were very unpopular. The churches where episcopalian ministers officiated were forsaken, riots frequently occurred, and the prisons were crowded with the

Presbyterian clergy who refused to own the authority of the bishops. Matters were in this state when Charles I., accompanied by archbishop Laud, visited Scotland in the summer of 1633. He not only resolved to enforce episcopacy, but, with infatuated zeal, to enforce those ceremonies which were in use in the Church of England it is true, but still under constant protest from a large section of both clergy and laity. On the 23rd of July it was resolved to introduce the surplice and the "Service-book," in the great church of Edinburgh. The dean was reading prayers in the desk, and in his surplice, when an old woman starting up exclaimed, "Villain! dost thou say the mass at my lug?" (ear), and threw the stool on which she sat at his head. A national uproar followed. Remonstrances and petitions were sent in great numbers to Charles, entreating him to relay the ceremonies or to withdraw the bishops; but these were treated with disdain. The consequence was that the National Covenant was once more brought forward, read in the Assembly and the churches, and subscribed and sworn to with tears of enthusiasm. The Assembly disannulled all the acts of previous Assemblies by which prelacy had been countenanced, and protested against the spiritual supremacy of the sovereign, in these memorable words: "That it is unlawful itself, and prejudicial to the privileges that Christ has left his Church, for the king to dissolve or break up the Assemblies of this Kirk, or stay their proceedings; for then it would follow that religion and Church-government depended absolutely on the pleasure of the prince," &c. The spiritual supremacy of the sovereign has always been exceedingly distasteful to the Presbyterian Church. It was this which scandalized the Covenanters more than prelacy itself; and the rupture which has so recently taken place in the Church of Scotland, in our own times, owes its existence to the same principle. The Scotch Parliament met in June 1640, and confirmed the acts of the Assembly, and once more ratified the Covenant. Charles, now embroiled with his own subjects, was obliged to sanction what he had no power to resist. It was enacted by his own authority in Edinburgh—for he had now returned to the north—"that every member of succeeding Parliaments shall take and subscribe the National Covenant, and give an oath in Parliament relative thereunto;" and thus the Presbyterian government and discipline were re-established by the King,

the Parliament, and the Assembly, and prelacy was legally abrogated and abjured.

The National Covenant, slightly altered in form, was adopted by the Westminster Assembly of Divines in 1643, who wished to establish a Presbyterian Church in England upon the model of the Kirk. It was now termed "The Solemn League and Covenant," being intended as a compact between the two nations. It was subscribed and sworn to by the Lords and Commons at Westminster in 1643, and, once more, by the whole Scottish nation, and, if possible, with greater enthusiasm than before. It bound the subscribers with a solemn oath, amongst other reformatations, "to endeavour, without respect of persons, the extirpation of popery, prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness;—lest we partake in other men's sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues." To this instrument Charles II. set his hand, on his coronation in Scotland, in 1649, and swore to observe it the year afterwards at Breda. On the 16th of August, being then at Dumferling, and anxious to secure the confidence of his Presbyterian subjects, he published a declaration in which he says, "Though his Majesty, as a dutiful son, be obliged to honour the memory of his royal father, and have in estimation the person of his mother, yet doth he desire to be deeply humbled before God because of his father's hearkening to, and following evil counsels, and his opposition to the work of reformation, and to the Solemn League and Covenant, and for the idolatry of his mother, the toleration of which in the king's house could not but be a high provocation to Him who is a jealous God, &c." The king goes on to declare, "that he has sworn and subscribed to the Solemn League and Covenant, not upon any sinister intention and crooked design for attaining his own ends, but, so far as human weakness will permit, in the truth and sincerity of his heart; and that he is firmly resolved, in the Lord's strength, to adhere thereto all the days of his life. He will have no enemies but the enemies to the Covenant, and no friends but the friends of the Covenant." This declaration had been extorted from the young king by a resolution of the General Assembly, that "they would own the king so far only as he owns and prosecutes the cause of God, and disclaims his and his father's opposition to the work of God and

to the Covenant." Presbyterian writers have remarked that none can compare these solemn oaths and protestations with Charles's conduct afterwards without horror for his wicked dissimulation and perjury. His conduct, no doubt, was infamous; but, at the same time, these were hard conditions to impose upon a king; and the conduct of the Scottish clergy in thus placing before him, for his signature, a document in which the memory of both his parents was traduced, has met with the severe censure of virtuous men of all parties.

Charles recovered his English throne in 1660, and it was immediately seen that, notwithstanding his solemn protestations, prelacy was about to be restored in Scotland. On various pretexts several eminent ministers were imprisoned. The Scotch Parliament met in 1661, and the influence of the Court was sufficient to induce them to pass the "Rescissory Act," by which they renounced the Solemn League and Covenant, declared the king's power in public offices absolute and unlimited, and settled the government of the Church on such a basis "as the king finds most consistent with scripture, monarchy, and peace." Thus, in effect, the ecclesiastical affairs of Scotland were placed absolutely in the king's hands. Presbyteries, synods, and kirk-sessions were still permitted to assemble, but their power was gone. Presbyterian government was expiring, and scarcely outlived the year. Soon afterwards the synods were suppressed, and the Solemn League and Covenant was burnt by the hangman, by order of both Houses of the (English) Parliament.

It was now resolved to establish prelacy upon the ruins of the Presbyterian Church: it was restored entirely by virtue of the royal supremacy, and had no other warrant than a proclamation from Whitehall. The choice of bishops was the next consideration, and "the choice," Bishop Burnet says, "was generally very bad." Sharp was made archbishop of St. Andrews, and metropolitan. The Presbyterian writers describe his character in the darkest colours, as "a monster of hypocrisy, perjury, and villainess." But the history of these unhappy times was written by contemporaries, naturally enough, with too much heat and passion. Sharp had been a Presbyterian, and was one, indeed, when designated to the episcopate, having received only Presbyterian orders. On the return of Charles to London, he had been employed on behalf of the Kirk of Scotland to obtain the ratifi-

cation of all their privileges, and, amongst the rest, of the Covenant. He basely betrayed his trust, and received the primacy as his reward, which may well explain the odium under which his memory still lies in Scotland. Most of the other bishops had sworn to the Covenant, and, with one exception, all of them were Presbyterians. Leighton was probably the only one amongst them whose temper, learning, or piety, qualified him for such an office; and he is said to have entered upon it with much reluctance, and, as he became acquainted with the character of his brother bishops, with gloomy forebodings. The new ecclesiastical constitution was now accepted by the Scotch Parliament, and the bishops were seated in its House of Lords. The irritation of the people was indescribable; four hundred of their favourite ministers were silenced, and many were imprisoned for refusing to conform. Gillespie, principal of the college of Glasgow, a minister of unquestioned learning and piety, was summoned to Edinburgh, on a charge of high treason, though known to be in a dying state. The Marquis of Argyle, Guthrie, and Captain Govan, leaders of the Presbyterian party, died upon the scaffold on a similar charge; and the estates of others were confiscated. At length, in 1664, a Court of High Commission was established, similar to that which had been the instrument of so much tyranny in England in the time of Laud. It was certainly one of the most infamous courts that ever was erected in any Protestant nation. It consisted of forty-four members, but five was a quorum. They were authorized to call before them "all obstinate contemners of the discipline of the Church—all keepers of conventicles—all who preached in private houses or elsewhere, kept fasts, or administered the Lord's Supper—all who spoke, preached, wrote, or printed, to the scandal or detriment of the government in Church or state—all absentees from public worship,—and to punish them by fine or imprisonment, &c., *according to law*." But a clause was inserted, which, in fact, rendered the Commission absolute:—"and generally the commissioners aforesaid are authorized and empowered to do and execute *what they shall find necessary* for his Majesty's service."—Crookshank, Hist. Church of Scotland, vol. i., p. 172.

Sharp seems to have chosen for his model the worst precedents of Laud and Whitgift. It was by his advice the Court of High Commission was revived in Scotland; and Wodrow, the Scotch

Presbyterian historian, asserts that he, at the same time, moved that he himself might have the precedence of all the officers of state in its management. This motion the king complied with ; and accordingly the high commissioner was sent down to form the new tribunal, with a letter to the Privy Council of the same date, signifying his royal pleasure that the archbishop of St. Andrews should have the first place at the council-board, and all other public meetings, before the chancellor and all other subjects within the kingdom. This, of course, disgusted the nobility ; and the common people being already in hostility, the new regimen rested solely upon force.

The proceedings of this court were most iniquitous. One bishop was necessary in order to form a quorum ; and Sharp himself was often present. His temper, which naturally was by no means gentle, was often ruffled by the encounters he met with even on the bench. Smith, the minister of Cowend, was brought up for preaching in his own house after he was silenced. In addressing the archbishop he avoided calling him my lord. " Do you know," said the Earl of Rothes, " to whom you are speaking ?" " Yes, my lord, I do," replied Smith. " I am speaking to Mr. James Sharp, once a fellow-minister with myself." Smith was immediately laid in irons in a dungeon, called the Thieves'-hole, in company with a furious madman. His friends, it was discovered, brought him food by the grating which opened on the street, and he was removed forthwith to an inner cell, from whence he was banished to one of the Shetland Islands. A more atrocious case was that of some boys of Ancrum, who had thrown stones at the new episcopalian minister, though it was alleged that neither he nor any one else had been hit. This boyish outrage had been provoked by the misconduct of the clergyman himself, who seems to have been a man of worthless character. He had been already excommunicated by the Kirk, for some offence ; and a countrywoman, on the day of his induction, remonstrated with him, it may be supposed in no courteous terms, in order " to persuade him from intruding himself upon a reclaiming and reluctant people." The four boys, the woman, and her two brothers, were brought prisoners to Edinburgh, and placed before the high commission. The sentence of the court was, that the boys should be scourged through the city, burnt in the face with a hot iron, and sold as slaves to Barbadoes. The children endured their punishment with a heroism that amazed

and delighted the vast, indignant multitudes. The woman was ordered to be whipped through the town of Jedburgh. The bishop of Glasgow was applied to, to obtain a remission of the sentence; he refused with a coarse and brutal jest,—“he would make them claw the itch out of her shoulders.” The two brothers were banished to Virginia into slavery. Bishop Burnet tells us, that many of the episcopal clergy of Scotland were greatly shocked at these proceedings, and that he himself drew up a memorial, of which he sent copies to the bishops of his acquaintance, to protest against the misconduct of the Scottish bishops. Sharp having heard of this, demanded that Burnet should be at once deposed and excommunicated; and his protest seems to have been withdrawn. In fact, all reasonable, all moderate men, stood aghast; equally terrified with the cruelties exercised in the north, and with the recklessness of the court in London.

The natural results followed: a rising took place at a village near Dumfries, in consequence of some cruelties; and, in the fray, a soldier was killed. The poor people, in alarm, took arms; the contagion spread; a few Presbyterian clergymen unwisely joined them; the covenant was renewed with great solemnity by a body of four or five thousand men, who marched for Edinburgh, to lay their grievances, as they said, before the government and ask for justice. They were met at Pentland by the king's forces, and easily routed with but little bloodshed; for, although the government of the day dignified the affair with the title of a great rebellion, it appears that the Covenanters had no serious intention of bringing the matter to the issue of the sword. Their appearance in arms was intended rather to coerce the government than to overturn it.

A scene of horror followed such as in the history of civilized nations is almost unexampled. That the leaders in the rising should be barbarously executed was only according to the fashion of the times; that their followers should be sent by scores to the gibbet, or sold as slaves to the plantations, was to be expected under a Stuart dynasty; and such things would have passed unnoticed, even in later days. But Sharp was determined to wreak his vengeance on the Presbyterians, and, while the gallows groaned beneath his victims, men, women and children suffered tortures worse than death before the executioner finally stepped into their relief. A favourite mode of torture was the boot, a

kind of iron vice, in which the leg was compressed till the marrow started from the bone. To this torment many of the Presbyterian clergy were condemned: amongst others, Hugh Mackail, chaplain to Sir James Stuart, of Kirkfield. On the 1st of September 1662, he preached in the great church of Edinburgh, and, speaking of the persecutions that had befallen the Church, he said, among other things, that "the people of God had been persecuted both by a Pharaoh on the throne, a Haman in the State, and a Judas in the Church." He made no application; perhaps none was necessary. His hearers, however, discovered a resemblance in Charles, Lauderdale, and Sharp. Mackail fled, but foolishly returned and joined the rebels. He was first tortured to extort a confession with regard to the late rising; he was then tried, and sentenced to be hanged. His behaviour was that of a martyr: he declared that he was less anxious as to his death than he had often been about his sermons. On the scaffold he spoke with exultation. Then, "the napkin being put over his face, he prayed a little within himself; after which, he put up the cloth, saying, he had one word more to say, in order to show them the comfort he had in his death. And thus he said, 'I hope you perceived no alteration or discouragement in my countenance and carriage; and as it may be your wonder, so I profess it is a wonder to myself; but I will tell you the reason of it. Besides the justness of my cause, this is my comfort, which was said of Lazarus, when he died, that the angels did carry his soul into Abraham's bosom; so that, as there is a great solemnity here, of a confluence of people, a scaffold, a gallows, and people looking out of windows; so there is a greater and more solemn preparation in heaven of angels to carry my soul to Christ's bosom.' And after speaking a little to the same purpose, he concludes thus: 'And now I leave off to speak any more to creatures, and turn my speech to thee, O Lord! And now I begin my intercourse with God, which shall never be broken off. Farewell, father and mother, friends and relations; farewell the world and all delights; farewell meat and drink; farewell sun, moon, and stars: welcome God and Father; welcome sweet Jesus the Mediator of the new Covenant; welcome blessed Spirit of grace and God of all consolation; welcome glory, welcome eternal life, welcome death.'"

Similar scenes were enacted in all the disturbed districts. It

was the policy of the government to brand the whole body of the Presbyterians as rebels, and its vengeance fell without discrimination upon the innocent and guilty. Bishop Burnet's testimony is very unfavourable to the Scotch prelates. Wisheart, bishop of Edinburgh, showed, he says, a Christian disposition, sending liberal supplies from his house to the prisoners. But nothing could soften Sharp ; on the contrary, he encouraged the episcopal ministers in the disaffected counties to bring in all the information they could gather, both against the prisoners and their associates, in order to their prosecution. Thus the country was exasperated in the highest degree ; and "they looked on them as wolves and not as shepherds." Numbers of the clergy, as well as laymen, were executed for high treason—always exulting in the cause and expressing sentiments of exalted piety. "I could die as a hero," said one of the latter on the scaffold, "but I prefer to die as a Christian." The same sentiment animated all the sufferers. At mid-day an attempt was made to shoot the archbishop of St. Andrews in his coach, in the streets of Edinburgh. The assassin was well known to the citizens, but he escaped through their connivance, though a large reward was offered for his conviction. The severities still continued, and numbers of the country gentlemen of Scotland were insulted, fined, and sometimes put to death. At length, in 1669, a letter of indulgence was obtained from the king on behalf of some of the Presbyterian clergy. But it was clogged with conditions which were very disagreeable to Presbyterians, and but few availed themselves of it. Those who refused to do so were prosecuted for holding conventicles. The Covenanters now met in the open air, and when discovered, were severely harassed. Archbishop Leighton proposed terms of accommodation : he would have allowed of Presbyteries, provided the clergy would consent, in return, to episcopacy ; but they would make no concessions. In 1672, a second indulgence was issued in behalf of about sixty ministers, whose names were given, and who were least offensive to the ruling power ; but it gave little satisfaction. In fact, it attempted to place the clergy at the disposal of the Crown ; "and this," said they, "is pure *Erastianism*. A secular power affects to govern the minister who receives his commission from Christ himself." Besides, the indulgence was meant to silence all those who were not expressly named ; so that a few were unwilling

to receive, under any conditions, as a favour, what all claimed as a right. Thus matters stood for the present, the hatred of each party to the other daily gathering strength. Enormous fines were imposed upon the gentry. Eleven gentlemen were amerced collectively in the sum of three hundred and sixty-eight thousand and thirty-one pounds, Scotch money, or about thirty thousand pounds sterling. The items run thus:—"Sir George Maxwell, of Newark, for three years' absence from his parish church, 31,200*l.*; for a weekly conventicle, 62,400*l.*; for three disorderly baptisms, 1,200*l.* Total (in English money, about ten thousand pounds, or) in Scotch, 94,800*l.*" The Covenanters generally came armed to their field meetings, and sometimes blood was shed; for the Highlanders, then, a lawless race, were let loose upon them, and went, attended by their chiefs, in military array through the Lowlands, plundering and laying waste. Archbishop Sharp was looked upon as the prime author of all these calamities, and a terrible revenge awaited him. On the 3rd of May 1679, as he was riding in his coach, accompanied by his daughter, and attended by four servants, a small body of nine or ten persons—gentlemen, it was said, of good families—fell upon him on the road near Kennoway. After deliberately cutting the traces and dismounting the attendants, one of them, calling him a "cruel and bloody traitor," bid him prepare for death. Accounts differ with respect to the archbishop's conduct. The Presbyterian writers represent him as horribly alarmed and clamorous only for his life. A relation, published by authority, describes the last scene as that of a pious martyrdom amidst brutal assassins. A pistol was fired into the carriage, which missed the archbishop and wounded his daughter. Whether he then stepped out, or was dragged by the conspirators, is a debated point. He was again upbraided with his crimes, and especially with shedding the blood of the saints, and persecuting the Church of God, and then despatched by a shower of bullets, and his head beaten to a shapeless mass. The feeling of indifference with which the murder was regarded, may be inferred from the fact that the assassins were never discovered. A proclamation was issued forthwith, offering a large reward, or a free pardon even to an actual accomplice; and all persons in the shire of Fife, where the deed was done, were compelled to appear on certain days, at specified places, in order to be confronted by the witnesses.

Several were executed as accessaries, but the chief actors were not betrayed, though known to many. Another rising followed at Rutherglen, which was quelled at the battle of Bothwell Bridge; four hundred of the Covenanters were slain, and many more murdered in cold blood. The infamous Claverhouse now comes upon the scene, and for six years the cruelties practised by him and his associates almost exceed the boundaries of human credulity. The persecution was at its height in 1685. Abjuration courts were established, and the soldiers themselves were formally intrusted with the power of life and death. Before such tribunals it was enough that the accused would not abjure the covenant, or the *engagement*, to the same effect, of a more recent date. An Act was passed in Edinburgh, that all those who would not declare the Bothwell Bridge affair to be a rebellion, the primate's death murder, or the covenant rebellion, or only *hesitated* on these questions, should be tried for their lives. It was to the common soldiers in the fields, and to the abjuration courts, these trials were committed! The effects were dreadful. Multitudes were destroyed every month, without the tedious formality of a trial. Hanging, beheading, drowning, torturing, and other methods of cruelty, were daily practised. At Wigton, Margaret Maclauchlan, a widow of sixty-three, and Margaret Wilson, a girl of eighteen, refused the abjuration oath. They were bound to stakes driven into the shore below high water, so that death came nearer with each wave of the floating tide. The elder woman was placed next the sea, so that she died first. Margaret Wilson was unmoved; she sang the 25th Psalm, read the 8th chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, and prayed. The waves came on, and she disappeared beneath them. She was dragged out of the water half dead, and asked if she would pray for the king. "I desire," she said, "the salvation of all men, and the damnation of none." The bystanders entreated her to cry, God save the king; the words would have saved her life. "God save him if he will," she said, "it is his salvation I desire." The officer who presided at the execution, proposed the oath of abjuration to her, and her friends implored her to spare her life. "I will not," she said; "I am one of Christ's children; let me go." She was again fastened to the stake, and her name is enrolled amongst the martyrs of the covenant.

Several attempts were made to rouse the Presbyterians in a

body to take up arms and throw off their allegiance to the Stuart family. A declaration of this kind was published at Sanquhar, in which it was asserted that the "true Presbyterian Church and covenant nation" were bound to renounce the authority of a king who, though descended from their ancient sovereigns, "had long since departed from what he ought to be, by his perjury and usurpation in spiritual things and tyranny in matters civil." Cameron, Cargill, and other names famous in the history of the Covenanters, were subscribed. The soldiery were immediately sent in search of the daring band who thus arrayed themselves against a powerful and merciless government. A sharp encounter took place at Airmoss, between a body of 120 dragoons and 66 of Covenanters. Cameron and his brother died upon the field; his head and hands were cut off and placed over one of the gates of Edinburgh. "And there," said Murray, who had ordered the exhibition, "is the head and hands that lived praying and preaching, and died praying and fighting." His severed limbs were carried to his father, who was then a prisoner in the Tolbooth, to increase his sorrow. The old man kissed them: "I know them; they are my son's, my dear son's," he cried, "good is the will of the Lord."

James the Second now ascended the throne, with the devotion of an apostate, and the heart of a grand inquisitor. The insurrection of the earl of Argyle was a pretext for new cruelties, and to the last year of his reign, there was scarcely an interval of rest to the Covenanters. One of the last sufferers was Renwick, a minister, who was hanged at Edinburgh in the very year which brought in the prince of Orange and the revolution. His dying words have never been forgotten in his native land. "I must tell you, dear friends and spectators, I die a Presbyterian Protestant. Lord! I die in the faith that thou wilt not leave Scotland, but that thou wilt make the blood of thy witnesses the seed of the Church, and return again and be glorious in our land! I own the covenant, the solemn league, and all the faithful contendings for the covenanted reformation. I leave my testimony, approving the preaching in the fields, and the defending the same by arms. I leave my testimony to all those truths that have been sealed with bloodshed, on scaffolds, fields, or seas, for the cause of Christ. I leave my testimony against popery, prelacy, erastianism, and against all usurpations and encroachments upon Christ's rights;

and in particular against this absolute power, usurped by this usurper, which belongs to no mortal, but is the incommunicable prerogative of Jehovah !”

The revolution of 1688, which rescued England from popery, delivered the Covenanters from their persecutors, and restored the Presbyterian Church. In July 1689, an Act was passed by the Scotch parliament, by which prelacy was abolished. In the next session, the king and queen renounced the spiritual supremacy, “as inconsistent with Presbyterian government.” And thus, to use the words of a Scotch historian, an end was put to a most cruel and bloody persecution, and the Church of Scotland restored to the freedom of her General Assemblies, Synods, Presbyteries and Church Sessions. (Crookshank, *Hist. Ch. Scotland*, vol. ii. 496.) We may add, that the sufferings of the covenanters still shed a lustre over the Church which justly reveres their memory.

DOCETÆ, an obscure section of the great Gnostic heresy. They taught that the body in which our Lord suffered was not properly his own ; that he had, indeed, no proper manhood, and that he died only in appearance upon the cross ; hence their name (Docetæ, from *δοκεῖν*, to seem). Tertullian reduces the heretics in the apostolic times to two—the Docetæ and the Ebionites. Theodoret gives the same account of them. Little more is known of the Docetæ. See article **GNOSTICS**.

DONATISTS.—There were two eminent persons of the name of Donatus, African bishops in the fourth century, from one or other of whom the Donatists took their name. They were rather a faction in the Church than a religious sect ; the question between them and the Catholic Church turning chiefly upon the limits and amount of episcopal authority. But they made a considerable figure in the history of the Church, and some account of them may not be unacceptable in these pages. This new faction started up in Africa, and though it arose from small beginnings, it afflicted the Church most grievously for more than a century. Its history may be briefly told.

Mensurius (bishop of Carthage) dying in the year 311, the

archdeacon Cæcilianus was chosen by the greater part of the clergy and people to fill his place; and he was consecrated to the bishopric by the bishops of Africa Minor, without waiting for the assembly of the Numidian bishops. This hasty proceeding gave great offence to the Numidian prelates, who had always been present at the consecration of the bishops of Carthage; they therefore assembled, and called Cæcilianus before them to give an account of his conduct. The flame thus kindled, was greatly augmented by several Carthaginian presbyters, particularly Botrus and Celesius, who were competitors with Cæcilianus. Lucilla also, an opulent lady, who had been reprimanded by Cæcilianus for her superstitious practices, conceived a bitter hatred to him, and distributed large sums of money amongst the Numidians, to encourage their opposition to the new bishop. Thus divisions arose insensibly.

Secundus of Tigisi, primate of the adjoining province of Numidia, and the seventy prelates who assembled with him in council at Carthage, A.D. 311, now declared Cæcilianus to be unduly elected, and notified to the rest of Africa that they had appointed Majorinus in his room. Cæcilianus refusing to submit to the judgment of the Council, the Carthaginian Church was divided into two factions, and suffered under the contests of two rival bishops, Cæcilianus and Majorinus.

The Numidians alleged two important reasons to justify their sentence against Cæcilianus: first, that Felix of Aptungus, the principal bishop who assisted at his consecration, was a *traditor* (one of those who, during the persecution under Diocletian, had *delivered* the sacred writings and the pious books of the Christians to the magistrates to be burned), and that, as he had thus apostatized from the service of Christ, it was not possible that he could impart the Holy Ghost to the new bishop.

A second reason for their sentence against Cæcilianus was drawn from the extreme harshness and even cruelty displayed in his conduct, while he was a deacon, towards the Christian confessors and martyrs during the persecution under Diocletian; these he had abandoned, in the most merciless manner, to all the extremities of hunger and want, leaving them without food in their prisons, and even denying them that relief with which others were willing to succour them.

To these accusations were added the insolent contumacy of the

new prelate, who refused to obey their summons, and to appear before them in Council, to justify his conduct.

No one opposed Cæcilianus with such bitterness and vehemence as Donatus, bishop of Casæ-Nigræ; and hence the whole faction is called after him, as most writers think, though some are of opinion that the sect derived its name from another Donatus, surnamed the Great, who succeeded Majorinus, bishop of Carthage.

This controversy in a short time spread far and wide, not only throughout Numidia, but even through all the imperial provinces in Africa, which entered so zealously into this ecclesiastical war, that in most cities there were two bishops, one at the head of Cæcilianus's party, and the other acknowledged by the followers of Majorinus.

Roman Africa was a district of great extent: according to Bingham's calculation, it contained six provinces, and 466 bishops, who were able to settle their ordinary affairs among themselves. The supporters of Majorinus seem, at first, to have taken it for granted that so it would be, and at a later period some of their party speak of the views of Donatus as accepted "by nearly the whole world." Perhaps the dispute might have been settled among themselves had it not been for the appeal which the Donatists made to the civil power.

In 313 the Donatists brought this controversy before Constantine, who commissioned Melchiades, bishop of Rome, and three bishops of Gaul, to examine and inquire into the matter. The result of this examination was favourable to Cæcilianus, who was entirely acquitted of the crimes laid to his charge. The accusations adduced against Felix, by whom he was consecrated, were at that time left out of the question; but in the year 314, the cause of that prelate was examined separately by Ælianus, pro-consul of Africa, by whose decision he was absolved. The Donatists, whose cause necessarily suffered by these proceedings, complained much of the judgment pronounced by Melchiades and Ælianus. The small number of bishops that had been appointed jointly with Melchiades to examine their cause, particularly excited their reproaches and even their contempt. They looked upon the decision of seventy venerable Numidian prelates as infinitely more respectable than that pronounced by nineteen bishops (for such was the number assembled at Rome),

who, besides the inferiority of their number, were not sufficiently acquainted with African affairs to be competent judges in the question.

The indulgent emperor, willing to remove these specious complaints, ordered a much more numerous assembly to meet at Arles, composed of bishops from Italy, Germany, Gaul, and Spain. Here again the Donatists lost their cause, but they renewed their efforts by appealing to the immediate judgment of the emperor, who condescended so far as to admit their appeal; and he himself examined the whole affair in the presence of the contending parties, at Milan, in the year 316.

The issue of this third trial was not more favourable to the Donatists than that of the two preceding councils, whose decision the emperor confirmed.

The Donatist party, however, persevered, notwithstanding it now became manifest that the rest of Christendom held them to be in the wrong; party-spirit kept them together, and fortified them against what they called the Transmarine Churches. They loaded Constantine with the bitterest reproaches, and complained that Osius, bishop of Cordova, who was honoured with his friendship, and was intimately connected with Cæcilianus, had, by corrupt insinuations, engaged him to pronounce an unrighteous sentence. The emperor was indignant, and deprived the Donatists of their churches in Africa, and banished their seditious bishops; some were even put to death. Hence arose violent commotions and tumults in Africa, for the Donatists were exceedingly numerous and powerful. Constantine endeavoured to allay these disturbances by kindness and negotiations, but his efforts were fruitless.

These unhappy disturbances gave rise to a confederacy of desperate ruffians, who passed under the name of Circumcelliones. This furious set of men was composed of the rough and savage populace, who embraced the party of the Donatists, and maintained their cause by force of arms, filling the African provinces with slaughter and rapine, and committing the most enormous acts of perfidy and cruelty against the followers of Cæcilianus: it is evident they were Christians in nothing but the name.

This outrageous multitude contributed to render the sect of the Donatists an object of the utmost abhorrence, though it does not appear that the bishops of that faction (those, at

least, who had any reputation for piety) approved of their proceedings.

In the meantime, the discord gathered strength daily, and seemed to portend the approaching horrors of a civil war; to prevent which, Constantine at last abrogated the laws that had been enacted against the Donatists, and allowed the people to adhere to whichever party they pleased.

After the death of Constantine the Great, his son Constans, to whom Africa was allotted in the division of the empire, sent Macarius and Paulus into that province with a view to heal this deplorable schism, and to engage the Donatists to conclude peace.

Their principal bishop opposed all methods of reconciliation, and his example was followed by other prelates of the party. The Circumcelliones also continued to support the cause of the Donatists by the most unrelenting assassinations and cruel massacres; they were, however, stopped in their career by Macarius, who defeated them in the battle of Bagnia. After this, the power of the Donatists rapidly declined; a few submitted, but the greater part saved themselves by flight; numbers were sent into banishment, among whom was Donatus the Great; and many were punished with the utmost severity. During these troubles, which lasted nearly thirteen years, the Donatists were used with much cruelty and injustice, which of course excited loud complaints against their adversaries.

The emperor Julian, upon his accession to the throne in the year 362, permitted the exiled Donatists to return to their country, and restored them to their former liberty. This step so far renewed their vigour, that they brought over, in a short time, the majority of the African provincials to their interests.

Gratian published several edicts against them, and in the year 377 deprived them of their churches, and prohibited all their assemblies, public and private; but the fury of the Circumcelliones, who may be considered as the soldiers of the Donatists, and the apprehension of tumults, prevented the vigorous execution of these laws. This appears from the number of churches they had in Africa towards the conclusion of the century, which were served by no less than four hundred bishops.

Two things, however, tended to diminish the power of the sect, and made it decline apace about the end of this century: one was a division that arose among them, on account of a person

named Maximin, which greatly weakened their cause ; but another circumstance which precipitated their decline was the zealous and fervent opposition of Augustine, first presbyter, and afterwards bishop of Hippo : he exposed their dangerous and seditious principles, as he considered them, in the strongest manner.

The great argument employed against them by the Catholic advocates, and especially by St. Augustine, was, that they could not be right because they were cut off from that common body of the Church Catholic which inherited the promises. "O senseless perversity of man !" he exclaims, "you suppose yourself to be praised for believing about Christ that which you do not see ; and you do not suppose you will be condemned for denying respecting His Church that which you do see, although the Head is in heaven, and the body upon earth."

There were naturally some among the Donatists who excused themselves by shutting their eyes, as their opponents said, to their true position. Such was Tortunius, bishop of Tubursica, of whose personal character St. Augustine speaks highly, though he never suppresses his conviction that the state of schism in which the Donatists lived, was an impediment to their salvation, for which no personal piety could compensate.

But there were other Donatists who were too consistent to lay claim to any communion, virtual or otherwise, with the rest of the Church throughout the world, and who justified their isolation either by their right of succession to their own sees, by the great preponderance which they had in their own province, or by the purity of their doctrine and sacraments. The two first arguments seem to have been mainly relied upon. At the conference at Carthage, the Donatist bishops were careful to display their numbers, which, in the province of Numidia, were allowed to exceed those of the Catholics ; they insisted that each bishop should show his right to his see, and prove the validity of his spiritual descent ; and maintained that it must be settled by such considerations as these, which party had a right to the title of Catholic. At other times, and especially by the smaller parties which split off from the main body of Donatists, the purity of manners and doctrine was principally insisted upon ; those were rightly to be called Catholics, "who observed all the Divine precepts, and all the sacraments ;" "in them alone would the Son of Man find faith at his return."

The answer given to these arguments shows the importance which their opponents attached to the decision of the collective body, that is, of the numerical majority. "The title of Catholic," St. Augustine said, "was not meant to express an opinion, but a fact; it merely indicated what was that body which was known to exist throughout the world; if to attribute it was to admit the powers of the body which was thus described, it was only because the predictions of Scripture had declared this condition to be essential to their exercise." The number of the Donatist bishops, and their right to their individual sees, was met again by the fact that they made but one province, and that no single province could claim to be that body of Christ which was spread throughout the world.

And finally, their assertion of the necessity of a pure communion was met by the reply, that in such matters there could be no certain judge except the Church Catholic. "The collective body," says St. Augustine, "judges with certainty, that those cannot be good men, wherever they may be, who separate themselves from the collective body." The same principle is apparent in the mode of argument which he employed against rebaptism. This had been a peculiarity of long standing in the African Church, having been introduced, as it would seem, early in the third century. It is one of the charges of Hippolytus against Callistus, that this practice was introduced among the members of his communion, while he was bishop of Rome; and then probably was held the council at Carthage, in which Agrippinus presided, at which rebaptism was first authorized. St. Augustine allows that St. Cyprian and the bishops of Africa supposed themselves to have authority from Holy Scripture for adopting the course they took.

The doctrine of the Donatists was that of the Catholic Church; nor were their lives less exemplary than those of other Christian Churches. Their offence, therefore, lay properly in the following points:—in declaring the Church of Africa, which adhered to Cæcilianus, fallen from the privileges of a true Church, and deprived of the gifts of the Holy Ghost, on account of the offences with which the new bishop, and Felix, who had consecrated him, were charged; in maintaining that the sanctity of their bishops gave their community alone a full right to be considered as the true Church. Hence they pronounced the sacred rites and institutions

void of all virtue and efficacy among those Christians who were not precisely of their sentiments ; and not only rebaptized those who came over to their party from other Churches, but ministers were deprived of their office, or ordained a second time.

The Donatists were almost entirely confined to the Churches in Africa.

The arguments of St. Augustine appear to be weak in the extreme, and unworthy of his name. They simply assume that the majority is always right, and would equally condemn every secession from the most corrupt Church, provided always that the seceding party were the minority. Mr. Robert Wilberforce, the late archdeacon of York (who, since the article on the Anglo-Catholics was written, has joined the Church of Rome), has adduced these arguments, in fact, and instanced the case of the Donatists, in order to condemn the Reformation. The Donatists appear to have been the Waldenses of the early Church ; like them they struggled for independence against the overpowering mastery of the dominant Church, and were oppressed and maligned in consequence. Like all oppressed minorities, they probably displayed a bitter and exclusive temper, but even their opponents acquit them of unsound doctrine or immoral conduct.—(See LONG'S *Hist. of the Donatists* ; MOSHEIM, vol. i. ; WILBERFORCE *on the Supremacy*.)

ENGLAND, CHURCH OF.—The origin of the Church of England must be sought in the primitive ages of Christianity. The island had scarcely emerged from barbarism when the gospel was first planted in it. Justin Martyr, Irenæus, and Tertullian, writers of the first and second century, tell us that in their time the gospel had penetrated wherever the Roman arms had reached. Tertullian, A.D. 198, asserts, possibly with some figurative license, that even those parts of Britain which were inaccessible to the Romans, had been subjugated to Christ. Eusebius, the historian of the Church, who flourished in the time of Constantine, attributes the conversion of Britain to some of the apostles. Clemens Romanus, St. Jerome, and Theodoret affirm that “St. Paul preached to the isles in the ocean and at the extremest west ;” and by such expressions Britain was commonly understood. In the sixth and seventh centuries several writers concur in speaking

expressly of St. Paul's mission to the British islands. "We may finally conclude," says Dr. Burgess, the late learned bishop of Salisbury, in one of his charges, "that the testimony respecting St. Paul's preaching in the utmost bounds of the west, that is, in Britain, is indisputable." Of the Church thus founded we have but few memorials. In the year 314 the signatures of three British bishops, those of York, London, and the colony of London, probably Colchester, are appended to the canons of the Council of Arles. In 347 British bishops were present at the Council of Sardica, and a few years afterwards at that of Ariminum. Archbishop Usher, in his treatise on the antiquity of the English Church, considers it probable that there were British deputies at the Council of Nice. The martyrdom of Alban, the proto-martyr of England, no doubt occurred at Verulam under the persecution of Diocletian; and we may yield a ready faith to the testimony of Gildas, where he describes the fierce storm of a bitter persecution as having swept, about this time, across the British Churches. On the accession of Constantine the Churches had rest from persecution; but Arianism rent them internally; and, according to the same authority, "the perfidious Arians, dark as a transmarine serpent, vomited their poison amongst us." Pelagianism followed; and Britain claims the questionable distinction of having given birth to the father of the heresy. Pelagius (which is said to be the Latinized form of the Welsh name *Morgan*) denied the doctrine of original sin, and the depraved condition of mankind in consequence of the fall of Adam. He was answered by St. Augustine; and the controversy agitated the universal Church. Pelagianism was condemned by the Council of Carthage in 412. It appears, for a time, to have gained much favour in the British Churches; but at length, under an edict of Valentinian, its teachers were exiled and peace restored. But the Roman power in Britain was hastening to an end, and with it the existence of civilized society, and almost the very being of the British Church. The savage tribes who overspread the island were idolaters. During more than a century the fierce contest was waged between the invaders and the ancient possessors of the soil; and when it closed, Christianity, except in Wales and the northern isles of Scotland, was totally extinct. Thus the ancient Church of Britain fell, for the race of British Christians had perished.

The Anglo-Saxon Church soon rose upon its ruins. The invaders had now obtained firm possession of their conquests, and begun to cultivate the arts of peace. About the year 560 Ethelbert was king of Kent, with an authority over the other chieftains, which was acknowledged as far as the Humber. Under the title of Bretwalda, he was the head of the confederate sovereigns of the heptarchy. He married a Christian princess, Bertha, daughter of Cherebert, king of the Franks; and, happily for the spiritual welfare of mankind, a stipulation was made in the marriage treaty for the free exercise of her faith. She was attended by Luidhard, a Frankish bishop, and for her use a British church, dedicated to St. Martin, which lay in ruins at Canterbury, was restored; and the worship of the true God was once more celebrated in England. Thus a Christian congregation was formed at the principal seat of Anglo-Saxon power; nor, as its leading member was the queen herself, can we reasonably suppose that it long failed of making converts. Gregory the Great was bishop, or pope, of Rome. He was a prelate of vast ambition, redeemed to some extent by earnest zeal for the propagation of the gospel. Before his accession to the papal throne, his attention had been drawn to the spiritual destitution of the British islands, and he had even determined, in person, to attempt their conversion. The venerable historian Bede relates a story, which wears at least an air of probability, and which he says that he received *traditione majorum*. It is also related in the ancient Saxon *Homily on the Birth-day of St. Gregory*. While yet a monk, this famous pontiff was one day passing through the slave-market of his native city. There his eye was forcibly arrested by some light-haired, fair-complexioned youths, who stood exposed for sale. "Whence come these lads?" he asked. "From Britain," was the answer. "Are the people Christians there?" he then inquired. "No; Pagans," he was told. "Alas!" he said, "how grievous is it that faces fair as these should own subjection to the swarthy devil!" His next question was, "What do you call the tribe from which these young people spring?" "Angles," said the dealer. "Ah! that is well," the future pope rejoined. "Angels they are in countenance, and coheirs of angels they ought to be. Where in Britain do their kindred live?" "In Deira," was the reply. "Well again," Gregory said. "It is our duty to deliver them

from God's ire. Pray, who is the king of the land so significantly named." "Ella," replied the merchant. "Ah!" the pious inquirer added. "Allelujah must be sung in that man's country." His advancement to the papacy gave another direction to the zeal of Gregory. But the news of Bertha's marriage, and the establishment of Christian worship at Canterbury, again fired his zeal. The bishop of Constantinople had just then assumed, under the imperial sanction, the title of œcumenical, or universal bishop. Gregory, to retaliate, styled himself servant of the servants of God; and, as a counterpoise to his eastern rival, was anxious, no doubt, to extend his influence in an opposite direction. Britain presented an inviting field; and he chose Augustine, prior of a monastery at Rome, to undertake the mission. On his way through Gaul, Augustine engaged the assistance of other monks; but as he travelled northwards, the stories which he heard on all sides of the savage state and fierce habits of the Anglo-Saxons utterly disheartened him, and he wrote to his patron, asking permission to return. He was answered with a rebuke for his want of faith and courage, and commanded to proceed without delay. He landed in Kent in the year 597; and Ethelbert, already, perhaps, prepared for the change, was baptized in the ancient church of St. Martin. Augustine was provided with a residence at Canterbury, and assumed the episcopal office under the title of bishop of the English. He was consecrated bishop, it is said, by the archbishop of Arles. Gregory received the accounts of his success with exultation. Augustine boasted of the miracles he had performed. Gregory advised him, in return, to beware of spiritual conceit; but he encouraged the debasement of the infant Church, and the impostures or delusions of Augustine, by sending over a parcel of relics. They were accompanied with a gift of higher value—a Bible in two volumes, a psalter, a book of the gospels, another psalter, another book of the gospels, lives of the apostles, lives of martyrs, and a volume of expositions of certain gospels and epistles: thus at once laying the foundations of superstition, and providing the antidote. The Canterbury book, in the library of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, which supplies this interesting information, closes the brief catalogue with these expressive words: *Hæc sunt primitiæ librorum totius ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*—This was the foundation of the literature of the Church of England!

Gregory, about the same time, conferred the pall upon Augustine, and commissioned him to establish twelve suffragan bishops, and also to appoint an archbishop for the see of York, with jurisdiction over twelve other suffragans. Thus the episcopacy of the English Church was settled twelve hundred years ago nearly as it still exists. Augustine was now anxious to extend his authority to the primitive Church still existing in Wales; Ethelbert himself promoting the object only, as he said, for the sake of union, and to secure their co-operation in the great work of converting the Saxons. At this time the doctrines of the two Churches were the same; and, perhaps, the difficulty would not have been insuperable, fond as the native Christians were of their ancient usages and their independent constitution, derived immediately from apostolic teachers, had not the arrogance of Augustine disgusted them. The Welsh prelates, however, to the number of seven, with some of the superior clergy, were induced to attend a conference in Worcestershire, under the shade of a tree, long after known as Augustine's Oak. Augustine challenged the simple-minded Britons to determine their respective claims by an appeal to miraculous power. They at once admitted that to miraculous power they laid no claim. A blind man was produced. Augustine stepped forth and interceded with heaven for his cure. Immediately his vision was restored. This occurred at a previous conference, and the minds of the too credulous Britons were much disturbed. On the eve of the second conference a pious hermit, as he is called, gave them wise advice. "Our Lord," said he (we are indebted to Bede for the interesting story), "hath commanded us, 'Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me, for I am meek and lowly.' Now take care to arrive late at the place of meeting, and after the stranger shall have taken his seat. If he shall rise to receive you, you may, perhaps, conclude that he is a follower of Christ; if he receives you sitting, have nothing to do with him." No test could have been more unfortunate for Augustine. He did not condescend to rise from his chair. "I ask," said he, "only three things from you: one, that you should keep Easter as we do; another, that you should baptize according to the Roman ritual; a third, that you should join us in preaching to the Angles. With your other peculiarities we shall patiently bear." The British clergy replied that they should consent to none of these demands; "nor will we," said

they, "receive you for our archbishop." "If so," exclaimed Augustine, "if you will not have peace with brethren, you shall have war with enemies. If you will not show your neighbours the way of life, their own swords shall avenge the wrong upon you." The Welsh regarded these words as a threat, the English as a prophecy. Soon afterwards twelve hundred British monks of the Great Monastery of Bangor were savagely put to death by Ethelfrid, a Saxon chieftain. It is in vain to inquire, in the absence of direct evidence, to what extent Augustine himself was implicated in the crime. From this time the ancient Church of Britain withered away. To this day the memory of the pious monks of Bangor is held in reverence among their native mountains; and in the College of Llampetre they show an ancient manuscript deeply stained with blood, which is said to have belonged to them on the fatal day of the massacre.

The gospel now extended its triumphs rapidly. The sister of Ethelbert became the wife of Sebert, king of the East Saxons, and his conversion followed. The sees of London and Rochester were filled by two of the companions of Augustine in his missionary enterprise. The West Saxons were chiefly converted by Birinius, a Roman monk, who filled the see of Dorchester. The kingdom of Northumberland received Christianity from Paulinus, who became archbishop of York. Sussex, Norfolk, and Suffolk, also, were indebted to the Church of Rome for their spiritual instructors. But Northumbria was conquered by Cadwalla, a British prince, and relapsed into Paganism. Eventually it was Christianized by a native ministry. Edwin, the king of the country, had taken refuge in Scotland during the invasion of Cadwalla, and there he became acquainted with the Christians who still existed in the islands of the Hebrides. He invited missionaries from their pure and simple communion. Aidan was appointed bishop of Llandisfarn, where he was succeeded by Finan and Colman, two native prelates unconnected with Rome; and thus the north of England was evangelized by means of a ministry entirely British. The kingdom of Mercia, dependent to some extent on its more powerful neighbour, received as its bishop Diuma, a Scot, who was consecrated by Finan, the prelate of Northumbria. Diuma's three successors were also members of the native Church; and under these three prelates all our midland counties were evangelized. Thus for some years

there were two rival Churches in England, one of which acknowledged the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, while the other, rejecting all foreign interference, derived its usages and orders from the primitive Church, which had existed obscure and oppressed, but still uninjured in its vital parts, ever since the days of the apostles. At length, however, A. D. 664, the Roman party triumphed. Her complete and final prevalence over the national Church is ascribed to female influence, and to the dexterity of her agents. Eanfleda, the granddaughter of Ethelbert and Bertha, married Oswy, king of Northumbria, and Bretwalda, and she was attached to the usages of Kent, her husband being equally zealous for those of the native Christians. Amongst other subjects in dispute between the two Churches was the proper time for the observance of Easter ; and the royal household was divided, one party with the queen at its head observing the festivities of Easter, while the other was keeping Lent with austere devotion. At length Oswy consented to hear the question argued, as to the claims of the two Churches, by their respective clergy ; and while Colman, bishop of Northumbria, and Chad, bishop of Essex, pleaded on behalf of the British Church, Wilfred appeared for Rome. As reported by Bede, and John of Tynemouth, who wrote, however, in the 14th century, nothing worthy of the name of argument was advanced on either side. The national divines insisted on a tradition originating, as they maintained, with St. John. Wilfred traced up the Roman tradition of the true Easter to St. Peter, adroitly intimating that he was intrusted with the keys of heaven. " And were they really intrusted to him ?" said Oswy. " Undoubtedly," said Wilfred. " And can you," he continued, appealing to the British divines, " show any such grant ?" Colman, with becoming integrity, admitted that he could not. " Then," said the king, " I must leave your party, for I must not disoblige him who keeps the key of heaven ; I might be shut out when I seek admittance." It has been remarked on this (Soames' Hist. Anglo-Saxon Church), that unless we had been made acquainted with the habits of savage tribes, such as those of New Zealand and North America, who reason just as childishly, the language would seem like jest rather than serious argument. But it was generally applauded, the ancient usages of Britain were renounced, and from this day, and by these artifices, the Church

of Rome became paramount in England. Colman and many of his party were disgusted, and still retaining their independence returned home again to the Scottish Church.

It has been supposed, however, that the triumph of the Romish party involved little or no change in the creed of the English Church. Prayers and votive offerings to the saints were already practised; we have no evidence that the other peculiarities of the Church of Rome were then established. It is remarkable that, in this conference, Wilfred, though he appealed to the authority of the Roman see as deserving of respect, did not claim for it an absolute supremacy. Indeed, Gregory the Great is known to have repudiated the authority since claimed for his see, and to have disapproved of the adoration of images. He was fond of pomp and encouraged a gorgeous ceremonial, and laid undoubtedly the foundations of the Romish system both in England and elsewhere. Still the system established under his auspices was widely different from that eventually sanctioned at Trent. Ritually the two were very much alike, though doctrinally very far apart. The earliest Anglo-Saxon Christians agreed essentially with their descendants since the Reformation in all but services for the dead.

During a period of about thirty years, the Anglo-Saxon Church was gradually established through the whole of England, under the primacy of Theodore, an eastern monk, sent hither by the pope, and on his decease under that of Wilfrid; and England now became a Christian commonwealth. Under Ina, king of the West Saxons, laws were passed which incorporated religion with the state, and recognized the obligations which Christianity imposes. Thus, unless a child were baptized within thirty days of its birth the father was fined as many shillings; if it died unbaptized he forfeited all his possessions: a slave working on Sunday by his lord's command was set free, and the lord was fined thirty shillings; if by his own choice he was whipped, or made to pay a sum of money. Altars were sacred, and before them slaves were to be released and oaths taken. Idolatrous sacrifices were forbidden, and sundry immunities were granted to the clergy. The laws of Ina contain the earliest enactments with which we are acquainted for the support of public worship. An assessment upon houses now took the place of voluntary and precarious contributions. Every house was to be valued at

Christmas, and the rate, or *Church shot*, was payable at Martinmas. Money being scarce, the payment was made in kind, and defaulters were fined forty shillings. The Church shot, so often mentioned in Anglo-Saxon legislation, was the origin of the modern Church rate; which thus possesses, it would seem, a parentage of twelve hundred years. Few titles to existing property approach an era so remote. Tithes in England seem to be of still higher antiquity. The laws of Ina do not expressly recognise their existence, but it is known from other sources that they were paid in the time of Augustine himself (see Soames' Hist., note, p. 85); and the silence of this code may prove only that no difficulty was experienced by the clergy in enforcing the payment of them. The laws of Ina date from the year 693.

A profound gloom settles upon the ecclesiastical history of England from this period to the Norman conquest, relieved only at distant intervals by the virtues of a few great men, who deplored the ignorance they in vain attempted to dispel. Foremost in the list must be placed the venerable Bede, the historian to whom we are indebted for so large a portion of our acquaintance with the Anglo-Saxon Church. He was born in the modern bishopric of Durham, upon an estate belonging to the two abbeys of St. Peter and St. Paul, at Wearmouth and Jarrow, at the mouth of the river Tyne, about the year 677. We have his own authority that at seven years old he was brought to the monastery of St. Peter, and committed to the care of Benedict Biscop, the first abbot and founder, who possessed that rare treasure a library, of which the youth made good use. The young scholar completed his education under Ceolfrid, the second abbot. In his nineteenth year he was ordained deacon, but not till thirty did he become a priest, receiving orders, in both instances, from John of Beverley, bishop of Hexham, who had been one of his early preceptors. His fame now reached even to Rome, and Pope Sergius made an earnest application to the abbot that he might be sent to assist him in drawing up a code on some points of ecclesiastical discipline. Bede was attached to his studies and to his native land, and prayed to be excused. He continued to prosecute the narrow literature of his age through all its branches. He wrote much upon theology, and was long regarded by his countrymen as a great divine; but his extant writings consist of little more than digests and selections from the fathers. His

fame chiefly rests upon his "Ecclesiastical History," the materials for which were collected by himself with great care from the most trustworthy sources,—the annals preserved in various religious houses, the information of ecclesiastics and prelates with whom he conversed, and such chronicles as then existed. The work has been blamed by fastidious critics for the faults of the age in which the writer lived. Bede is sometimes credulous, and his notices of secular occurrences are loose and incidental. But he probably had no wish to chronicle the licentiousness and fraud and outrage which made up the sum of English history. Making allowance for some legendary matter, the verdict of posterity has placed him at the head of English ecclesiastical historians: few works have maintained their reputation so long, or been so generally consulted by succeeding writers. It was published, as Bede informs us, when he was fifty-nine years of age, about A. D. 734. William of Malmesbury and Symeon of Durham, two Saxon writers, have given an interesting relation of his death. He was attacked with asthma at Easter, and died on Ascension-day, seven weeks afterwards. During this interval he did not in the least abate his usual employments in the monastery, but continued to pray, to instruct the younger monks, and to prosecute the literary undertakings which were still in his hands. In the nights of his sickness, in which, from the nature of his disease, he had little sleep, he sang hymns and praises to God; and though he expressed the utmost confidence, and was able, on a review of his own conduct, to declare seriously that he had so lived as not to be afraid to die, yet he did not deny his apprehensions of death, and that dread which is natural to man at the approach of his dissolution. He was continually active to the last, and particularly anxious about two works,—the one, his translation of St. John's Gospel into the Saxon language,—the other, some passages which he was extracting from the works of St. Isidore. From the monks' relation it appears, that the day before his death he grew much worse, and his feet began to swell, yet he passed the night as usual, and continued dictating to the person who acted as his amanuensis, who, observing his weakness, said, "There remains now only one chapter, but it seems difficult to you to speak." To which he answered, "It is easy; take your pen, dip it in the ink, and write as fast as you can." About nine o'clock he sent for some

of his brethren, priests of the monastery, to divide among them some incense, and other things of little value, which he had preserved in a chest. While he was speaking, the young man, Wilberch, who wrote for him, said, "Master, there is now but one sentence wanting;" upon which he bid him write quick; and soon after the scribe said, "Now it is finished." To which he replied, "Thou hast said the truth, 'consummatum est;' take up my head; I wish to sit opposite to the place where I have been accustomed to pray, and where now sitting I may invoke my Father." Being thus seated, according to his desire, upon the floor of his cell, he said, "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost;" and as he pronounced the last word he expired. He died, according to the best opinion, May 26th, 735, though the exact date has been contested. His body was interred in the church of his own monastery at Jarrow, but long afterwards was removed to Durham, and placed in the same coffin or chest with that of St. Cuthbert, as appears by a very ancient Saxon poem on the relics preserved in the cathedral of Durham, printed at the end of Symeon of Durham's history.

The reign of Offa, the Mercian king, is memorable as the period when the connection between the English Church and Rome, and the supremacy of the latter, was first avowed. Since the days of Augustine no agent bearing a papal commission had set foot in Britain. Offa, who had won his way to the island sovereignty through a sanguinary career, was anxious for the friendship of the papal court to consolidate his power and possibly to soothe his conscience. Two papal legates, Theophylact, bishop of Todi, and Gregory, bishop of Ostia, were admitted as accredited agents of the papal see. At a council held at Calcuith, or Chalk, in Kent, where they were present, Lichfield, the ancient Mercian see, was created an archbishopric, and a body of canons was subscribed which the legates had propounded. The English Church yielded a solemn affirmation to the first six general councils, one of which, the recent Council of Nice, had sanctioned image worship. At the Council of Calcuith it is probable that the British clergy were very imperfectly informed on this point; for when Adrian, the pope, transmitted the decrees of Nice to Offa, they were received by the prelates with surprise and indignation. Alcuin, an English divine, was requested to draw up a vindica-

tion of their faith and practice, and the British clergy denounced the worship of images *as that which God's Church abhors*. Alcuin described the worship of images as a Gentile tradition. It is, said he, a Satanic device by which triumphs gained in the open fields are likely to be lost within the city walls. Even the lighting of tapers and the burning of incense before images and pictures are condemned. Yet, no doubt with a view still to conciliate the Church of Rome, he admits of outward acts of veneration to the cross and the relics of the saints, and of prayers, masses, and almsgivings for the dead. From the same source we learn that confession, fasting, and penances, as an atonement for sin, had found their way into the Saxon Church. To Offa we owe the abbey of St. Albans and the tribute of Peter's pence, long paid by every English family to Rome. In his old age he became a devotee, and founded the magnificent abbey, to England's proto-martyr, at St. Albans. Not satisfied with this, he visited Rome, and settled on the English college there the contribution of a penny from every family in his dominions. From this donation arose the payment of Rome scot, afterwards called Peter's pence, which continued till the Reformation.

The irruption of the Scandinavian tribes, and the harassed state of Britain in consequence, brought Christianity once more to the verge of ruin. Religion degenerated into the meanest superstition, or was extirpated by fire and sword. We have at length a few gleams of light, and a short season of comparative repose, in the reign of Alfred. His history is too well known to be repeated here. His own account of the ignorance of his subjects describes a kingdom imperfectly reclaimed from barbarism, distracted by civil feuds, and at last overrun by foreign savages. South of the Thames, not a priest could read; south of the Humber scarcely any could translate the Latin mass into the common tongue. Alfred himself had been twice sent to Rome, the centre of civilization, when a boy; yet in his twelfth year he had not been taught to read, and he had grown up to manhood before he mastered Latin. His victories gave peace for a time to England; and a considerable colony of the conquered Danes were settled in the Eastern and Midland Counties, and compelled to embrace the faith. Alfred conceived the noble design of founding a native literature. He translated into the Anglo-Saxon dialect the History of Bede, originally drawn up in Latin.

For the use of the clergy he translated *Pope Gregory's Pastoral*, a text-book on the subject of penance: and he rendered into the vernacular tongue some portions at least of the Holy Scriptures. Having made a digest of the laws of Ina and Offa, and those of Ethelbert, the Christian king of Kent, he laid it before his *Witan*, and obtained their sanction for it. In his treaty with the Danish colonists, he stipulates for the payment of tithes, Rome shot, and some other dues of the Church—plough alms and light shot. It is probable that England, about this period, was pretty generally assuming that parochial form of ecclesiastical distribution which, with a remarkably small number of alterations, it still wears. Justinian, the emperor, had encouraged the building and endowing of churches by securing the patronage to the owner of the estate. Theodore had offered the same encouragement in England, and wealthy proprietors were thus tempted to supply the spiritual wants of their tenantry. Bede mentions some instances where nobles, in the north of England, had built churches on their estates under this inducement. Still the poorer, or less religious, landlords hung back. Under Alfred, there can be no doubt, a great number of parishes were formed. His grandson, Athelstan, perhaps completed the work. He gave the dignity of *thane* to every *churl* who should build a church of his own upon his estate. But later still, A.D. 1008, the two archbishops of Canterbury and York enjoin the duty of building churches. The ravages of the Danes had, no doubt, wasted many a parish; and many churches, for the most part structures of wood, had been destroyed, and in some parts of the kingdom the division of parishes might not even then have been carried into effect; yet the work must have advanced rapidly, for at the Conquest it seems to have been complete.

Our veneration for the name of Alfred must not blind us to the fact that his devotion to the cause of Rome inflicted lasting injuries upon the British Church. He strictly enforced the payment of the Roman *shot*, and in his code of laws, prefaced by the decalogue, he found no place for the second commandment; thus crouching before the rising superstition of the second Council of Nice. He must bear the reproach of naturalizing amongst his heretofore reluctant countrymen its insidious decrees. His relation and spiritual adviser, St. Neot, was an enthusiast in behalf of Rome; he is said to have visited the city seven times

"in honour of Christ and St. Peter." Alfred partook of the same superstitious feeling, and accepted from the pope as a priceless gift the present of a piece of the true cross. But he defended Erigena, whom Rome denounced as a heretic for resisting the dogma of transubstantiation, then first introduced; and if his creed cannot be identified with that of the Church of England since the Reformation, still less can he be claimed as a supporter of the modern Church of Rome. Collier, a Church historian of the last century, has remarked, that notwithstanding Alfred's courtesies to the Church of Rome, he received from her few compliments in return; "We find no learned men sent to assist him in his scheme for the revival of arts and sciences; no legates; no interposings in the councils and regulations of the Church; no bulls of privilege for the new abbeys of Winchester and Athelney. From all which we may conclude that the correspondence was not very close, and that the prince and the English Church were not servilely governed by that see." (*Eccl. Hist.* i. 171.)

Religious houses in great numbers had long existed among the Anglo-Saxons. The monks who inhabited them were not however subject to the strict discipline of the cloister, nor in many instances bound by vows of celibacy, or of entire separation from the world. They were rather colleges, or missionary schools, than monasteries. But the ascetic principle, firmly rooted in the East, was now spreading itself over all the Churches of Western Christendom. St. Benedict instituted his famous order at Monte Cassino, near Rome, about the year 532. The superior austerities of the Benedictine monks, contrasted with the careless lives and general ignorance of the secular clergy, gained for them the highest reputation. It was some time before the system was known in England, or, however, generally received. But as the Benedictines gave all their influence to support the growing pretensions of the papacy, aspiring churchmen, naturally anxious to escape from the authority of secular princes, threw their weight into the scale, and encouraged the rising order of popular ascetics, in order to depress the secular power. In England the struggle for ascendancy was managed by the celebrated Dunstan, assisted by Odo, a name scarcely less dear to Rome. These men impressed new features upon the Saxon Church, and brought it into a closer dependence on the Church of Rome. Dunstan was born in the reign of Athelstan, probably

in the year 925. His parents ranked among the nobility of Wessex, and lived near Glastonbury; his maternal uncle, Adhelm, was archbishop of Canterbury, and by him he was introduced at the court of Athelstan. His birth and connexions, to say nothing of high talents, were sufficient to procure him a favourable reception. He became at once the intimate companion of the king; but suddenly his fortunes were overcast; the courtiers, envious of his influence, charged him, it is said, with magical arts, and Dunstan, in disgust, returned to Glastonbury. Here a decayed monastery still existed; he assumed the monkish habit, and devoted his life to the cause of St. Dominic and the Church. On the death of Athelstan, Dunstan was reinstated in the favour of his brother and successor Edmund, who rebuilt the monastery upon a scale of vast magnificence, and appointed Dunstan first abbot. About the same time, Odo was translated from Sherbourne to Canterbury. By birth a pagan and a Dane, he had passed over to the extremes of monastic asceticism. A great synod, held in London about this time, shows that the monkish principle was now rooting itself in England. The king was admonished to make provision for the Church; and ecclesiastics, of both sexes, breaking their vows of chastity, were laid under the pain of forfeiting their property, and being deprived of Christian burial. A severe struggle now arose between the monks and the old clergy. The latter were driven either to assume the cowl or to relinquish their homes and livings. The cathedrals, which had heretofore been administered by deans and chapters, were converted into monasteries; and when the old tenants were reluctant, fraud or violence were not wanting to bring about the transformation. Oswald, a Benedictine, nephew to Odo, was placed in the see of Worcester, and immediately set about the accomplishment of the favourite scheme. But his canons resisted the change; and Oswald, unable to subdue their repugnance to the monkish in preference to the ancient system, planted a rival house near his rebellious chapter, and filled it with Benedictines. The appearance of greater sanctity in the monks, and their bold pretensions to miraculous gifts, filled their chapel and their almshouse, while the neighbouring cathedral was deserted. The canons at length gave way; a monastery succeeded to the former *minster* (so the cathedral body was termed), and Oswald became the prior. This is said to have been the first of these inno-

vations, and the process of converting a chapel into a monastery was called Oswald's law. Edgar now filled the throne; he seems to have yielded himself up to the direction of Dunstan and his party; and during his short reign of about two years, upwards of forty monasteries were founded.

On the death of Odo, A. D. 959, Dunstan became archbishop of Canterbury. His renown for sanctity was great; his sagacity placed him before the age in which he lived; and the monkish party were always at hand to support his claims, whether to miraculous gifts or uncontrolled authority. From his retirement at Glastonbury marvellous accounts were repeated of his visible conflicts with the devil, from which the fiend fled in shame and dismay. It has been suggested that his mind was at times deranged, and that he was the victim of delusions which, when repeated to the credulous multitude, raised him in their esteem to the highest order of sanctity, both for miracles and grace. The well-known story of his seizing the tempter by the nose and dragging him about with a pair of red-hot pincers, is gravely told by the monkish writers. Dunstan does not appear to us to have been a man of lofty virtue, or of great integrity. He was the slave of that ecclesiastical ambition by which even powerful minds are warped and degraded. If he did not himself publish abroad his supernatural feats, he was more than willing that his sycophants should undertake the task; and, by a just reprisal, we owe to his monkish eulogists our acquaintance with the worst actions of his life. The monk Osbern, in his life of this famous saint, relates the following story: a witan was held at Winchester to determine the differences between the parochial clergy and the monastic party, at which Edgar the king presided. Dunstan alleged heavy complaints against the married clergy, but the nobles were against him; they expressed their readiness to punish real criminals, but they felt no disposition to compel celibacy, or, as the alternative, expel the married clergy. Edgar himself was on the point of giving way, when a crucifix exclaimed, "God forbid that this thing should be done." The whole assembly fell prostrate, and the crucifix again exclaimed, but only so that Edgar and Dunstan could distinguish the sounds, "Arise and fear not, for to-day justice and peace have kissed each other in the person of the monks." If such a scene really took place, ventriloquism furnishes an easy solution of the

mystery. It is certain that the canons were expelled ; for soon afterwards, under a reaction of the national feeling, the monks were in their turn ejected from their new abodes. A vast tumult arose through the whole of England ; and a council was summoned at Calne, in Wiltshire, to determine the question. Beornhelm, a bishop of the ancient British Church, was summoned from Scotland to argue the cause of the married clergy. The council appeared to feel the weight of his arguments, or the power of his eloquence, when suddenly the floor of the chamber gave way and several were killed upon the spot. The archbishop and his party, or, according to some authorities, the archbishop alone, escaped unhurt, the floor beneath him remaining firm. Whether this were fraud or accident the monkish party turned it to good account. It was a clear intimation of the will of heaven, and the cause of Beornhelm was lost. One by one the cathedrals gave way, and the ancient canons were ejected ; and the system of St. Dominic took firm root in England. Dunstan expired A.D. 988 : the Danes were renewing their incursions, and Ethelred the sovereign was but a boy. One of the last acts of Dunstan's life was to place the crown upon his head at Kingston. He foresaw the miseries which his country was likely to feel, and his biographers thought that when he described them in his dying words he spoke by inspiration.

From this period to the Conquest the Anglo-Saxon Church was in a state of gradual decay. A ferocious warfare desolated the heart of England. The whole kingdom of ancient Kent, where learning and religion had their firmest seat, was a scene of slaughter and devastation. Wales and Cornwall, the British Channel, the Severn, and the Thames, were covered with Danish fleets and armies. At length England was again divided, and Canute the Dane, with his pagan followers, took possession of the northern and central parts. Soon afterwards, A. D. 1018, he succeeded to the whole kingdom, on the death of Edmund the Saxon king. Through the wise conduct of Canute, the Danes and Saxons appear to have coalesced with a rapidity almost unknown in the history of a conquered and conquering people. The Danes accepted the religion of their adopted country ; and when the Saxon race was restored in the person of Edward the Confessor, the Church found in him a devoted friend. The founder of Westminster Abbey, and the man who practised in

the palace the discipline of the cloister, must have been in heart a Benedictine. But the struggle had come to an end, and the ancient British Church was beginning to assume the outward badges of a dependency of Rome. A new danger threatened her in the introduction of Norman ecclesiastics. The Confessor had been brought up in France. He and his courtiers spoke in French. French monks were placed in various bishoprics and even at Canterbury. The national passions were aroused, and the archbishop was dispossessed; and Stigand, a Saxon, now bishop of Winchester, was advanced to that high dignity, which he held till the Conquest, when he too was displaced in favour of a Norman.

Amongst the peculiarities of the Saxon Church must be mentioned abstinence from things strangled and from blood; even the water into which such things had fallen was unclean. The Sunday was observed with great respect. It began at three o'clock on Saturday afternoon and continued till daylight on Monday morning. In her testimony against transubstantiation, the ancient Church of England never wavered. The papal supremacy was never formally acknowledged; confession was habitual, but the Romish doctrine of absolution was rejected. Prayers were offered for the dead and relics were revered. In later times purgatory seems to have crept in, and the wealthy left at death a provision for their soul shot. They made use of the ordeal by fire, walking over burning ploughshares, just as the ancient Greeks, from whom indeed the practice was probably derived. The Church was regarded with great reverence; as a sanctuary, it was inviolate. Divine service was performed with much decorum; the service being that in substance which was retained in England till the Reformation. Organs were in use in the seventh century; in the tenth, one of magnificent size was set up in the new cathedral of Winchester. The Anglo-Saxons, it has commonly been supposed, were provided with a complete vernacular translation of Holy Scripture. No such volume has, however, been discovered; hence its existence, at any time, is very questionable. The Bible, in fact, was evidently considered a Latin book in Ante-Norman England. The whole framework of Anglo-Saxon society was religious. The prelacy constituted an essential part of the witanagemot, and in every great national council, archbishops, bishops, and abbots appear.

The bishop and the alderman, or earl, sat together as judges, having for their assessors the thanes, or gentry, of the shire, and their decisions could be reversed only by the king. At first each kingdom of the heptarchy formed a single see; but as the wants of the Church increased the number of bishoprics was enlarged. At the Conquest there were two archbishops and thirteen bishoprics, most of which are still in existence. Yet Elfin, one of the latest writers of the Anglo-Saxon Church, A. D. 1014, is careful to inform us that between the presbytery and episcopate there is no other difference but that of office; bishops being especially charged with certain duties which might interfere with the regular engagements of ordinary priests. These duties are stated to be, ordination, confirmation, the consecrating of churches, and the care of God's rights. The ecclesiastical orders in the Church he pronounces to be seven—ostiary, reader, exorcist, acolyte, sub-deacon, deacon, and priest. The ostiary was to keep the church doors, and to ring the bell. The reader was to read in church, and to preach God's word. Perhaps the accustomed homily was often heard from his lips. The exorcist was to adjure malignant spirits. The acolyte was to hold the candle or taper, when the gospel was read, or the eucharist hallowed. The sub-deacon was to carry the vessels to the deacon, and to wait upon him at the altar. The deacon was to wait upon the officiating priest, to place the offerings upon the altar, and to read the gospel. He might baptize and administer the eucharist. Another writer omits the acolytes, and introduces bishops as the highest order. It has been inferred from this, that the controversy which still exists, namely, whether episcopacy be a separate order or only a distinguished office, was not unknown to our Saxon ancestors.

Such then was the Anglo-Saxon Church; until overridden by Italian intrigue, a pure and apostolic Church. It surrendered its independence reluctantly, and was subdued by force and fraud. Its story is simply told by its own historians—the venerable Bede, in his history; by Asser, bishop of St. David's, in his Annals; by the writers of the Saxon Chronicle (which appears to be the work of several hands); by Florence of Worcester—these were contemporaries; or, in our own day, by Soames, in his History of the Anglo-Saxon Church.

At the Conquest, the religious state of England was such as a hundred years of invasions, wars, and revolutions, would teach us to expect. William of Malmesbury, who was born A.D. 1096, bears a mournful testimony to the sad condition of his country. Even before the Norman Conquest, learning and religion had fallen into profound neglect. The clergy, contented with a little superficial instruction, could scarcely stammer through the words by which a sacrament was consecrated; and he who understood the elements of grammar was a prodigy. The monks treated the rules of their order with scorn; they wore fine clothes, and indulged themselves in every sensual gratification. The nobles were addicted to drunkenness and gluttony. Instead of a devout observance of the Sunday, a day so scrupulously hallowed by their forefathers, the forenoon was spent in bed; and if they hurried to church it was to hear the service gabbled over by an impatient priest, anxious to be gone. The commons were a prey to the nobles; were deprived of their property by their oppressions, or else driven from the country. Drunkenness was common to all classes, and sloth and effeminacy followed. The refusal of Stigand to crown the Conqueror was a sufficient pretext, though several others were alleged, for depriving him of his mitre, and subjecting the Anglo-Saxon Church to an Italian archbishop. A synod was held at Winchester, A.D. 1070, at which two cardinals from Rome were present, and Lanfranc was chosen to the primacy. Hildebrand, under the title of Gregory VII., now sat upon the papal throne; he had encouraged William in his enterprise, and sent him a consecrated banner, to which superstition assigned no little share of his success; and he requested the Conqueror, in return, to do fealty for his newly-gotten crown and kingdom. William refused, in a tone which, for a time at least, put an end to such ambitious projects in the breast of Hildebrand himself. His letter is interesting and important, as it shows the precise footing on which the English Church was re-established under the Normans. William declares his willingness to send the tribute which had previously been paid to the papal see; and he promises that, for the future, it shall be paid with more regularity. But as to the fealty, "I never consented, nor will I consent to it," he replies, "for I neither promised to do so, nor can I find that my predecessors ever did it to your predecessors. Pray for us and for the good estate of our kingdom, because we

have loved your predecessors, and we desire, above all things, to love and listen obediently to you—*et vos præ omnibus sincere diligere et obedienter audire desideramus.*” William, in fact, while courteous to the pope, was determined that in spiritual, as in secular, things, he would acknowledge no superior. He retained the ancient custom of the Saxon kings, investing bishops and abbots with full possession of their dignities by delivering the ring and staff. Lanfranc, presuming on the favour he enjoyed, requested the patronage of the abbey of St. Augustine at Canterbury, and was refused; the king remarking, that “he would keep all the staves in his own hand.” Fuller quaintly says, “wiser herein than his successors, who parted with those staves wherewith they themselves were beaten afterwards.” (Ch. Hist. ii. 17.) He refused to allow the papal bulls or letters of advice to be received, except they had been first submitted to, and approved of, by himself; and his own archbishop in council was unable to act in any matter without his express permission; nor, lastly, would he suffer his nobles to be excommunicated for the greatest crimes without his previous knowledge and free consent. On the other hand, he confirmed by charter a law of Edward the Confessor, granting to the clergy tithe of cattle and profits, in addition to the ancient tithe of produce. He made an important alteration in the courts of justice, which led to consequences little foreseen by the sagacious Norman. Hitherto the sheriff and the bishop sat together in the county court as joint administrators of the law. William abrogated this ancient practice; and assigned the bishops a sole jurisdiction by themselves in courts of their own, having cognizance of all causes relating to religion. These new courts were administered by foreigners; for, in a short time, the high ecclesiastical appointments fell, with rare exceptions, into the hands of Italians, or ecclesiastics of Norman blood. They had little acquaintance with Saxon law, and no respect whatever for its traditions; but their reverence for the papal court was profound, and its usages and principles of justice became, of necessity, their model. Soon afterwards the pandects of Justinian became generally known abroad, and formed the basis of what was termed the canon law. Thus we came to have in England two sets of courts, administering justice upon two sets of principles; the secular courts of statute and common law, tracing up their parentage to Saxon

legislation, and the ecclesiastical courts, deriving their principles from the institutions of the Roman empire. While the power of the sheriff and bishop went hand in hand together in the same court, neither could much outstrip the other; but when they were severed, the spiritual power soon began to domineer: the aim of the prelates was, for centuries, to extend the powers of their own courts, and, as a means thereto, to cripple the secular jurisdictions. The canon law took firm root in England through the influence of the clergy; and we owe the Reformation, five hundred years after the Conquest, in no small degree to the disgust which the tyranny of these spiritual courts occasioned among all ranks of people. Whether William intended to restrain the power of his clergy, or to augment their dignity, when he broke down the Saxon courts and put an end to the mixed jurisdiction, may, perhaps, admit of some doubt, though the monkish chroniclers speak of it with grateful admiration; but it was, in fact, the first of many causes which wearied the nation of the papal yoke, and at length achieved the Reformation.

The ambitious projects of the Roman pontiffs during the reign of William, though sometimes checked, were upon the whole successful. Lanfranc, with Thomas, elect archbishop of York, and Remigius of Lincoln, went to Rome, to receive from the pope the confirmation of their preferment. And now the warfare between the monks and the regular clergy was again revived. Walkeline, bishop of Winchester, with the concurrence of the king and the nobles, would have restored the regular clergy, and had, indeed, reinstated many in his diocese. Lanfranc violently expelled them, and obtained from the pope an edict in his own favour. In a council at Winchester, held in the year 1076, it was provided, that, although married priests should not be compelled to divorce their wives, marriage for the future should be forbidden to men in holy orders, and that no man should be ordained if already married. The celibacy of the clergy was now made a favourite dogma with the Church of Rome.

The intrusion of foreign ecclesiastics was, of course, distasteful to the English clergy. Sometimes they were refused admission. At Glastonbury, Thurstan, the Norman abbot, attempting to introduce a new liturgy, was resisted by the monks. Soldiers were brought in, and the monks fought them with such weapons,

candlesticks and crucifixes, as the church offered. Much blood was spilt and several monks were killed. The abbot was deposed and banished ; but this affair produced, for a time, uniformity in the Liturgy of England. Osmund, bishop of Salisbury, prepared a form which was universally adopted, and the *use of Sarum* became the practice of the English Church. Nor was this a single instance. Most of the Norman abbots had been intruded on the monasteries without any regard to the rights or feelings of their predecessors. They were often men who had been as much used to the camp as the cloister, and broils ending in bloodshed were not uncommon. Thorald, of Fescamp, was thus intruded on the abbey of Malmesbury though Brightric was still living. His quarrelsome temper induced William to transfer him to the abbey of Borough, which was infested by a band of marauders under the still unconquered Hereward, the Saxon chieftain. "Since he shows himself," said the king, "more of a soldier than an abbot, I will find his match for him ; let him find sport in fighting Hereward as long as he pleases." Wolstan, the old bishop of Worcester, was commanded to resign his dignity. He was a prelate of high esteem among his countrymen, a devout man full of simplicity and truth. He refused to give up his ring and crosier to any living man, when summoned to do so in Westminster Abbey ; then, walking up to the shrine of Edward the Confessor, he solemnly presented them to the tomb of his departed lord, by whom they had been bestowed. His conduct won the favour of the king, and he was allowed to retain his bishopric. He died at a venerable age, A. D. 1095 ; "faulty," says an old writer, "not in his conversation, but country, because an Englishman born ; it was laid to his charge that he could not speak French"—a curious circumstance, as showing the current of the times.

Wolstan assisted Lanfranc at the coronation of Rufus. Rufus was needy and profligate, irreligious, and scarcely even superstitious. On the death of Lanfranc he kept the see vacant for some years to replenish his treasury. The bishoprics of Winchester and Durham were also kept vacant, with many of the wealthier abbeys, and when filled up, large sums were paid for the appointments. At length, after a vacancy of six years, Anselm succeeded to the primacy A. D. 1093. He is said to have fallen under the king's displeasure soon afterwards, for

having refused him a present of a thousand pounds. Rufus having purchased the dukedom of Normandy from his brother Robert, who abandoned it to enter upon a crusade, imposed a heavy tax, from which even churchmen were not exempt. The monks were compelled to sell the church plate and sacramental vessels, nay, to part with the gold and silver from the shrines and relics, to satisfy his extortion; and when they complained, he jested on their wealth misused—"You have coffins of gold and silver for dead men's bones." He was certainly no favourite with the clergy; and they regarded his death in the New Forest as a righteous judgment. It is possible they may have exaggerated his vices, but religion in England owes nothing to his care.

His brother Henry (Beauclerc), for the times an accomplished scholar and a man of refined tastes, succeeded to the throne. Under him many useful reforms took place. A synod was held at Westminster, and at Anselm's request the chief nobility were invited—"that whatsoever should be agreed upon by the said council might be ratified and observed by the joint care and study of both estates." The acts of this synod, A.D. 1102, have reference chiefly to the discipline of the clergy, and show the state of morals that generally prevailed. Priests are forbidden public drinking-bouts and the rivalry of intemperance; the finery of their clothing is retrenched, and long hair forbidden. Crimes of the most detestable kind appear to have been not uncommon, and are punished with excommunication; and, above all, the marriage of the clergy is again denounced. The struggle for pre-eminence between the pope and the secular power was now beginning to distract every Catholic nation of Europe, and Henry was compelled to take his part in the general quarrel. In England, as elsewhere, the sovereign had always claimed the right of investiture, or of choosing from the clerical body his own dignitaries without consulting the pope. The first canon of 1102 decrees that simony be severely punished; and several abbots who were charged with this crime were deposed. But by simony, Anselm meant investiture by the civil ruler, and an opportunity occurred for trying the question with the king. Henry invested with the usual signs of office, the ring and crosier, William of Winchester, Roger of Hereford, and some others; and commanded Anselm, as archbishop, to consecrate them to their bishoprics. Pope

Urban had, however, recently decreed that lay investitures were simoniacal and therefore void, and Anselm refused. The king requested Gerard, archbishop of York, to consecrate, seeing that the primate was contumacious, and he was willing to give compliance. But the bishop of Winchester was scrupulous; he could receive consecration only from Canterbury. Thus confusion was introduced amongst the anti-papal party; and Henry was at length compelled to send Anselm to Rome to consult with the papal court. The pope forbade him to return until the point was yielded, and, in revenge, the king seized upon his temporalities. The affair ended with the king's submission, still, however, on condition that no prelate should be deprived for doing homage to the sovereign. Thus one prime article of the independence of the English Church was sacrificed. A late writer has upon the subject the following just remarks:—"Be it recorded to the honour of the English clergy that they zealously opposed this surrender of the royal privilege, and through the entire struggle opposed Anselm's unconstitutional aggressions. We owe the subjection of our Church to the papal usurpations chiefly to the Normans, and other foreigners, who were promoted to the see of Canterbury. Lanfranc and Anselm, both Italians by birth, idolised by the pope, were eager enough to advance the power of the papal see, and their own influence with it. And they used these opportunities at this particular time, whilst three parties, the king, the prelates, and the nobles, were contending in the state, all nearly equal in strength, and when the union of any two of them would be more than a match for the third. Had Henry then at this time opposed the pope's unjust aggressions, he would have subjected himself and his land to an interdict, and so have given immense advantages to his opponents, particularly his brother Robert, with whom many of the nobles had already taken part, but whom Anselm and the clergy, and the English portion of his subjects, had firmly opposed. Hence Henry's constant endeavour to temporise with Anselm, and to gain time by sending frequently to Rome. He dared not openly reject Anselm, who would then at once have pronounced sentence of excommunication against the king. And the pope and the prelates on their parts would not proceed to such lengths against the king at once, through fear of his power and determination. Therefore both parties avoided as long as

they could coming to an open trial of strength." (Editor's note in Fuller's Ch. Hist. vol. ii. p. 84, Oxford, 1845.) The papal encroachments continue from this time the fruitful theme of Church historians. In the turbulent reign of Stephen, A.D. 1136, Henry of Blois, Stephen's brother, and archbishop of Canterbury, was appointed legate; abbeys were founded with rich endowments; and, as the monastic rule was more strict, the monks became more isolated; they had less of the character of citizens and Englishmen, and more of that of priests and dependents upon Rome. Exempted, too, from the control of the laws, they dwelt in their religious houses, defying at their will the restraints of public opinion, of morals, and of modesty. The most atrocious crimes were committed by the clergy with equal effrontery and security. Henry II., who ascended the throne A.D. 1154, found the kingdom in this condition: the clergy forming an imperium in imperio, governed by its own laws and officers; perfectly safe, in its supposed sanctity, from the assaults of the laity, yet still encroaching upon the rights, and invading the happiness, of the commons and even of the higher gentry of the realm. Thus was brought about another crisis in the history of the English Church, and eventually her deeper thralldom to the papacy.

With some bright exceptions, the English clergy were vulgar men, wanting manners, learning, or true piety. William of Newbury tells us that within a few years of the king's accession at least a hundred murders had been committed by priests, whose tonsure was a sufficient security for their persons, and did, in fact, exempt them from every kind of punishment. At last a monk in the diocese of Worcester seduced a young lady, and, to conceal his guilt, murdered her father. Stupid as it was, public indignation was aroused, and the king resolved to try the delinquent and punish him by law. Becket now appears upon the stage, already raised to the archbishopric of Canterbury. He did not hesitate to oppose himself to the will of his sovereign and the just indignation of the laity. He insisted on the privileges of the Church, seized the criminal in order to secure him from the king, and merely pronounced the sentence of degradation. Henry reasonably demanded that, now that he was again a layman, he should be tried by the secular magistrate. Becket refused to comply. Quarrels of a similar kind were frequent,

though seldom, it may be hoped, involving crimes of so much atrocity. A clerk killed and stole a deer, and again the struggle was repeated between the two jurisdictions. Henry, at once to set at rest these differences, which now seriously impeded the administration of justice, and, if possible, to reduce the clergy once more to their ancient boundaries, assembled the national parliament, or council of Clarendon, in January, 1164. The barons and the superior clergy were convened, and, after much opposition from Becket, the famous *Constitutions of Clarendon* were passed. They were sixteen in all; and we cannot read them without surprise that Henry should have had the courage to propose, and still more the power to carry, a series of measures so fatal to the encroachments of the clerical party. His character was resolute and his abilities great; and he must have been highly popular with his subjects, who, it seems, were ready to brave the displeasure of their spiritual leaders under the guidance of the king. Amongst other articles the following were agreed upon:—That all suits concerning the advowson and presentation of churches should be determined in the civil courts. That the churches belonging to the king's fee should not be granted in perpetuity without his consent. That clerks accused of any crime should be tried in the civil courts. That no person, particularly no clergyman, of any rank, should depart the kingdom without the king's licence. That excommunicated persons should not be bound to give security for continuing in their present place of abode. That laics should not be accused in spiritual courts, except by legal and reputable promoters and witnesses. That no chief tenant of the crown should be excommunicated, nor his lands put under an interdict, except with the king's consent. That all appeals in spiritual causes should be carried from the archdeacon to the bishop, from the bishop to the primate, from him to the king; and should be carried no further without the king's consent. That goods forfeited to the king should not be protected in churches or churchyards. That the clergy should no more pretend to the right of enforcing payment of debts contracted by oath or promise; but should leave these lawsuits, as well as others, to the determination of the civil courts. And that the sons of villains should not be ordained clerks without the consent of their lord.

On the Constitutions of Clarendon the reflection of Sir James

Mackintosh is probably just : " If the king had obtained a victory, Europe would have been the prey of the men of the sword ; if Becket had succeeded, the clergy would have established a despotism more lasting, more searching, and more debasing, though possibly more mild and regular." It was with difficulty that Becket was induced to put his seal to the Constitutions ; but the clergy were overawed. The bishops implored him not to ruin their cause by a fruitless obstinacy ; and at length he took an oath to obey the Constitutions. The pope, however, who was then in France, received them, as was natural, with the utmost indignation, and forthwith annulled them. Becket eagerly seized the opportunity, retracted his concessions, performed the severest penances to atone for his betrayal of the Church, and desisted from his episcopal functions till he could assure himself of the pope's forgiveness. Henry was furious, and summoned the archbishop to appear at Northampton before his great council to answer for various misdemeanours, and refund sums of money which he was charged with having embezzled. The conduct of Henry became, even for times like these, oppressive and unjust. A heavy fine was imposed, which Becket was unable or unwilling to pay. He fled into France, where he was well received by the king, and treated with the utmost distinction by the pope. For five years he remained abroad, defying his master, and hurling anathemas against the recreant clergy and bishops who had submitted to the Constitutions ; solemnly cursing with bell, book, and candle, in the church of Vezeley, all the maintainers of the customs, called in the realm of England, *the customs of their elders*. His cause, he maintained, was the cause of God. Christ, he said, in his own case, was again tried before a lay tribunal. Henry began to feel alarm. Becket's popularity had returned, for he was regarded as a sufferer for the Church ; and the king's violence towards him had done much to restore him to the affections of the people, whose sympathies always go with the oppressed. Louis of France was jealous of Henry's increasing power and greatness, and would have been glad, it was supposed, if the pope could be induced to excommunicate the king of England, and lay the nation beneath an interdict. Henry attempted to procure an interview with the pope ; but failing in this, he had recourse to violence. He again sequestered the revenues of Canterbury, expelled the retainers of the archbishop

to the number of four hundred, forbade his subjects to make any appeals to the pope or archbishop, or, under the penalties of treason, to introduce a papal interdict. His terrors were betrayed by his violence. He made all his subjects swear to observe these orders; and threatened to punish, by the loss of their eyes, the amputation of their feet, and other mutilations, those of the clergy who should dare to disobey. The pope hesitated to strike the last blow: he sent nuncios, or legates, into France to endeavour to compose the differences which, by crushing the king of England, might render France too powerful; or, driving him to despair, might lead him into an alliance with the emperor of Germany, with whom he was himself at war. Henry crossed over to France to meet the legates in the presence of Becket and the French king. Becket refused to submit to his terms, except with a reservation in favour of the honour of God and the rights of holy Church, which would, of course, have made any submission futile. "There have," said Henry, "been many kings of England, some greater than myself, some less; and there have been many archbishops of Canterbury, good and holy men, who deserved all reverence. Now let this man pay to me the same submission which the greatest of his predecessors have paid to the least of mine, and I am satisfied." But the conference failed, and the king returned home. At last a compromise was effected. In 1170 Becket returned to his diocese, under a general agreement to hold it as his predecessors had done, and without express submission to the statutes of Clarendon. His progress through Kent was a march of triumph: at London, not only the clergy, but men of all ranks, came out to meet him in a religious procession, chanting litanies and thanksgivings. His first act was to publish a sentence of suspension upon the archbishop of York, and to excommunicate the bishops of London and Salisbury, and several of the great barons, who had taken part with the king; and he refused to take the oath of homage for his barony. The great offence of these prelates was their having assisted at the coronation of Prince Henry, the king's son, during Becket's absence; for, apprehensive of being excommunicated, the king had availed himself of an expedient not uncommon in those times, for securing his crown to his descendants, and so preventing the confusion which Becket, in his wrath, was anxious to introduce. The prelates fled to the king at Baieux; and the

archbishop of York is said to have uttered the natural but unwise remark, that while Becket lived there would be no peace for England. Roused to the highest pitch, Henry exclaimed that he was "a miserable man, who could not be at rest in his own realm by reason of only one priest." "There is no one," said he, "to deliver me out of my troubles." These words, hastily dropped in a fit of passion, were fatal to Becket. Four of his knights of distinguished rank immediately left the king's presence and crossed over to Canterbury. They found the archbishop in his palace, forced their way into the chamber in which he sat after dinner with his attendants, and upbraided him, in their presence, with coarse and loud invectives. With great apparent calmness the archbishop put on his robes, and proceeded through the cloisters to assist at vespers. The knights rushed into the church with him, armed, and with drawn swords. Within a few paces of the door he stood before the altar of St. Benedict. The assassins here renewed their upbraidings, and made an attempt to drag him from the church. He was an athletic person, and in resisting their violence nearly threw one of them to the ground. This was Sir William de Tracy, who aimed at him a blow which broke the arm of a bystander. The rest of the party now fell upon him; his head was cloven, and his blood and brains were scattered on the pavement. He died exclaiming, "To God and to St. Mary I commend my soul and the cause of the Church!" By this single outrage every advantage that Henry had gained against the encroachments of the Hildbrandine party was lost; and the chains of Rome were bound more heavily than before upon the English Church. From the hour of Becket's death, in December, 1170, to the Reformation, a period of almost four hundred years, it can scarcely be said to have had an independent being. It existed as a limb of that huge body, the head, and will, and intellect of which was to be found at Rome. During the whole of that long and dismal period scarcely an event occurs to mark its individual life. Its history is the history of a dependency of the papal see. The dark ages settled on it with their deepest gloom; English divines made no contributions of importance even to Roman Catholic theology. They lent no assistance to the revival of letters. Always anxious to support the papal claims, always ambitious of such preferment as flowed from Rome, they were generally, on

questions of popular right, at variance with the people, and often with the sovereign. Yet some advantages they certainly conferred. In their monasteries misfortune often found a shelter, oppression a refuge, and even piety a home. They prevented a relapse, which, amidst our civil wars, must have certainly occurred, into utter barbarism. Amidst the profound ignorance that prevailed, a return even to Paganism would not seem to have been impossible, but for the light which feebly glimmered from abbeys and cathedrals. And to these men, the ecclesiastics of the dark ages, we owe those proud examples of an architecture, perfect in its kind, which seems alike to stimulate the ambition and mock the endeavours of the builders of a later age. As the touch of the blind receives an unnatural acuteness from the want of sight, so the monks of the middle ages, shut out from the perception of all intellectual beauty, concentrated their powers upon one material science, and brought it to a marvellous perfection.

Henry was terrified when he heard of the archbishop's death. We may believe his earnest protestation, that he designed no such catastrophe. He had too keen a foresight not to perceive that such an outrage, in the state of feeling which then prevailed through Christendom, would recoil upon its author. He sent an ambassador to the pope, who obtained an audience with difficulty, and after submitting patiently to insolence, such as Henry would not have endured from any crowned head in Europe. But it had some effect—the kingdom was not placed under an interdict, and the king was not excommunicated. The pope contented himself with a general excommunication of all who had been concerned in the archbishop's murder. Two years afterwards, the king made oath before two papal legates, and in the presence of a number of the clergy and laity, at Avranches, that he neither commanded, nor indeed desired, the death of Becket. At the same time he swore upon the holy gospel, and the relics of the saints, to acknowledge the pope, and no longer to prevent appeals to him in ecclesiastical causes. And he promised to relinquish any customs or usages unfavourable to the Church, which had been introduced in his time. The vagueness of this language has led some writers to say, that the concession amounted to but little; but it certainly must have embraced the Constitutions of Clarendon, which were thus, at length, finally abandoned. Henry promised likewise a tax on all his subjects, to support the

Crusades ; and that he himself, within three years, would take up the cross. On these terms he was absolved. He made, soon afterwards, a pilgrimage to the tomb of his great antagonist, spent a whole night before it in fasting and solitude, and the next day submitted to be scourged by the monks of Canterbury, in the crypt of the cathedral. It is impossible for us to know whether this were superstition, or remorse, or sheer hypocrisy ; but it shows unquestionably the triumph of the clerical party, and the prostrate abasement of the secular power.

In the turbulent reign of King John, the English Church, sharing in the degradation of the nation, descended to the lowest point of infamy, and its humiliation was complete. The quarrel in which the king embroiled himself with the pope had its origin thus. The monks of Canterbury were divided into two parties, the one inclined to the king, the other obsequious to the pope. The archbishopric being vacant by the death of Hubert, A. D. 1199, the seniors of the convent, on the recommendation of the king, chose John de Gray, bishop of Norwich ; while the junior monks assembled in the night-time, in an irregular manner, and without the king's knowledge or consent, elected Reginald, their sub-prior, to be archbishop. Both parties appealed to Rome ; and the pope, by no means unwilling to display his power, rejected both candidates, and elected Stephen Langton, an Englishman, but brought up in France, Chancellor of the University of Paris, and a cardinal. The monks submitted ; but the king, having in vain remonstrated with the pope, banished the monks of Canterbury from the kingdom, and forbade the archbishop, Langton, to enter it.

Innocent III. now filled the papal throne. None of the popes ever carried the demands of the Church further than he. He had already excommunicated in succession two sovereigns of Germany, and laid the kingdom of France under an interdict ; and he was ambitious now to complete his triumph by laying England prostrate before the holy see. John, equally rash and weak, remonstrated with Innocent on his presumption, and intimated that he would dissolve his connexion with Rome entirely, and die rather than sacrifice his rights. Innocent answered by sending a commission to the bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester, to lay the kingdom beneath an interdict. It was published in London, and remained in force two years ; when John, being

still impenitent, was excommunicated and deposed, and his subjects were absolved from their allegiance. During the interdict, all public worship ceased; the dead were buried in cross-ways and ditches, Matthew Paris tells us, without prayers and without a priest. After a time, at Langton's intercession, his holiness permitted divine service to be performed once a week in abbey churches, in a low voice, the doors being shut, and the laity excluded. Ireland, a country not yet entirely reduced to subjection to the English crown, was, probably on that account, not included in the interdict. Still the king maintained his ground for five years; and during this period he so far bore up against his misfortunes, that he was able to lead a successful expedition against Ireland, and another into Wales. It may be doubted whether, after all, John would not have successfully braved the papal wrath, had he been but true to himself and to his people. The pope, as a last alternative, had called Philip, king of France, to his assistance, to whom he promised the pardon of all his sins and a grant of the kingdom of England, on condition that he immediately invaded it. Philip assembled a large army near to Boulogne, and John was already at Dover, when his craven spirit failed. On the 15th May, 1213, he surrendered his kingdoms to the pope and his successors, took the oaths of fealty and submission, and received the British Islands again as fiefs, for which he engaged to pay the annual tribute of one thousand marks. On his knees, at the same time, he surrendered his crown into the hands of Pandulphus, the legate, and received it back again with the tribute, which he had trampled under his feet. Philip was now compelled to draw off his army, and the interdict and excommunication were removed. Terrible as Innocent III. was, it seems certain that his success in England was owing rather to the worthless character and unpopularity of John than to the spiritual thraldom of our ancestors. Of this, indeed, we have a significant proof. Within two years the barons took arms against the king, and the pope now defended John as his own vassal. He wrote to the barons commanding them "not to take arms against his most dear son," but they treated his admonition with contempt. He proceeded further, and sent over his legate Gualo to excommunicate the barons and their party, which included Langton the archbishop and many of the higher clergy; but the sentence was again

utterly disregarded, and the King of England, supported by the thunders of the Vatican, was driven, in 1215, to the concessions of Runnymede and the Magna Charta.

The ecclesiastical history of England from this period to the Reformation presents only two important features; the struggles of the crown against the encroachments of the see of Rome, and the progress of the Lollards, the representatives of the new opinions. The first of these subjects belongs to civil history, and the prosecution of it here would lead us far beyond our purpose. It may be enough to say, in general, that there was, through the whole time, an unceasing attempt, on the part of the popes of Rome, to introduce their bulls into England without the consent of the civil power; that is, to govern the clergy absolutely; and, on the part of the kings of England, a determination, scarcely less resolute and unwavering, to resist the aggression. In the reign of Richard II., a very considerable number of the best preferments in England were held by Italians, many of whom were cardinals. These ecclesiastics were unacquainted with the habits and language of the English people, and few of them had even so much as set foot upon the soil. In a parliament held at Westminster, A. D. 1378, the subject was discussed, and foreigners were forbidden to hold ecclesiastical preferment: but the evil continued down to the Reformation, though somewhat abated. In the same reign, the *Statute of Provisors* made it penal in any person, ecclesiastic or layman, to alienate the profits of his benefice. This law was pointed at an abuse the papal party were anxious to establish, namely, that the proceeds of all livings were to be considered a sort of common fund, to be disposed of for the benefit of the Church, here or elsewhere, as the pope might see fit. It was also declared to be contrary to the laws and customs of England, that the pope should remove a bishop from his see. This, it seems, had been done when a prelate had incurred the pope's displeasure, under the pretext of translating him to a see *in partibus infidelium*, which amounted to a deprivation, since these bishoprics among the heathen had no existence but in name. At the same time, the provisions of the *Mortmain Act* were guarded with new penalties, to prevent, if possible, the unjust acquisition of lands and property by the Church. But while these cautions were being devised, a man had already appeared who was raised up to humble the papacy

and to be the harbinger of light and freedom to the English Church. John Wickliffe had already entered the field to contend alone against the might of Christendom, arrayed with the pope-dom, on behalf of the pure and simple religion of the Bible.

Two hundred years before his time, in the reign of Henry II., a small company of ecclesiastical reformers had found their way into England. They are said to have been Germans. There were about thirty of them; Gherard, the name of their leader, has been preserved. No doubt they belonged to the ancient Waldenses or Paulicians, who, from the earliest ages, had preserved an uncorrupted faith among the mountains of southern Europe. They were whipped through the streets of Oxford, and left to die of hunger in the fields, none daring to shelter or relieve them. But the good seed perished; and during the two centuries which elapsed before Wickliffe appeared, no attempt whatever seems to have been made, in points of doctrine, to gainsay the dogmas of the Church of Rome. Whatever popes and councils decreed was received implicitly. The appearance of Wickliffe marks an epoch in the Church of Christ, for his influence has extended wherever the fame of England and her religion has found its way.

John Wickliffe was born near Richmond, in Yorkshire, about the first year of Edward III., A. D. 1327. He was a student at Queen's College, Oxford, and afterwards at Merton College. He became a Professor in the University, and Master of Baliol College, and soon distinguished himself as an opponent of the Mendicant Friars. In 1367 he was publicly challenged by a monk to defend the decision of parliament that the king should not do homage to the pope, a challenge which he promptly answered. In his reply, the manuscript of which is in the Lambeth library, he styles himself the king's private chaplain. That he was a person of some consideration in the state is evident from the circumstance that he formed one of a commission which Edward III. sent to Pope Gregory XI., then residing at Avignon, on the subject of the Statute of Provisors and other delicate questions. His name stands second in the commission, the first being that of the bishop of Bangor. It has been supposed, and perhaps not unreasonably, that Wickliffe's aversion to the ecclesiastical system was by no means lessened by what he saw there of the papal court. Soon after his return he was presented by

the crown to the rectory of Lutterworth, where the remainder of his life was spent. In an age when few pastors ever preached at all, his zeal and diligence were exemplary. He preached not only on Sunday, but on the festivals of the Church; and no less than three hundred of his sermons are still extant in manuscript. He now began to deliver his sentiments with the utmost plainness on the subject of the papal corruptions. From his various writings the following propositions have been extracted. We quote them from Fuller's Church History, in a late edition of which they are verified by comparison with the original documents, a labour for which the thanks of ecclesiastical students are due to the learned editor, the Rev. J. S. Brewer:—

i. *Of the Pope.*

That it is blasphemy to call any man head of the Church, save Christ alone.

That the election of the pope by cardinals is a device of the devil.

That those are heretics which say that Peter had more power than the other apostles.

That James, bishop of Jerusalem, was preferred before Peter.

That Rome is not the seat in which Christ's vicar doth reside.

That the pope, if he doth not imitate Christ and Peter in his life and manners, is not to be called the successor of Peter.

That the imperial and kingly power are above the papal power.

That the doctrine of the infallibility of the Church of Rome, in matters of faith, is the greatest blasphemy of Antichrist.

That Christ meant the pope by the abomination of desolation standing in the holy place.

ii. *Of Prelates, &c.*

That bishops' benedictions, confirmations, consecrations of churches, &c., be but tricks to get money.

That plain deacons and priests may preach without license of pope or bishop.

That in the time of the apostles there were only two orders, namely, priests and deacons, and that a bishop doth not differ from a priest.

That it is lawful for clergymen to marry.

iii. *Of the Sacraments.*

That baptism doth not confer, but only signify, grace, which was given before.

That in the sacrament of the altar the host is not to be worshipped, and such as adore it are idolaters.

That the substance of bread and wine still remain in the sacrament.

That God could not, though he would, make his body to be at the same time in different places.

That the sacrament of confirmation is not much necessary to salvation.

That confession, to a man truly contrite, is superfluous, used by Antichrist to know the secrets and gain the wealth of others.

That that is no due marriage which is contracted without hope of having children.

That extreme unction is needless, and no sacrament.

These, with other propositions offensive to the papacy, were made the groundwork of ecclesiastical proceedings against Wickliffe; nor need it be concealed that, sharing in the barbarism of his age, he sometimes mixed up coarse vituperation with serious argument. He was summoned in 1377 to appear at St. Paul's before the archbishop, and answer the charge of heresy and erroneous doctrine. He presented himself before the synod, but he had powerful friends. He was himself in high esteem with the sovereign. His posture and equipage bespoke neither fear nor apprehension. Many centuries had passed since the pope had found himself confronted with such an adversary. The duke of Lancaster, the illustrious John of Gaunt, and lord Piercy, earl marshal of England, attended him. Courtney, bishop of London, son of Hugh Courtney, earl of Devonshire, was one of the judges; and between him and the lay lords it is evident that a rivalry of birth and profession rankled. Courtney insisted that Wickliffe should stand while he answered the charges. "Wickliffe, sit down!" said lord Piercy, "for you have many things to answer to, and you have need to repose yourself." Courtney remonstrated against this. "He must stand, and shall!" Here the duke of Lancaster interfered. "The lord Piercy's motion for Wickliffe is but reasonable," said he; "and as for you, my lord bishop, who are grown so proud and

arrogant, I will bring down the pride, not of you alone, but of all the prelacy of England." "Do your worst, sir," said Courtney; but here the Londoners, with whom, on some account, the duke was unpopular, enraged by the affront offered to their bishop, rushed forward tumultuously and broke up the court. The duke and Piercy were in some danger from their fury. It is to be observed, however, that in this broil, so characteristic of the times, neither the archbishop nor Wickliffe seem to have taken any part.

A bull was issued by the pope in 1377, commanding an inquiry into Wickliffe's heresies, of which he enumerated eighteen. He was brought, in consequence, before the archbishop and other prelates at Lambeth. King Edward was now dead, and he was followed to the grave by Gregory himself before the proceedings ended. Happily, too, for the cause of the incipient Reformation, the great schism now occurred, by the election of two rival popes, which so distracted and weakened the papal party that no sentence was pronounced. To this circumstance, rather than to the generosity of his opponents, it was owing that Wickliffe continued to preach unharmed at Lutterworth, and died in peace. It was after these events that he continued his assaults upon the papacy in a tract, still preserved in manuscript, entitled, "The Papal Schism," in which he calls upon all the sovereigns of Christendom to seize the opportunity, and bring down the whole fabric of the papacy, "seeing that Christ," he says, "hath now cloven the head of Antichrist, and set them to fight against one another." In 1382 his opinions were condemned in a synod at Oxford, and he was forbidden to preach in the university. It was about this time, probably in 1380, that he completed the work which has immortalized his name, his translation of the Bible into the vernacular English of the thirteenth century. He died in 1384, but his principles had taken root. His successful resistance to the prelatie party contributed, no doubt, to make him a favourite with the people. It was not only a struggle between the doctrines of the early Church and the corruptions with which popery had overlaid them; it was a renewal of the ancient strife between the English party and a foreign priesthood. Wickliffe and John of Gaunt stood for the independence of their native land. Courtney and the prelates represented a foreign despotism. Thus the cause of the Reformation, even in its cradle, was the cause of

English liberty. In a few years after his death portions of Wickliffe's Bible were very generally known; and if you met two people on the road, one of them, it was said, was sure to be a disciple of Wickliffe. But the reader may judge of the alarm with which the progress of the Reformation was regarded by the fact that, ten years after the death of Wickliffe, a Bill was brought into the House of Lords to forbid the reading of the English Bible. About the same time they passed the statute of *premunire*, by which it was made penal to introduce any bull, sentence of excommunication, or other process, from the court of Rome, without express permission from the king in council. The current of public opinion must have run with great force in favour of ecclesiastical independence when such a measure could be carried, by free discussion, in an assembly which numbered sixty churchmen amongst its members — mitred abbots and prelates. It does not appear, however, that the same spirit of independence was aroused in matters of a purely spiritual kind. Before the close of the century, the followers of Wickliffe had become sufficiently numerous to form a party, and to obtain a designation. In a roll of the 19th Richard II. A.D. 1395, they are termed Lollards, and it appears that they neither worshipped images nor prayed to saints,—that they despised pilgrimages as an atonement for sin,—that they held “divers teachings that men cleypt Lollard's doctrine,” and read “books of Lollardry;” all which the party named abjure on oath, submitting to penance and acknowledging themselves guilty of heresy.

In the year 1400 the fires of the Church were lighted; and William Sautre, a priest, was burnt in Smithfield. Other executions followed of both sexes. Henry IV. can be regarded in no other light than as a persecutor. He occupied the crown from which Richard had been deposed, and the Lollards were supposed to retain an affectionate remembrance of the late king; thus they became the objects of his vindictive passions. The people saw them led to the torment of the stake without interference, and probably without compassion; though, at the same time, they were clamorous against the rapacity of the clergy. It is a curious fact, mentioned by Stowe in his “Chronicle,” that in a parliament held in London, in the year 1410, the knights and burgesses presented to the king a Bill in this form: “To the most excellent lord the king, and all the nobles in this present parlia-

ment assembled, your faithful commons humbly do show that our sovereign lord the king may have the temporal possessions and lands which by the bishops, abbots, and priors are proudly spent and wasted in this realm, which should suffice to find 150 earls, and 1500 knights, 6200 esquires, and 100 hospitals more than now be," &c. Forty-one years after the death of Wickliffe, the Council of Constance condemned his writings, and ordered his bones to be dug up and burnt. It does not appear that any feeling of popular discontent was occasioned by this outrage. The Lollards were a proscribed sect. An insult to the memory of their leader was not felt as an insult to the nation. Lord Cobham's execution, A. D. 1414, had the plea of treason as well as heresy; though he was a Lollard, he had appeared in arms against the king. His death was probably considered by both parties rather as a political sacrifice than a martyrdom. But, after all, the apathy with which the nation regarded the sufferings of the Lollards shows how strong and deep was the prostration to the papacy. Statutes were passed from time to time for depriving heretics of their rights and property (statute Henry IV. cap. 15, and statute Henry V. cap. 7); and, although no writ or warrant is said to exist before the reign of Henry VIII. for the capital punishment of heretics, the sheriffs did not hesitate to carry into effect the sentence of the ecclesiastical courts. Thus multitudes of the Lollards were imprisoned, and not a few were burnt. The opinions which Sautre avowed, and for which he suffered, involved a denial of the Romish doctrine of the sacraments, and, by consequence at least, of the pope's supremacy. But the doctrine of the sacraments lay at the foundation. With this the Reformation began, and for this Sautre and all the martyrs suffered. He was condemned by Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, as a heretic, because he denied the doctrine of transubstantiation. His indictment is preserved in Foxe's Martyrology. Several inferior charges are adduced, as that he denounced the worship of the cross, and the merits of pilgrimages, even to the tomb of St. Thomas (Becket); but the last and heaviest charge is, that he maintained that, after the pronouncing of the sacramental words, "the body of Christ, the bread remaineth of the same nature that it was before, neither doth it cease to be bread." If we compare this with the doctrines of the Lollards, just a century afterwards, we shall find no other difference than what might be

expected from a more methodical and guarded method of expression, such as grows up with use. In the year 1511, six men and four women, Lollards of Tenterden, were brought before archbishop Wareham, and abjured the following errors: First, that the sacrament of the altar is not the body of Christ, but material bread. Secondly, that the sacraments of baptism and confirmation are not necessary nor profitable for men's souls. Thirdly, that confessions of sins ought not to be made to a priest. Fourthly, that there is no more power given by God to a priest than to a layman. Fifthly, that the solemnization of matrimony is not profitable nor necessary for man's soul. Seventhly, that pilgrimages to holy and devout places be not profitable, neither meritorious for man's soul. Eighthly, that images of saints be not to be worshipped. Ninthly, that a man should pray to no saints, but only to God. Tenthly, that holy bread and holy water be not better after the benediction made by the priest than before. These were the principles of a large party. Its strength lay in that middle-class peculiar to England who are neither awed by power nor seduced by blandishments; and they were rapidly spreading. On the same day, for instance, the 2nd of May, two other men of Tenterden abjured the same opinions; on the 15th, four men and one woman abjured; on the 19th, four men; on the 3rd of June, a man and a woman; on the 26th of July, another woman; the 29th of July, another man; two women on the 2nd of August; a man on the 3rd, a woman on the 8th, three men on the 16th; and on the 3rd of September, three men and a woman. All these were enjoined various penances, such as to wear the badge of a faggot in flames on their clothes for their lives, or to go in procession to the cathedral, carrying a faggot on their shoulders. About the same time several were burned; and it is worthy of notice that all these cases (copied by bishop Burnet from the registers of the diocese) escaped the vigilant diligence of Foxe. The eve of the Reformation had arrived; men's minds were universally disturbed; the papacy had lost its traditional hold upon the conscience and affection of the people; and unless archbishop Wareham's severe measures could repress inquiry, and, what was still more difficult, subdue latent disaffection, the cause of the Church was lost. With these facts before us it is something more than childish to acquiesce in the assertion, so often repeated, that the causes of

the Reformation in England are to be found in the vices of Henry VIII.

The events by which Henry VIII. was led to renounce the pope's supremacy and begin the Reformation are related by all our historians, and we must suppose the reader to be acquainted with them. It is only necessary for our purpose to state, that the quarrel first arose on the subject of the king's divorce. Arthur, the eldest son of Henry VII., was married to Catherine, infanta of Spain, and died without issue six months afterwards. Henry VII., anxious to retain the alliance with the greatest monarchy in Europe and the wealthiest heiress, proposed her marriage with Henry, his second son, now prince of Wales. Wareham, archbishop of Canterbury, protested against the union, as contrary to the laws of God. Fox, bishop of Winchester, was in favour of the marriage, and, in short, a bull was obtained to sanction it, and it took place accordingly, the prince of Wales being then a minor. But the progress of Lollardism in the nation had already modified the popular notions of papal infallibility. A large class, even of canonists, maintained that the pope, although he might set aside the canon law, could not supersede the law of God as plainly written in Holy Scripture. The prince himself, when he came of age, made a formal protestation before a notary, and placed it in the hands of the bishop of Winchester, that he held the marriage to be null and void, and was determined to break it off. On his accession to the crown, however, his views altered; he was again publicly married to Catherine, his brother's widow, and she was crowned with him. Twenty years passed, and the queen was still childless, when Henry seriously began to consider the question of a divorce. That he felt some scruples of conscience it would be unjust to deny; that reasons of state, and the desire of handing down his crown with an undisputed title to a child of his own, should weigh with him, was highly natural; and that, when his affections were unsettled, the presence of Anne Boleyn in his court should have inflamed his passion, and at last induced him, at whatever cost, to make her his wife, is certain. But in order to annul the marriage a papal dispensation was required; and the pope, when applied to, found himself in a state of the greatest embarrassment. On many accounts, connected with the political state of Europe, he was anxious to oblige the king of England, whose zeal against

Luther and the new opinions had, indeed, already been rewarded, by his predecessor, with the title of Defender of the Faith. Yet he could ill afford to displease so potent a sovereign as the king of Spain, who could regard the proposed divorce only as an egregious insult to his family. Neither could he safely in the face of Europe, with Luther and Calvin eagerly watching his proceedings, proceed to reverse the solemn decree of an infallible predecessor, and one, too, of a recent date. The tedious artifices by which, for the long period of seven years, the papal court held the impetuous Henry VIII. at bay, is an equal proof of its diplomatic strategy, and of the strong hold which the papal name still had upon the mind of the King of England. At last a young man, quite unknown except in his university, Thomas Cranmer, a fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, untied the knot which was perplexing the canonists of Europe, and, at the same moment, released England from her connexion with the papal see.

Cranmer was brought to the king's notice accidentally. He was a retiring man, and declined preferment. The plague raging at Cambridge, he had retired to Waltham with two pupils. There he was when the king, on his way to London, spent a night in the neighbourhood; and two of his courtiers, Gardiner and Fox, happened to sup with Cranmer. The conversation turned upon the king's divorce, and Cranmer suggested that, instead of a long, fruitless negotiation at Rome, it were better to consult all the learned men, and the universities, of christendom: "for," said he, "if they declared it in the king's favour, then the pope must needs give judgment accordingly; or otherwise the bull, being of itself null and void, the marriage would be found sinful notwithstanding the pope's dispensation." The king, to whom the conversation was immediately repeated, was elated, and sent for Cranmer. Wolsey, the late favourite, was already in disgrace, as the man by whose incapacity or connivance the pope had been encouraged to procrastinate. The cardinal was required to resign the great seal. The foreign universities were consulted. Many of the reformers abroad were induced to write upon the subject of divorce. Their judgments were uniformly unfavourable to the king's marriage, which they pronounced illegal; though some of them thought that Henry should be restrained from a second marriage. Meanwhile the quarrel with the pope grew wider every day. He summoned Henry to

appear at Rome; in return the clergy, nobility, and gentry of England addressed him requesting him to consent to the divorce and intimating that if he refused to annul the marriage, they must conclude that they were abandoned by him, and seek for other remedies. The pontiff answered mildly: he wished the king might have male issue, but he was not in God's stead to give it. As for their threatening to seek for other remedies, they were neither consistent with their wisdom nor their religion, and he admonished them to abstain from such counsels. He was very anxious to serve the king, and bring the affair to a speedy issue, and to do everything he could without offending God. Henry saw clearly that the pope designed by civil speeches still to postpone the decision, and, if possible, to conciliate all parties. He, therefore, issued a proclamation forbidding the introduction of papal bulls, and assembled a convocation. The clergy were charged with having broken the statutes of provisors and premunire, in having secretly communicated with Rome. The convocations humbly acknowledged their fault, and offered a fine of one hundred thousand pounds from the province of Canterbury, and eighteen thousand eight hundred and forty from the province of York. The king accepted their submission, and granted them a pardon. It was in this convocation, A. D. 1531, that the king of England was declared to be the "only and supreme lord, and, as far as the law of Christ permits, even the supreme head of the Church of England;" *unicum et supremum Dominum et, quantum per Christi legem licet, etiam supremum caput ipsius majestatem recognoscimus*. Events of importance now hurried on. In 1533 Cranmer was promoted to the see of Canterbury; a few weeks after he pronounced the sentence of divorce, having first publicly read in court the determination of the universities, divines, and canonists, and the judgment of the convocations of both provinces; and the king, who had already been privately married to the lady Anne Boleyn, now had her crowned, and notified his marriage to all the courts in Europe. The pope for the present was satisfied to pronounce the proceedings illegal, and to threaten that unless the king of England retraced his steps, he should be excommunicated the next September. In this month Elizabeth, the future queen of England, was born; and the pope proceeded to declare the marriage between Henry and Catherine lawful, and to threaten

the king with further censures. Thus driven to extremities, Henry resolved to take the last step and entirely abolish the pope's power in England. In 1534 an Act of Parliament was passed, with very little opposition, which put an end to the papal authority, as well as to the various payments of whatever kind which had hitherto been made by the laity or clergy to the see of Rome. An Act was also passed to settle the succession to the crown upon the children of the queen Anne; and all men were required to swear to the order of succession on pain of misprision of treason. Fisher, bishop of Rochester and Sir Thomas More, refusing to take the oath, and to consent to these enactments, fell beneath the rage of the cruel and vindictive tyrant, who now began to display the worst features of his character.

It is probable that, up to this period, Henry had no intention of proceeding further with the Reformation; nor did he foresee the consequences of the steps he had taken. The Act which acknowledged the king's supremacy declared that, "they did not hereby intend to vary from Christ's Church about the articles of the Catholic faith of Christendom, or in any other things, declared by the Scriptures and the word of God necessary for their salvation." The only question which had yet arisen, had reference to the claims made by the see of Rome to interfere in the management of foreign Churches, and to derive revenues from them. The mind of Cranmer may, even at this early period, have inclined him to some of those opinions which he afterwards embraced; and more or less of Lollardism, no doubt, infected both the convocation and the parliament. It is only thus we can explain the facility with which the most violent of Henry's measures were passed in those assemblies. Several bishoprics were vacant, yet six bishops were found to sanction by their vote every blow against the papal claims. The king had no difficulty in filling up the vacant sees with the ablest churchmen, who took the oaths without hesitation, and substituted King Henry for the pope, without reluctance. Yet, at the same time, heresy was severely punished. The year 1534 was disgraced by the deaths of Frith, Bilney, Baynham, and others, who were burnt as heretics. Firth is said to have been the first of the Reformers who denied in writing the real presence, in the sacrament, but Wickliffe had taught the same doctrine. Two years afterwards his principles had spread widely; for we find a protestation of the

clergy of Canterbury against various abuses in 1536, in which, while carefully abjuring the bishop of Rome or his usurped authority, grievous complaints are made of the prevalence of the new opinions, of which fifty-seven are cited and condemned. The first article stands thus: "That it is commonly preached, taught, and spoken, to the slander of this noble realm, damage of Christian souls, not without fear of many other inconveniences and perils, that the sacrament of the altar is not to be esteemed; for divers light and lewd persons be not ashamed or afraid to say, 'why should I see the sacring of the high mass? Is it anything else but a piece of bread?' In this convocation articles of religion were agreed upon, which were published under the king's authority. The doctrines taught are substantially those of the Church of Rome. The sacraments of penance and auricular confession are enforced; the use of images, the intercession of saints, and prayers addressed to them, are defended; purgatory and masses for the dead are enforced, and the sacrament of the altar is thus explained: "Under the form and figure of bread and wine which we there presently do see and perceive by outward senses, is verily, substantially, and really, contained and comprehended, the very self-same body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered upon the cross for our redemption." And that, "Under the same form and figure of bread and wine, the very self-same body and blood of Christ is corporally, really, and in the very substance exhibited, distributed, and received, unto, and of, all them which receive the said sacrament." Yet the Reformers gained some advantages. The Scriptures and the ancient creeds were declared to be standards of faith, no mention being made of tradition, or the decrees of the Church; only the meaning of Scripture is to be taken according to the sense of the words, and the creeds are to be received "in the sense which the words do purport, and the holy approved doctrines of the Church do entreat and defend the same;" and all the opinions condemned in the first four general councils are to be "utterly refused." Some uncertainty is thrown upon the nature of purgatory; still "it is a very good and charitable deed to pray for souls departed." Bishop Burnet says, that the foundation of Christian faith was truly stated, and the terms of the covenant between God and man in Christ were rightly opened. From this we must dissent; the article upon

Justification is directly contrary to that afterwards adopted, and still retained, by the Church of England in the eleventh and thirteenth of the Thirty-nine Articles. Sinners, it is said, "attain justification [which signifieth remission of our sins, and our acceptance or reconciliation into the grace and favour of God, that is to say, our perfect renovation in Christ] by contrition and faith *joined with charity*." Again, "by penance and such good works of the same, we shall not only obtain everlasting life, but also we shall *deserve remission or mitigation* of present pains and afflictions in this world." And once more, "to attain certain faith, penance, is necessary; that is to say, confession to a priest, if it may be had." Perhaps it is not very consistent with these statements to add, as the article on Justification does, the following qualification: "not as though our contrition, or faith, or any works proceeding thereof, can worthily merit or deserve to attain the said justification, for the only mercy and grace of the Father is promised freely unto us for his Son's sake, Jesus Christ; and the merits of his blood and passion be the only sufficient and worthy causes thereof." These inconsistencies, however, are easily explained. There were two parties in the convocation: one of them, led by the archbishop, anxious for reform; the other, headed by Fox and Gardiner, submissive to the pope; and the articles of faith were no doubt a compromise, each in turn mitigating the statements of the other, or introducing inconsistent amendments of their own. The subject must greatly interest a thoughtful reader; for here he sees the first elements, as it were, and rudiments, out of which the Protestant Church of England was soon after to arise. Before they separated, the convocation published its reasons why the king should decline submitting his quarrel with the pope to the decision of a general council called by the pope's authority. The convocation declared, that neither the pope nor any other prince, whatever his dignity might be, had authority to summon a general council without the consent of all other Christian princes, especially of such as had entire and supreme government over all their subjects. This was signed by Sir Thomas Cromwell, the king's minister, by the archbishop of Canterbury, fourteen bishops, forty abbots, priors, and clerks, whose names for the most part were also subscribed to the doctrinal articles before mentioned. In this same year, Henry made his first assault upon the endowments of the Church.

In 1535 a general visitation of the monasteries and religious houses was commanded.

The king, no doubt, had many reasons for wishing to see the destruction of the monastic system. The monks, if under a vow of poverty, had nothing to lose, and could the more easily defy the royal power; if rich, their peculiar habits, their corporate system, their vows of implicit obedience, their subjection to a general or provincial, often resident abroad, made them still more formidable. The education of the country was entirely in their hands, and he might reasonably suppose that they would take but little pains to teach the lawfulness of the queen's divorce or of his own supremacy. Cranmer was in favour of their suppression. He clearly perceived that these foundations, however they might be amended, were inconsistent with a full and hearty reformation. A reformation, indeed, such as he now began to contemplate, would be fatal to their existence; as the greater portion of their income was obtained from practices and superstitions he was anxious to abolish; such as purgatory, masses for the dead, the worship of saints and images, pilgrimages, and the like; so that it must always be their interest to oppose his measures. He hoped, too, by the aid of their endowments, to erect in every cathedral town colleges for the clergy, as nurseries for the diocese; a noble project, which, unhappily, was but imperfectly carried into effect. The king was anxious, at Cranmer's suggestion, to erect many new bishoprics, and the monasteries seemed to offer the necessary funds. He was apprehensive, too, of war with the emperor, who had a powerful fleet, and wished to fortify the sea-ports, and encourage the growth of a mercantile marine; but his revenue was exhausted, and for these purposes the suppression of the monasteries was thought an easy way of raising money.

The smaller abbeys, in number three hundred and seventy-six, were dissolved, and their revenues confiscated by Act of Parliament in 1536. The preamble states, that "they had long and notoriously been guilty of vicious and abominable living." The visitors had prepared the way by reporting the most abominable crimes. The report of this visitation has long since been lost, and candour forbids us to charge with universal depravity the whole monastic life of England, in the absence of depositions on the one side and justifications on the other; yet a painful

amount of licentious and degrading habits was, we cannot doubt, justly charged against these institutions. If the superior of a house were depraved, as a matter of course the monks or nuns would sink to the same level. Public opinion gave no check, and example was in favour of transgression. "I have seen," says Burnet, "an extract of a part of this report, concerning one hundred and forty-four houses, that contains abominations in it equal to any that were in Sodom."—(Hist. Ref., Part I. book iii.)

It is no matter of surprise that the monasteries, whatever the vices of their inmates might have been, were by no means unpopular with the common people. In the remoter towns and villages they were looked upon as the heathen looked upon their tutelary gods. The ages which had the skill and genius to contrive, must have produced successive generations qualified to admire and appreciate, those models of mediæval art. The humblest cottager was proud of the structure which made his native village famous. At least one-fifth of the soil of England was in the hands of the monks; and, compared with the feudal barons of a former century, or the luxurious nobles who thronged the court of Henry, the abbot was a kind and considerate landlord. The former was in general an absentee; the clergy lived on their estates; and besides the hospitality which greeted the stranger of rank and the weary traveller alike, once a day, at least, the gates of the abbey were thronged with a crowd of poor dependents, who lived upon its alms and broken food. The doctrines of the Lollards were scarcely known in such neighbourhoods. They made their appearance in the great towns, or won their converts in districts where the soil was poor, the climate ungenial, and the monasteries few. Buckinghamshire, which did not possess more than two or three monasteries, of only the third rank of opulence, gave more martyrs to the cause of Wickliffe than all the rest of England. The suppression of the lesser monasteries led to a formidable insurrection. It first broke out in Lincolnshire, where the monks were numerous, and where the visitation was first begun. The insurgents were not less than twenty thousand men, but as winter approached they dispersed, or were seized. They were pardoned; but a more serious rebellion was spreading through the north. A large army of peasants and townspeople was suddenly collected in the autumn of 1536, from the counties of York, Lancaster, and Westmorland. The frenzy

of the crusaders had revived. They termed their campaign "the pilgrimage of grace," and were preceded on their march by a company of monks, with crucifixes and sacred banners. They marched under the command of a gentleman of Yorkshire, and seized on York and Hull. They compelled the archbishop of York to take their oath, by which they bound themselves to purify the nobility and expel evil counsellors; to suppress heretics, and make restitution to the Church. The king himself met them with a superior force at Doncaster, and the insurgents at length laid down their arms; but other rebellions broke out in other counties, ending always in the submission of the insurgents and the execution of their leaders. Many of the monastic clergy were put to death on the vague plea of having lent their countenance to these risings, but no doubt with a view, first, of subduing the spirit of the clergy, and secondly, of making them odious to the people. Amongst these were the abbots of Reading, Glastonbury, and Colchester; the priors of Woburn and Burlington, and several others: these were amongst the richest abbeys in England. By these, and similar means, about one hundred and fifty superiors were induced to make a voluntary surrender of their lands and houses. At length the final blow was struck, and the conventual system was dissolved. It had arisen with Dunstan, and gathered strength for a period of more than six hundred years, flourishing in England with a splendour which it scarcely attained in any other country. An Act was passed (31 Henry VIII., chap. 13), in 1539, which provided, that "all monasteries and other religious houses dissolved, suppressed, surrendered, renounced, relinquished, forfeited, or by any means come to his highness, shall be vested in him, his heirs and successors, for ever." Whatever truth there may have been in the charges of profligate depravity advanced against the monks and nuns in general, it has never been shown that the religious houses were at this period the refuge of exemplary piety or exalted learning. Neither science nor literature have had occasion to lament their overthrow. They were the refuge of the ancient and already failing superstitions; they were the fortresses of the old against the new opinions. Sir James Mackintosh has written a beautiful discussion on the question whether the suppression of these institutions and the seizure of their property was *right* in the highest sense of legislative truth and pure morality; but if

an action be right, all those subsidiary lines of action which are necessary for its completion are right also. If the Reformation were right, so too was the destruction of the monastic system which it involved; and it must not be forgotten, in arguing this question, that the wealth of the abbeyes had been obtained by practising on the superstitions of the wealthy; and that their importance in the eyes, even of the common people, rested, in no small degree, on a system of fraud and jugglery. Relics, ridiculous and disgusting, were exposed. At Reading, Dr. London, one of the visitors, reported "An angel with one wing, that brought over the spear's head that pierced our Saviour's side." At Bury St. Edmund's they found some of the coals that roasted St. Lawrence, and the parings of St. Edmund's toes. At Bexley was a rood or image of the Virgin, which opened and closed its eyes, bowed its head, and made other motions, which the people were taught to regard as the effects of a Divine power; it was brought to Rochester, and broken open in the presence of Hilsey, the bishop, who explained the imposture in a sermon on the occasion. The shrine of Becket was despoiled, and his remains barbarously dispersed or burnt. This last act irritated the pope more than all Henry's previous delinquencies. He soon after published a bull, which had been some time prepared, excommunicating the king, and placing the kingdom beneath an interdict. But weapons once so formidable fell harmless now. No agent of the pope had the courage to introduce the bull into England; but it was published, by authority, in several foreign towns of France and Germany.

The Reformation made no great progress during the remainder of Henry's life. It was a great step in its favour that the Bible was translated and ordered to be read. But the Romish party was still powerful under Gardiner and Bonner. The king's temper became more violent than ever. Priests were hung for denying his supremacy, while women, priests, and laymen were burned for denying the real presence. Six articles were enacted by parliament and received the royal assent, in 1539, termed by the Protestants The Bloody Articles, which show the ascendancy of the Romish party. They assert transubstantiation, private masses, auricular confession, and vows of chastity. They deny that communion in both kinds is necessary, and forbid the marriage of the clergy. Yet, in 1540, Cranmer had sufficient in-

fluence to obtain a commission from the king, confirmed in parliament, to determine upon a confession of faith. This was published under the title of "A necessary Erudition for a Christian Man." We have the authority of Foxe, who wrote in the reign of Elizabeth, that Cranmer, of the commissioners, was the only one who heartily promoted the Reformation. Upon the whole, "The Erudition of a Christian Man" is a more Protestant statement of doctrinal truth than any which had been previously set forth. The seven Sacraments are retained, and the doctrine of the corporeal presence; and prayers for the dead are commended as "good and charitable; but, because it is not known what condition departed souls are in, we ought only to recommend them to the mercy of God." The merit of good works, of whatever kind, is distinctly renounced, a proof of Cranmer's influence,—who now first asserted a doctrine which has ever since been one of the great hinges of the controversy with the Church of Rome. Justification is stated to be by faith; "yet man, prevented by grace, is by his free consent and obedience a worker toward the attaining of his own justification." An exposition of the Ten Commandments was given. Gardiner would have omitted the second, or joined it to the first, but Cranmer prevailed so far as to have it inserted, but without the clause, "for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God," &c.; and the explanation allows the use of images but forbids their worship. The Lord's Prayer is also expounded, and the people are exhorted to pray in the mother tongue. The Ave Mary is explained to be a hymn of praise. Some alterations were made in the services of the Church. But Burnet, who had seen a manuscript of them, says they were few and inconsiderable; consisting chiefly of the omission of a few collects, in which the pope, Thomas-a'-Becket, and other Romish saints were mentioned or invoked. The old service-books still remained in the desks of the Churches, the only changes being a few erasures with the pen.

Thus religion stood at the close of the reign of Henry VIII. Each of the two parties was dissatisfied; the reformers accepting these changes as an earnest of a more perfect reformation; the popish party vexed with their losses, and still hoping, by some favourable accident, to regain their footing. Henry died in 1547, and was succeeded by his son Edward VI., the child of Jane Seymour, not yet ten years of age. He was of a sweet and

gentle disposition, a consumptive habit, and a precocious mind : his principles had been formed under his tutor, Dr. Cox, the friend of Cranmer and the Reformation. By the late king's will the duke of Somerset, young Edward's uncle, was made lord protector ; and to him was intrusted a power greater than has been ever legally confided to an English subject, till the king should be eighteen years of age. Somerset favoured the Reformation, and it now proceeded rapidly. Thirty commissioners were appointed to go through the country and root out superstitious practices. For their guidance a schedule of instructions was drawn up, consisting of thirty-six articles. They were instructed to destroy all relics of superstition in statues, or painted glass, shrines, or other monuments ; and to permit only two lights upon the high altar before the sacrament, to signify that Christ is the very light of the world. They were to regulate the conduct of the clergy and correct abuses. The clergy were to be instructed, once a-quarter at least, to dissuade the people from superstitious fancies of pilgrimages, praying to images, and so forth ; and to exhort them to works of faith and charity. The state of learning amongst the clergy is sufficiently indicated by the command, that when there was no sermon, the Paternoster, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments should be recited from the pulpit ; that every dean or archdeacon should preach twice a-year at least ; and that every ecclesiastical person should, within three months, provide himself with the New Testament in Latin and English, with the paraphrase of Erasmus. It was expected of communicants, that they should be able to repeat the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments ; and a Bible, for the use of the people, was to be placed in every church, with the commentary of Erasmus on the Gospels. Twelve homilies were drawn up, chiefly by Cranmer, which those of the clergy who were no preachers were ordered to read to the people. The most eminent preachers of the time were also chosen to attend the commissioners in their progress through the country, and instruct the people in the nature of true religion. The commissioners discharged their duties well. They accomplished many important reforms, and established principles which, if their task was still imperfect, laid the groundwork for further changes. But their difficulties were enormous, and no party was completely satisfied. The papists, under Gardiner and Bonner, were

of course indignant. They protested against the Book of Homilies, and showed that it was, in several points, at variance with the Paraphrase; and that the Paraphrase itself contradicted the reformers on the question of the king's supremacy. The princess Mary, the future queen of England, a rigid papist, was induced to utter a protest against the right of the protector, or the government, to make any changes in religion, until the king should be of age. Amongst the reformers, too, a new party had already appeared, the germ of the future puritans. For these the work was too slow. The sacrifice of the mass was not abolished. There were no candles before the saints, but two were still left burning before the altar; and the cup was denied to the laity. And while these remained, they considered the Reformation scarcely begun.

But it should have been remembered that a reformation to be lasting must carry with it the convictions of the people; that Cranmer and the government had, to a great extent, to create the appetite for sound instruction and religious truth; and that, where it did not exist, every change they introduced was hateful to the people. Points of vast importance had been gained. Henceforth the people would be taught the rudiments, at least, of Christian piety, in their own language. The great doctrine of justification by faith only, without the works of the law, was now at length cleared from obscurity, and plainly taught in the Homily. Gardiner himself felt the importance of Cranmer's victory. He maintained the Romish doctrine, that infants were justified by baptism, penitents by penance, and all adult persons by charity conjoined with faith. If Cranmer's doctrine were received, he clearly foresaw the fall of the Romish system in every part. We cannot doubt his sincerity: he submitted to an imprisonment in the Fleet rather than consent to this and the other measures of the reformers. Bonner of London, more violent and more subservient, escaped a prolonged imprisonment by an humble submission. Tunstall, bishop of Durham, a prelate of various and eminent merit, was excluded from the privy council on the same grounds. These prelates swayed a large party, not so much in parliament as in country towns and parishes; and there was an uneasy feeling amongst the selfish, the ignorant, and in short all those who were averse to change. And this soon afterwards broke out all over the kingdom in

violent insurrections. At Norwich twenty thousand men took arms ; in Cornwall there were ten thousand insurgents ; Hampshire, Wiltshire, Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, Kent, and Sussex were agitated, although with less violence. Religion was not the only grievance, it is true, but it was the chief. The popish clergy headed the insurgents, and one of them was hanged at Exeter, for this rebellion, upon the tower of his own church, in his sacred vestments, and with his beads suspended from his girdle. The rebellion occurred in 1549. But to return.

Parliament assembled in the month of November, 1547 ; and at once repealed the six Acts of Henry VIII., and other persecuting laws of earlier date against the Lollards. It is a remarkable circumstance that, although the convocation was sitting, the House of Commons took upon itself the reformation of the Church, in matters purely spiritual. The convocation and the parliament were at variance. In the former, Gardiner and the Romish principles prevailed ; in the latter, the principles of the Reformation were triumphant. Parliament assembled on the 4th of November : on the 12th a bill was brought in and read the first time " concerning the Sacrament." On the 24th a second bill was brought in, " for the communion to be received in both kinds." The two bills were compressed into one, and, on the 20th of December, passed both Houses. It is evident from the dates that the parliament had not waited for the convocation. These measures originated with themselves. By the first of these bills they undertook to declare the nature of the Sacrament, and to guard it from that contempt into which it had fallen, as they say, " by its having been marvellously abused ;" and they punish profane persons who shall discourse of it in sermons, or in songs, with disrespect, by fine and imprisonment. And in the second they enact, that it shall be received in both kinds by the laity ; that the priest shall not deny it to any without a lawful cause ; but that, the day before every sacrament, an exhortation be made to the people to prepare themselves for it, in which the danger of worthy and unworthy receiving were to be expressed. And the priest was forbidden to communicate alone. The convocation does not appear to have resented these proceedings as an invasion of their rights : but they made a request that some of the clergy might have a seat in the House of Commons. This seems to be a recognition of the

right of the lower house of parliament to deal with matters of a purely spiritual nature ; and to express a desire that its deliberations should have the aid of the presence of clerical advocates. Private masses were suppressed, and the election of bishops was again vested in the king. In the next session the uniformity of public worship was established. The images which still remained were removed from the churches ; and, seeing that great mischief had arisen from rash preachers on both sides, “ none were to preach without a licence, except preachers in their own parishes.” This was one of the first of several attempts made during the Reformation to silence the pulpit until the law had spoken. In every instance the prohibition seems to have failed, or rather to have given fresh zeal to the obnoxious preachers and their crowded congregations. In 1548 a commission was appointed, consisting of the archbishops, seventeen bishops, and six others, to examine the offices of public worship, with a view to their amendment. On the 8th of March a new office for the communion was published by proclamation. Confession was left indifferent ; the Sacrament was to be given in both kinds ; first to the ministers present, and then to all the people, with these words,—“ The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body unto everlasting life ;” and,—“ The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy soul unto everlasting life.” The elevation of the consecrated elements was forbidden. In the same year it was determined, after much debate, to have an entirely new liturgy. For this many reasons presented themselves, and amongst them one which must surprise those who have learned to acquiesce without inquiry in the notion that a unity of practice obtained in the Church of Rome. In Roman Catholic England public worship was conducted after at least five different forms. In the southern counties the use of Sarum was universally received, said to have been drawn up by Osmond, an ancient bishop of Salisbury. In the north of England the use of York prevailed. Wales followed two uses, those of Hereford and Bangor ; and Lincoln had an office of its own. Henceforward one use, or form of prayer, was to be employed. But this was trifling in comparison with other reformatations. The Prayer Book of 1548 is no doubt deficient, and in some points unscriptural ; but we are scarcely in a condition to appreciate its worth. For the first

time after the lapse of ages, the congregations of the Church of England, were invited to join in a service in their native tongue, intelligible, devout, impressive. The morning and evening service, with the omission of the confession and absolution, were such as they still remain. In the communion service, and in baptism, some traces of the old superstition were visible. In the former, departed saints were commended to God's mercy; and in the offertory, the wine was mixed with water, and the bread was still unleavened; and because some might carry it away and apply it to superstitious uses, it was ordered to be put by the priest into their mouths. In baptism a cross was made on the child's forehead and breast with an adjuration of the devil to go out of him. He was then dipped with trine immersion, clothed with a chrysomale, or white veil, by the minister, and anointed with oil. In the litany there was one suffrage which we have not: "From the tyranny of the bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities, good Lord deliver us."

We omit some important matters, to which we must revert, to place before the reader at one view the progress made in liturgical reform during the reign of Edward VI. As the reformation advanced, dissatisfaction began to be felt with several things which had been retained in deference to the Romish clergy, and to the superstitions of the common people. On the question of forms and ceremonies, a schism had broken out among the reformers themselves. It was pregnant with sad consequences. It was destined first to distract, and then to overthrow, the Church of England; and to produce a breach which has not yet been healed. The subject is too great to be incidentally discussed, and we refer the reader to our article on the Puritans for further information. It was determined once more to review the Book of Common Prayer, to omit what was superstitious, and to bring it into perfect harmony with the advancing spirit of the age and the doctrines of the Bible. Martin Bucer was consulted. He was a German divine, who had been invited to Oxford, as Peter Martyr had been to Cambridge, on account of his great learning and theological attainments. Bucer reported that, upon the whole, he found the common service and daily prayers in accordance with the Scriptures, but there were some things which he wished to see removed, such as placing the consecrated bread in the mouth, and not in the

hand, of the communicant; the hallowing of the water; the chrysom, and the white garment; the service for exorcising evil spirits; the anointing of the sick, and praying for the dead. He wished to reject the old vestments, still used by the clergy, as tending to superstition in some minds, and begetting fruitless controversy in many more. He advised a stricter discipline, and lamented the want of faithful teachers of more learning and greater intelligence. With regard to the episcopacy, he recommended that the bishops should throw aside all secular pursuits; that the larger dioceses should be subdivided, and that a council of presbyters should be appointed to co-operate with each bishop; that rural bishops should be placed over, not more than, twenty or thirty parishes, who should often collect their clergy together, and inspect them closely; that a provincial synod should meet twice a year, where a lay commissioner in the king's name should preside. This is the outline of a system which was revived by Archbishop Usher, just a hundred years afterwards, under the title of Reduced Episcopacy. Another suggestion of this great man slept for a much longer period, before the wakening humanities of the English people disturbed it. He advised the king that none should be put in prison for slight offences, and that none should be put to death for theft. In England, he said, adultery, a far greater wrong to the suffering party than any sort of theft, was slightly passed over, while thieves were punished with a severity which had no sanction in the law of God.

In 1551 the amended prayer-book was published, and the next year it was authorised by law. It was substantially the common prayer-book now in use; the changes made were these. The form of general confession and absolution were now prefixed; and, in the communion service, the ten commandments were introduced. A rubric was added, which was removed by Queen Elizabeth, but again restored at the Savoy conference in 1661, explanatory of the posture of kneeling at the sacrament. It declared that the posture was retained as a most reverent and humble way of expressing our sense of the mercies of God in the death of Christ, but that thereby there was no adoration intended to the bread and wine, which was gross idolatry; nor did they think the very flesh and blood of Christ were there present, since his body, according to the nature of all other bodies, could be

only in one place at once ; and so he, being now in heaven, could not be corporally present in the sacrament. Articles of religion were also agreed upon. They were forty-two in number. Early in the reign of Elizabeth, they were reduced to thirty-nine ; and continue, as then revised, to be the standards of the English Church. Christ's descent into hell, the place of torment, is asserted. The doctrine that departed souls sleep with their bodies till the last day is condemned, as is "the fable of the millenaries ;" by which Bishop Burnet understands, the doctrine of those who believed that the damned, after some time of suffering, shall be saved. These were the chief points of difference. It is again remarkable, that although the convocation was sitting, all these changes were effected by the parliament, and published under their authority, by letters-patent from the king. These bills were followed by others, for the marriage of the clergy, the suppression of superstitious holidays, and the reformation of ecclesiastical courts. A commission was issued in February 1552, to thirty-two persons, of whom sixteen were laymen, to prepare a body of ecclesiastical law for the government of the Church ; it was carried on with vigour, and brought to a conclusion, when King Edward died, and the Reformation was suddenly and prematurely closed. The canons of the Church of England of 1604 were, to some extent, founded upon this earlier and abortive attempt. The king expired on the 6th of July, 1553, with this prayer upon his lips : "O my Lord God, bless my people, and save thine inheritance ; O Lord God, save thy chosen people of England ; O Lord God, defend this realm from papistry, and maintain thy true religion, that I and my people may praise thy holy name, for Jesus Christ his sake." During this short reign, the Protestant Church assumed, in all substantial points, its present form. On reflection, we cannot but be struck with the rapidity with which change follows change ; and a system which for a thousand years had been had in reverence, crumbles into dust. A party still powerful adheres to the ancient faith ; but the House of Commons, always whether for good or evil, and in all ages, a reflection of the national mind and will, accepts every reform which the mild genius of Cranmer suggests, and embodies it in the forms of law. It is clear that the growing intelligence of England had outrun its ancient religion. Thoughtful men, of every class, had long been dis-

satisfied ; and even those who suffered in the struggle as martyrs for Rome, such men, for instance, as Sir Thomas More, were rather displeased with the reformers than satisfied with the pope. It does not seem to be granted to mankind to conduct any great reform, where the abuses to be removed are such as to instigate revenge or invite cupidity, without the indulgence of those evil passions. And the Reformation under Edward VI. was, it must be mournfully confessed, not free from either.

The king's sister, the Princess Mary, was harshly used. She was a devoted papist : her chaplain was committed to the Tower for performing mass before her, and she herself confined a prisoner in her own house. She was summoned before the council, and requested to conform. Her soul, she said, was God's, and her faith she would neither change nor dissemble. It is probable that violence would have been used, had not Cranmer gently suggested that "to wink at it for a time might be borne." The ascetic spirit of Mary was no doubt embittered by these acts, and the reformers soon felt the weight of her displeasure. The Romish prelates suffered at the hands of the reformers penalties, slight indeed and insignificant compared with what, under an exchange of circumstances, they were ready to inflict ; but still such as reflect no credit on the Reformation. Bonner and Gardiner were deprived ; a step with which no fault can possibly be found. But Gardiner was imprisoned, and used with some severity. Bonner was cited before a Commission at Lambeth, and conducted himself in his natural way, with vulgar insolence. On the ground of his indecorum, he was committed to the Marshalsea, and remained a prisoner till the king's death. These severities were remembered and repaid with bitterness when the Romish party regained authority in the reign of Mary. But the reformers were guilty of other severities, far more disreputable than these. The execution of Joan Boucher, the maid of Kent, for heresy, has left an ignominious brand upon the advisers of the youthful king. The Lutherans, who had lately been permitted to settle in London, brought over some strange opinions with regard to the incarnation of Christ, which were rather foolish than heretical, and for maintaining these, Joan was burnt. It has been long believed, and is still repeated, that the gentle spirit of the king was averse to this act of cruelty, and that he was borne down by the arguments and authority of Cranmer. A whole

year elapsed between her trial and execution ; and Edward is said to have signed the warrant at last with tears, and with an appeal to Cranmer, who was present, that he must answer for it to God. But the researches of recent biographers of that great man have established the fact, that Cranmer was not present when the warrant was signed ; and the only share he seems to have had in the nefarious business was that he did not vehemently protest against it. He was not, it seems, upon such subjects in advance of other men. A commission was appointed, April 12, 1549, consisting of the archbishop of Canterbury, with five other bishops and a few divines, empowering them to examine and search after all anabaptists, heretics, and contemners of the Book of Common Prayer ; to reclaim them if possible, and if not to imprison them and deliver them over to the secular power. Under this commission several were punished with penances, and one at least was burned. So slow was the progress of recovery from that insensibility of conscience which ages of darkness had succeeded in imposing on mankind !

These were the blemishes of the Reformation ; but they belong to the age itself rather than the actors, much less the cause ; and the reformed religion is not responsible for the infirmities of its first leaders. The evil practices of the nobility of that day, their rapacity and selfishness, have been more injurious to the interests of the Church of England. Not only glebe-lands and the properties of dissolved houses, but a vast proportion of the tithe was squandered amongst them in presents, or sold at merely nominal prices. Bishop Latimer complains, in one of his sermons, that the revenues were seized by the rich laity, and that the incumbent was only the proprietor of the title.—“ Many benefices are let out to farm by secular men, or given to their servants for keeping their hounds, hawks, and horses ; meanwhile the poor clergy are brought to short allowance.” We are ready to allow that the lands acquired on condition of saying masses for dead men were gained under false pretences. We are ready to admit that it was neither just nor safe to permit one-third of the lands of all England to remain in the hands of the Church. But the alienation of the tithes admits of no defence. No property in the state was held by a more ancient tenure, or on conditions more advantageous to the people. Wise and thoughtful non-conformists have joined with churchmen in deploring the injury

which religion suffered when the Church's patrimony was thus dispersed and lost. "If," observes Dr. Neal, the historian of the Puritans, "the revenues of the Church had been abused to superstition, they might have been converted to other religious uses; or if too great a proportion of the riches of the kingdom was in the hands of the Church, they should have made an ample provision for the maintenance of the clergy, and the endowment of smaller livings, before they enriched their friends and families."

On the death of Edward, Mary occupied the throne; after the abortive attempt to place the Lady Jane Grey (in obedience to Edward's will, by which he excluded his own sister, in her favour) in that elevated position. The contest, if it can be called such, between the rival sovereigns, or rather their adherents, was entirely a religious one. Should Mary succeed, popery was re-established; should lady Jane wear the crown, the Protestant cause was safe. The duke of Northumberland, her uncle, with the other branches of her family, were the most powerful faction in the state, and they were heartily committed to the cause of the Reformation. The failure of their daring project was owing partly to the unpopularity of the duke—a misfortune which, in the infancy of a free state, always attends a powerful subject; and still more to the reaction in favour of the old religion. Slow as the progress of the Reformation had been, according to the Puritan party, for its own safety it had evidently gone too fast. King Edward and his Privy Council had been far in advance of the great bulk of an unenlightened people. A demonstration in behalf of Mary, in the county of Suffolk, gathered thousands around her banner. Arrived in London, her first act was to release the Romish prelates, Bonner, Gardiner, and the rest, from the Tower. A week afterwards they were restored to their bishoprics, and the leaders of the Reformation, Cranmer, Hooper, Coverdale, Rogers, and others were sent to occupy their vacant prisons. All men apprehended a terrible storm. A thousand of the Reformers, including five bishops, many noblemen, fifty dignitaries of the Church, and others whose position in society might render them obnoxious, hurried their departure, and fled abroad, chiefly to Geneva, Basle, and Zurich, where the reformed religion was now established. The queen was crowned in October 1553, by Gardiner, with all the pomp of the Romish ceremonial.

Parliament assembled, and all the acts of the late reign, and of Henry VIII., by which the Reformation had been promoted and established, were repealed. The mass and the old ceremonies were everywhere revived ; the great preachers of the Reformation were imprisoned or had fled ; the married clergy, now amounting to many thousands, were deprived. In November, Cardinal Pole arrived as the pope's legate, with a commission to receive the kingdom of England into the bosom of the Catholic Church ; and the laws against the assumptions of the pope were all of them removed from the statute book. Acts were even passed for reviving the statutes of Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry V. for burning heretics. Their work accomplished, Parliament was dismissed, January 16, 1555, leaving England more profoundly papal than at any time during the previous two hundred years.

The year 1555 has been truly described as one of darkness and of blood. England being restored to the Church of Rome was to be deterred from any future lapse by terrible examples. Hooper, the late bishop of Gloucester, was one of the first victims. After a mock trial, for his death was already decreed, he was taken down to Gloucester and burnt, or rather roasted alive, in front of his own cathedral, on the 9th of February. To say nothing of his piety, and the cause for which he suffered, he was a noble specimen of the true English character ;—a man of transparent honesty, of dauntless courage, of unshaken constancy, and of warm affections and a loving heart. He wrote in prison, " We are in the utmost peril, as we have been for a year and a half ; we are kept asunder, and treated with indignity and scorn. Every day they threaten us with death, which we do not value ; we despise both sword and the stake for the sake of Jesus Christ. For we know in whom we have believed, and are sure that he will preserve our souls, which we have committed to him. Meanwhile help us with your prayers ; we are the Lord's, let him do what seemeth good in his eyes." This is addressed to Bullinger, the great reformer of Zurich. And there follows a touching request that he " would sometimes favour with a letter his most modest and pious widow, and advise her in the education of his son and daughter." His last words were, " Lord Jesus receive my spirit." He was forbidden to speak, for his enemies feared his eloquence. The warrant for his execution contains these memorable words, " and forasmuch also as the said Hooper is, as

heretics be, a vainglorious person, and delighteth in his tongue, and having liberty may use his said tongue to persuade such as he hath seduced, to persist in the miserable opinion that he hath sown among them : our pleasure is therefore, and we require you to take order, that the said Hooper be neither, at the time of his execution, nor in going to the place thereof, suffered to speak at large ; but thither to be led quietly and in silence for eschewing of further infection, and such inconvenience as may otherwise ensue in this part. Whereof fail not, as ye tender our pleasure." Within a few days of Hooper's death Rogers was burnt at Smithfield, Saunders at Coventry, and Dr. Taylor at Hadley. All these were clergymen. The nation, barbarous as it was, was disgusted with these cruelties. It was observed that in King Edward's time papists were only turned out of their benefices, and at most imprisoned, and that even such instances were very few ; while now the most barbarous cruelties were practised on innocent men, for they had broken no law. One piece of severity shocked the feelings of the country beyond measure. The council issued an order to the sheriffs of the different counties to exact a promise from the martyrs to make no speeches at the stake, otherwise to cut out their tongues ; so to avoid this butchery they promised to obey those cruel orders. Gardiner, less ferocious than Bonner, began to be ashamed of these savage proceedings, which he saw too were producing on the nation effects widely different from those upon which he had calculated. The court affected to dislike them, but it was a mere pretence ; and in a few months the fires began to blaze again with greater fury. In July, Bradford, prebendary of St. Paul's, was burned, together with an apprentice, a lad of nineteen, at Smithfield. In the summer of this year of horrors scores were burnt, but the greatest sacrifice was made in October ; when Ridley and Latimer, the Protestant bishops of London and Worcester, were consumed at Oxford. Archdeacon Philpot followed in December ; and, on the 21st of March, Cranmer himself was conducted to the stake. The examinations which the martyrs underwent were happily made public, for to the agony of death was added the mockery of a public disputation. The champions of the popish party, strong in scholastic learning, and deeply skilled in the dialectic subtleties of the schools, were at first eager to provoke a contest ; and we have, in Foxe and other sources, reports verbally accurate

of these proceedings. In every case the real presence was the turning point. The pope's supremacy, the infallibility of the Church, and the weight of tradition, were debated; but the article of life or death was the nature of a sacrament, and more particularly the real presence in the mass. The vindictive nature of Mary and the brutality of Bonner would, no doubt, have required some victims; but it cannot be doubted that vast numbers of the sufferers might have still escaped if they would have confessed the real presence in the mass. One and all they held the doctrine to be idolatrous and blasphemous, and for this they died. Cranmer's examination was held at Oxford, before commissioners appointed by the Crown, and a sub-delegate from the pope, upon the charge of heresy. Of course he was condemned, and his degradation followed. This latter ceremony was performed amidst the jeers of Bonner, while the other commissioner, Thirlby, wept. He was kept for some weeks a prisoner in the dean's lodgings at Christ Church, the sentence of death hanging over him. Here he was treated with courtesy, and surrounded by the most accomplished of the Romish party. He was incessantly solicited to retract his errors and save his life. The gentle spirit and failing courage of an old man of sixty-seven gave way. He set his hand to a paper renouncing all the errors of Luther and Zwinglius, acknowledging the pope's supremacy, the seven sacraments, and the corporal presence in the Eucharist, purgatory, prayer for departed souls, and the invocation of saints; to which was added his confession of sorrow for his former errors; and he concluded with exhorting all that had been deceived by his example or doctrine to return to the unity of the Church; protesting that he had signed the document willingly, and only for the discharge of his own conscience. His enemies gloated over their victim. Mary, nothing softened, was still resolved that he should die. The archbishop had pronounced her mother's divorce, and he had been the ring-leader of heresy; and either crime was unpardonable. Instructions were secretly sent down to Oxford to prepare for his execution on the 21st of March, and Cole, provost of Eton, was instructed to draw up a sermon or address for the occasion. On the morning of his death the venerable archbishop, meanly habited, was led in solemn procession to St. Mary's church, a monk on either side of him chanting dirges as he went. He was placed on a raised platform, and Cole began his sermon. "He,"

says Foxe, "that was late archbishop, metropolitan and primate of England, and the king's privy councillor, being now in a bare and ragged gown, and ill-favouredly clothed, with an old square cap, exposed to the contempt of all men, did admonish men, not only of his own calamity, but also of their state and fortune. The lamentable case and sight of that man gave a sorrowful spectacle. A man might have seen the very image and shape of perfect sorrow lively in him expressed. More than twenty several times the tears gushed out abundantly, dropping down marvellously from his fatherly face." The sermon ended, Cole invited Cranmer to make a profession of his faith, not doubting his adherence to the Church of Rome. But the archbishop's lapse had been of no long continuance. Whether anticipating, upon reflection, his certain doom, or moved entirely by a returning sense of truth, he had prepared a written document, which he now drew from his bosom. He begun with deep confessions of sin, which were heard with patience and respect; he was interrupted only by his own sobs and tears. "And now," said he, "I come to the great thing that so much troubleth my conscience, more than anything that ever I did, or said, in my whole life: and that is the setting abroad of a writing contrary to the truth; which now, here, I renounce and refuse, as things written with my hand contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and written for fear of death, and to save my life, if it might be; and that is all such bills and papers which I have written or signed with my hand since my degradation, wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand offended, writing contrary to my heart, my hand shall first be punished therefore; for, may I come to the fire, it shall be first burned." He was led, or rather dragged tumultuously, by the enraged priests to an open space in front of Baliol College, where the fire was lighted, and he was burned to ashes. His constancy amazed his persecutors. He stood in the midst of the flames unmoved as the stake to which he was bound, holding his right hand in the hottest of the fire, and exclaiming, "That unworthy hand!" His last words were those familiar to so many martyrs: "Lord Jesus receive my spirit."

The next day Cardinal Pole succeeded to the vacant see. The queen restored the first fruits and tenths, and, as far as she had the power, the alienated lands; and she founded several monas-

teries. England was once more Roman Catholic in the fullest sense ; and in the dismay which overspread them, the Protestants were silent, and their cause seemed lost. But the death of Mary happened in 1558, that of Cardinal Pole followed within a few hours ; and the system reared in so much national humiliation, and at the cost of so much blood, fell with them never to be restored. Within three years, according to Burnet, two hundred and eighty-four martyrs suffered by fire. Speed makes them two hundred and seventy-four. Lord Burleigh, in a treatise published during the next reign—"The Execution of Justice in England"—says that, including those who perished in prison from hunger and ill-usage, four hundred suffered ; of whom two hundred and ninety were burned.

The accession of Elizabeth changed everything. One of her first acts was to communicate through Sir Edward Karn, the English resident at Rome, the tidings of her sister's death and her own accession. The pope replied, with insolence, that she was illegitimate, that England was held in fee of the apostolic see, and that it was great presumption in her to assume the crown without his permission. Nothing could have been more fortunate for the Reformation. Karn was instantly recalled, and the connection with Rome was at an end.

It is impossible to tell what the consequences would have been to the Reformation had the pope returned a courteous answer. Elizabeth might have found it difficult to escape from her sister's toils, and harassed as she was with a powerful faction at home, who questioned her rights, and were devoted to the papal interests, she might even have been tempted to seek protection from the pontiff. Parliament immediately renewed the laws of Henry VIII. against the pope, and those of Edward VI. in favour of the Protestants, and the severe acts of Mary were repealed. Uniformity of common prayer was now again enacted, and the tenths and first fruits were restored to the crown. The clergy, in convocation, made a protest, through Bonner, on behalf of the Romish doctrines, and it was thought well to hold a disputation at Westminster, in March, 1559, and three questions were debated between the leaders of the two parties :—First, whether service and sacraments ought to be celebrated in the vulgar tongue ; second, whether the Church hath not power to alter ceremonies, so that all be done to edification ; third, whether the

mass be a propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead. The Romish party complained of some of the arrangements, and the discussion was closed abruptly. It is not easy to perceive what advantages were expected from it, unless, indeed, it were meant to show how little could be said in defence of those doctrines which the protest maintained. The Romish bishops were now deprived for refusing to take the oath of supremacy ; three of them fled beyond the seas ; Bonner was imprisoned in the Marshalsea. It was a measure of real kindness to one who deserved a harsher fate ; "a jail," says Fuller, "being conceived the safest place to secure him from people's fury, every hand itching to give a good squeeze to that sponge of blood." Watson, bishop of Lincoln, and White, of Winchester, threatening to excommunicate the queen, were committed to prison, where they remained till their death. Bishops Tunstall and Thirlby were placed in custody with Archbishop Parker, the Protestant primate, and treated with consideration and respect. Heath, late archbishop of York, was allowed to retire and to live in comfort, if not in affluence ; so, too, were other bishops of the party, until the pope, by his bull, endeavoured to excite rebellion, when some of them "being found busier in matters of state," says Lord Burleigh, in the tract above mentioned, "tending to stir troubles than was meet for the quiet of the realm, were removed to other more private places." On the whole, the Romish party were treated with great forbearance. The mild spirit of the Reformation had already streaked with light the horizon, hitherto so dark and chilling, of our penal laws.

Some of the reformed divines were now appointed to review King Edward's liturgy. It was recommended to them by the council that no express definition should exclude the belief of the corporal presence in the sacrament ; and, in consequence, the rubric, which declared "That no adoration is intended to any corporal presence of Christ's flesh and blood," was now left out. The Act of Uniformity was passed, compelling the use of the new prayer-book. Towards the close of the year, December 17, 1559, Parker was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, by the imposition of the hands of Barlow, Scory, Coverdale, and Hodgskin, bishops of Edward VI., who had been deprived in the late reign. He proceeded forthwith to fill up the vacant bishoprics. Grindal was consecrated bishop of London ; Coxe, of Ely ; Sandys, of

Worcester; Jewel, of Salisbury; Parkhurst, of Norwich; Horne, of Winchester. Barlow and Scory were placed at Chichester and Hereford. Coverdale, an old man of seventy-two, the translator of the Bible, and former bishop of Exeter, was passed over with neglect, though Grindal earnestly recommended him to the see of Llandaff. Seldom has any Church been blessed with so many wise and good men in her episcopate at the same time.

Injunctions were issued by the crown, similar to those of Edward VI., for the suppression of superstitious practices and the enforcement of the Reformation. A declaration of faith, and of the principal articles of religion, was published by the prelates, and commanded to be read by the clergy. It is brief and simple, consisting of eleven articles. The first, second, and third assert the unity of God, the sufficiency of Holy Scripture, and the nature and authority of a true Church; the fourth and fifth assert the necessity of a lawful call to the ministry, and the doctrine of the queen's supremacy. The remainder, with the exception of the seventh, are directed against the errors of the Romish Church. The seventh, which laid unfortunately the foundation of another schism, affirms that the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Holy Sacraments, set forth by the authority of parliament, is agreeable to the Scriptures; and that it is catholic and apostolic, and most for the advancing of God's glory and the edifying of God's people; both for that it is in a tongue that may be understood of the people, and also for the doctrine and form of administration contained in the same. To this the Puritan party objected; they neither liked the habits or vestments commanded to be worn, nor did they think the prayer-book itself free from superstition. The history of the Church of England, from the first of Elizabeth to the restoration of Charles II., is little else than a history of this painful controversy.

The Reformation was now completed nearly as it stands. No men ever encountered more serious difficulties than the Reformers. The hatred of their opponents, and the impetuosity of their friends, the apathy of a sluggish clergy, the checks of the Privy Council, and the inconsistent example and overbearing temper of the queen were all against them. The concessions made in the new prayer-book on the subject of the real presence were wrung from them with the greatest reluctance, and out of deference to

the council, who argued that all the queen's subjects ought, if possible, to be comprehended in the national Church; that it was enough to condemn transubstantiation, and leave the mode of Christ's presence an open question. There was a wish, too, to comprehend the Lutherans. The queen was strangely fond of religious pomp, and the service in her chapel was conducted with magnificence; a huge crucifix stood upon the altar. Jewel writes to his friend, Peter Martyr, on the 4th of February, 1560, upon the subject, in great distress. Parkhurst and Coxe defended it against himself and Grindal. "I smile to think," he says, the day before a disputation with them on the subject, "with what grave and solid arguments they mean to defend their dear little cross (*suam cruculam*); as far as I can see, I shall be no bishop when I write to you again; things are come to such a pass that I believe we must either restore the crosses we have everywhere been breaking down, or give up our bishoprics." Sandys, of Worcester, wrote to the same venerable friend, in April, to express similar anxieties. "Hitherto," he says, "through God's mercy, the doctrine of the eucharist has not been assaulted; it remains with us safe and sound, and we hope it will continue to do so; but we have some controversy about images; her majesty thinks it not contrary to the word of God, nay, an advantage to religion, that an image of Christ crucified, with those of Mary and John, should be placed in a conspicuous part of the church, and be seen by all the people. Some of us think very differently, especially since, in our last visitation we ordered, and that by the authority of the State, that all such images should not only be removed but burnt, and because the superstitious and ignorant people worship this idol more than the others." And he proceeds to intimate the probability that he, too, should be removed from his office and incur the queen's displeasure; but such extreme measures were not resorted to; though for the present, in the judgment of a large party, the Reformation was imperfect. The question with such men was, whether it were better to acquiesce in certain advantages now secured by law, or to place the Reformation itself in peril by throwing themselves in opposition to the queen and the nobility. (See "Original Letters of the Reformers," in Burnet, and the "Zurich Letters," Cambridge, 1845.) It must not be supposed, however, that Jewel, with all his scruples upon these points, was altogether disaffected to the new

institutions. He thankfully accepted the Church of England as it stood, though, on some points, he would have been glad to extend the Reformation further. Soon afterwards he published his "Apology for the Church of England." It won at once the warmest praises of the foreign Reformers. Bullinger, Gaultier, Wolfius, and Peter Martyr congratulate the author with unaffected warmth. "You have raised," says the latter, "by this, your most elegant and learned apology, a confidence in all good and learned men that the reformed religion will never want an advocate while you survive. I rejoice that I have lived to see the day which has made you the author of a work so famous and so eloquent." It was received at home as an accredited and public confession of the Catholic faith of the Church of England. It was published at the express command of the queen, and at her expense. It had the sanction of the Convocation, and was intended by Archbishop Parker to accompany the Articles; which were now finally settled as an authoritative exposition of the faith and doctrine of the Church.

Parliament assembled on the 12th of January, 1562; Convocation the day afterwards. In the former an Act was passed by which all persons who maintained the pope's authority within this realm incurred a premunire for the first offence, and were guilty of high treason for the second. The bill was strongly opposed in both Houses; and a clause was introduced by which members of the House of Peers were exempted from the oath of supremacy. The archbishop of Canterbury, by the queen's order, also instructed the bishops not to tender the oath except in cases of necessity, and never to press it a second time without a special direction. So gently were the recusants dealt with, while the fires of Smithfield had scarcely ceased to smoke. Bonner, with two or three of the most obnoxious of the popish clergy, were imprisoned; the rest lived unmolested, in ease, and some of them in affluence.

The Convocation was intended to confirm and complete the ecclesiastical polity of England. It had a licence from the queen to review the doctrine and discipline of the Church, to reform ecclesiastical abuses, and to repair the corruptions which time and neglect had introduced. Nowel, dean of St. Paul's, was chosen prolocutor. The forty-two articles of King Edward VI. were taken as the basis of the English confession, and were now

reduced to thirty-nine. Cranmer and Ridley had framed the articles of Edward. These of Elizabeth were drawn up by Parker, with the assistance of Jewel and others. Since the death of Edward, the Council of Trent had been sitting, and a papal nuncio had arrived here to solicit Elizabeth's presence, in person or by her deputies. A personal solicitation to the same effect had been addressed to Jewel. The nuncio was forbidden to appear in England, and Jewel replied by disclaiming the pretensions of the council. The English, he said, was not the only nation which refused to appear at Trent; for the patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, declined to come; and in Europe, the kingdoms of Sweden and Denmark, many of the Germanic states, and the Swiss republics, had no representatives. The ancient fathers always declined to appear at councils, which were notoriously partial and prejudiced; and Jewel, after having adduced many such instances, applied them to the case in point. He expressed his surprise that the pope should summon the English to the council, who had been pronounced heretics by his predecessor. In what character could they appear? Why must they take so long a journey to plead as criminals? They could expect only the alternative of being obliged to recant, or of incurring the anathema of the council.

These events may be distinctly traced in the articles themselves. The sixth article, for instance, on the sufficiency of Holy Scripture for salvation, is levelled against Tridentine errors. King Edward's article affirmed that the Scriptures are a complete and sufficient rule of faith; that of Elizabeth goes further—in rejecting the apocryphal books, and enumerating those of the sacred canon; whereas the Council of Trent declared the canonical and apocryphal books to be of equal authority. All the articles against the errors of the Church of Rome were retained. It has been thought, however, that some concession was intended by the alteration made in the twenty-eighth article, upon the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. King Edward's article assigned a metaphysical argument as a ground of objection to the real presence; namely, the impossibility that a natural body should be at one and the same time in many places; and this argument was now left out: and the article merely affirms that "transubstantiation cannot be proved by Holy Writ; but is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, overthroweth the

nature of a sacrament, and has given occasion to many superstitions." But it has been replied, and we think with some force, that the metaphysical argument is by no means the strongest against the doctrine in question. And that, to omit an argument which an opponent thinks to be without weight, while others are brought forward which he makes no attempt to answer, is at least no proof of a disposition to temporise. Four articles were omitted, either as referring to controversies which had passed away, or as condemning dogmas on which difference of opinion might be safely permitted to exist; as, for instance, that the souls of the deceased do not perish with their bodies, nor sleep without sense till the last day, and that the millenium is contrary to the Scripture, and "a Jewish dotage." A clause in the twentieth article, "that the Church has power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith," has given rise to a long and angry dispute. The Puritans denied the truth of this proposition altogether; and, as several of the Puritan leaders subscribed the articles, the consistency of the party is the point at issue. Nor is it a point easily settled. The original minutes of the Convocation have perished. Archbishop Laud, and Heylin, his chaplain, declare that they had consulted the records and found the contested clause. On the other hand, there are two manuscripts of the articles in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, amongst other papers belonging to archbishop Parker, in neither of which is the clause contained. The inference which the Puritans have drawn is, that it was interpolated, either through neglect or fraud. Strype, however, who was learned and diligent in antiquarian research, decides in favour of its genuineness. Fuller doubts, and is unable to decide. It is found in the first printed copy of the article, and was a part of it when the articles received the sanction of Parliament in 1571. The question, further than as it affects the integrity of the ruling powers of that period, is, therefore, purely one of literary curiosity.

To this famous Convocation the Church of England owes a large debt of gratitude. If its labours in some points fall short of our wishes, leaving unsettled questions of discipline which have rankled ever since, in others, pertaining to the establishment of sound doctrine, they are beyond all praise. No synod of the Church, in any age or country, has done so much as the Con-

vocation of 1562 to define and promulgate the pure doctrine of God's revelation. The value of the thirty-nine articles can be fully appreciated by those only who compare them with the standards of faith of other countries. We need not hesitate to affirm, that for simplicity and comprehensiveness, for brevity and fulness, they are unrivalled. On disputable points of doctrine their statements are clear while their views are moderate. Without being in the slightest measure open to the charge of treating divine truth with levity, as if it were in any material point uncertain or imperfectly revealed, they exhibit a catholicity of temper, and a willingness to allow for diversities of opinion, which, if not perfect, is at least, even now, unequalled. Most, indeed, of the quarrels which have rent the Church of England ever since, may be traced to a disposition to cramp and fetter the doctrinal statements of the thirty-nine articles. Nor are these our only obligations to the Convocation of 1562. The two books of homilies were now published. They were the work of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer. The first book, consisting of twelve homilies, was published by Edward VI.; the second book had been completed about the time of his death, and laid aside. Both were now issued by authority; with the exception of the homily on rebellion, which was added a few years after, when the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland had raised a seditious movement in the north. The prolocutor, Nowel, dean of St. Paul's, was instructed to draw up a Latin catechism for the use of schools and students in theology. It was undertaken by the advice of Cecil, to whom it is dedicated. It was reviewed and corrected by the Convocation, and although it never obtained a place amongst the authorized formularies of the Church, it is the work of a master-hand. The bishop of London recommended it to the study of his clergy; it was long used in our great schools, and is still in the hands of our students for the ministry. Above all, to this Convocation we are indebted for the Bishops' Bible: an authorized version of great worth, which was used in the public service of the Church nearly forty years, until it was superseded by King James's Bible, the authorized version still in use. Before this time, the old translations of Wickliffe and Tindal, and more lately that of Coverdale, had been in general use. The bishops were now directed to undertake a new version; Parker had the chief direction, and the work, though not

exclusively, was principally the fruit of the zeal and learning of our English bishops, from whence its name.

But on matters of Church discipline the Convocation was not by any means so fortunate. The differences from which Puritanism grew were already at work. They had reference exclusively at this period, and indeed long afterwards, to points of discipline and to questions of Church polity. No doctrinal matters were involved. The difficulty which confronted the Convocation was this: how to frame a ceremonial and Church order which should be sufficiently simple to embrace the Puritans, on the one hand, and yet should not disgust the queen and the court party, who were still attached to the pomp of the Romish service, though not to the doctrines of the Romish Church, on the other. Many eminent members of the Convocation, including several of the bishops, would have made concessions to the Puritans, or rather would have claimed them on behalf of a party with whom they were identified. But, in order to understand the subject, the reader should be made acquainted with the proposals which were made in convocation, and these we shall briefly mention. Bishop Sandys, of Worcester, first brought in "a paper of advice," to move the queen that private baptism, and baptism by women, may be taken out of the Common Prayer-book; that the cross in baptism may be disallowed, as needless and superstitious; and that commissioners may be appointed to reform the ecclesiastical laws. Another paper was presented to the house with the following requests, signed by thirty-three names:—That the Psalms may be sung distinctly by the whole congregation, and that organs may be laid aside; that none may baptize but ministers, and that they may leave off the sign of the cross; that, at the ministration of the communion, the posture of kneeling may be left indifferent; that the use of copes and surplices may be taken away, so that all ministers in their ministry use a grave and comely side garment (or long robe), as they commonly do in preaching; that ministers be not compelled to wear such gowns and caps as the enemies of Christ's gospel have chosen to be the special array of their priesthood; that the words in the thirty-third article, concerning the punishment of those who do not in all things conform to the public order about ceremonies, may be mitigated; that all saints' days, festivals, and holidays, bearing the name of a

creature, may be abrogated ; or, at least, a commemoration only of them reserved by sermons, homilies, or common prayer, for the better instructing the people in history, and that after service men may go to work. This latter paper was signed by Nowel, Sampson, dean of Christchurch, the deans of Lichfield, Hereford, and Exeter, the provost of Eton, twelve archdeacons, and fourteen proctors or representatives of the clergy. It was not approved ; but another was immediately introduced into the lower house, containing the following articles :—That all Sundays in the year, and principal feasts of Christ, be kept holidays, and that all other holidays be abrogated ; that, in all parish churches, the minister in common prayer turn his face towards the people, and there read distinctly the service appointed, that the people may hear and be edified ; that in baptism the cross may be omitted, as tending to superstition. Forasmuch as divers communicants are not able to kneel for age, or sickness, at the sacrament, and others kneel and knock superstitiously, that therefore the order of kneeling may be left to the discretion of the ordinary ; that it may be sufficient for the minister, in time of saying divine service and ministering of the sacraments (once), to wear a surplice ; and that no minister say service, or minister the sacrament, but in a comely garment or habit ; that the use of organs be removed.

The propositions were the subject of great debate. Upon a division it appeared that they were carried by a majority of the members who were present. But votes by proxy were allowed in Convocation, and when these were counted the scale was turned and the propositions were lost ; though by the smallest possible majority, a majority of one. From this hour we must date, whether for good or evil, the growth of nonconformity and the existence of Protestant dissent in England. We relate in a separate article the chequered history of the PURITANS ; their rapid growth, their marvellous power, their sudden collapse. Some of their leaders, without seceding from the Church, refused, from motives of conscience, to wear the surplice or comply with the ceremonies, and declined preferment. Amongst these were Coverdale and Foxe. Coverdale, the first Protestant bishop of Exeter, in the reign of Edward VI., was one of the most learned divines of a learned age. With the assistance of Rogers and Tyndal, he had translated the Bible into English. Two

hundred years had passed since Wickliffe had translated it, and his version, so rapidly had the language changed, was then as obsolete to common readers as it is to us. In the days of Mary he was imprisoned and narrowly escaped the fire; he assisted at the consecration of Parker, but was now passed over and suffered to fall into extreme poverty. Being old and poor, Grindal, bishop of London, gave him the small living of St. Magnus, London Bridge. Here he remained two years; but, not conforming, was persecuted and expelled. The act of uniformity brought down his grey hairs with sorrow to the grave. Foxe published his famous martyrology in 1561: it was of great service to the Reformation: it was dedicated to the queen, placed in the parish churches, ordered to be kept in the houses of the superior clergy, so as always to be accessible to their guests and servants, and was read by thousands. Yet Foxe sank into want, and had he not obtained, through the intercession of some powerful friend, a small prebend at Salisbury, he might have died in utter destitution. The history of the Church of England through the long reign of Elizabeth, is a painful record of the widening breach between the prelates and the Puritans. Omitting this there are two points to which, at this period of our task, we direct the reader's attention. These are, first, the state of morals amongst the people; and, secondly, the state of doctrine in the Church, under the sway of the magnificent Elizabeth.

If the stories repeated by the commissioners whom Henry VIII. employed upon the dissolution of the religious houses were true, the surface of England was defiled with luxurious establishments in which the foulest crimes which disgrace the name of man, and the nature of woman, were committed with impunity, and almost without concealment. It is just, however, to remember, that the accusations were brought by a party whose interest it was to exaggerate faults, and that the inquiry itself was meant as a decent pretext for spoliation. But no doubt remains, all such deductions being made from the mass of evidence brought forward, that in some cases horrible depravity, and in others sloth and indolence and gross neglect existed. If this were the condition of the teachers, still worse must have been the condition of the taught. The people of England had not reaped the benefit, even in the Roman Catholic sense, of

Roman Catholic institutions. The papacy had never dealt fairly with Great Britain. Her sheep in these remote dependencies had been fleeced for the benefit of her more favoured creatures; and, in consequence, literature, science, and religious knowledge, were at a lower ebb than amongst the nations of Southern Europe, where Rome was lavish of her kindness. The Reformation, we have no doubt whatever, found the people of England in a much lower condition than that in which William the Norman found them. An Anglo-Saxon village or provincial town was more refined, more virtuous, and had a juster sense of the requirements of religion, than was possessed in the same spot five hundred years after, when the Reformation dawned. The revival of letters had not yet reached the multitude; in England it had scarcely shed a ray of light except upon the lofty cathedral and the lordly castle. Amongst the Lollards, it is true, light from another source had broken in. They read the Bible, they understood and practised its pure morality, they fed upon its doctrines; but after all the Lollards were but few, too few to produce any visible impression upon the character of the masses among whom they were dispersed.

A furious civil war had raged for the greater part of the previous century. Its calamities fell most heavily upon the noble houses, but the common people suffered to a great extent. During a period of forty years battles were fought incessantly, and the whole country was the theatre of a long campaign. Whatever the religious institutions of England might have been, it is impossible that the people should not have sunk lower in morals and religion. Foreigners noticed with admiration how little there was of personal malice and individual cruelty in these contests as compared with other countries; but still the effect could not fail to be calamitous. The age of chivalry was already declining, and chivalrous sentiments never had much influence upon the lower classes or the common soldier. A scene of war must have been a scene of barbarism; and during the wars of the fifteenth century the people of England acquired a taste for blood which was long visible upon the national character. It was this no doubt that disposed their children to look on with so much indifference when boys and women were burnt alive in Smithfield in the days of Mary.

The destruction of the monastic property and the alienation

of no inconsiderable portion of the tithes, had severely crippled the Reformation. The Reformers had no share in this wanton sacrilege ; they deplored it, and protested against it, in the most solemn manner, in their sermons, and in the presence of king Edward and his court. Superstition, if no higher principle, had imposed at least some useful restraints, and these were broken down. Such a reaction followed, as must always follow, when a people suddenly discovers that its passions have been restrained by impostures such as are practised upon children. For a time, in many parishes, where abbies had existed, the tricks and impositions of the monks were laughed at ; but nothing better yet occupied the vacant place. A report was brought in from Worcester and Warwickshire which represents the manners of the gentry as almost uniformly licentious and depraved. They had been left in fact for some years, that is, since the destruction of the monastic system, without discipline and almost without instruction. Mary's short reign was spent in burning heretics rather than in reclaiming Catholics ; and on the accession of Elizabeth, the Reformers had the difficult task before them, not only of building without materials, and of providing for the national instruction out of the wreck of the Church's property, but of instructing a generation who while they had learned to despise the superstition of their parents had merely exchanged superstition for indifference or total unconcern.

And, as if these difficulties were not enough, the Reformers had to execute their work with inefficient labourers. Had the Romish clergy resigned, Protestants might have been found whose zeal and piety would have made amends for their want of learning ; if indeed the learning of the parochial clergy of the Romish Church, in that day, had been such as to throw the slightest shade upon the honest zeal of a Reformer destitute of scholastic lore and acquainted only with his Bible. But very few of them resigned their livings. Out of ten thousand parishes, not quite three hundred incumbents were willing to make the sacrifice of their benefices, from their attachment to the ancient faith. Many of these new converts, probably the majority, were incompetent or insincere. The reforming leaders knew this, and deeply deplored it. The instructions issued by Grindal and others, to their clergy, were such as could only be addressed to men whose

fidelity was doubtful or whose capacity was mean. But they tendered a show of conformity, and this was all that could be exacted. In many counties not one minister could preach a sermon out of twenty parishes. The vicar too often could scarcely stumble through the prayers. The bishop of Worcester, preaching before Elizabeth, told her that "many of her subjects had not had the opportunity of listening to a sermon for six years. I might say," he adds, "for sixteen; and yet for their souls somebody must some day give account."

Such were the difficulties of the Reformers, and over such difficulties did the Reformation triumph. Elizabeth reigned five and forty years; during that time the nation grew from infancy to manhood; from barbarism to a high pitch of civilization; from ignorance extensive and profound, and, except in the higher classes, all but universal, to a degree of knowledge, on matters of civil polity, of religion, of general history, and of those arts and sciences which contribute to the comfort and the luxury of domestic life, such as many European nations have not overtaken to the present hour. When Elizabeth ascended the throne, not one English author existed whose works, had they perished for ever, would have left a chasm in any literature, except that of the English antiquarian or archæologist. When she died, England had produced a roll of philosophers, historians, divines, and poets, sufficient, had she then been swept from the catalogue of nations, to have secured for her a place with Greece, and Rome, and Italy, amongst the great lights and instructors of the earth. The Reformation set the struggling infant free, and it sprung at once into a gigantic, but not precocious, manhood.

Amongst the ecclesiastical events which throw light upon the moral and intellectual state of England under Elizabeth, we must mention the prophesyings, first began at Northampton, 1575. These were associations for mutual instruction; the word prophesying being used as by St. Paul in the New Testament, to signify public teaching or preaching, and not the prediction of things to come. This remark is necessary to meet a misapprehension which even then prevailed, namely, that the members of these societies affected to be endowed with prescience and the gift of prophecy. In the present state of the Church of England, when all her devout members are anxiously considering how her influence may be extended in our large towns and teeming

populations, it cannot be uninteresting to call attention to this great, though as it proved abortive, movement in the same direction two hundred years ago. At Northampton the society was formed by the clergy of the town, with the approbation of the bishop, mayor, and magistrates of the town and county. The members signed a confession of faith of three articles; the first asserting the sufficiency of Scripture; the second condemning popery; the third binding the subscribers to submit to be governed and instructed by the rule of the Holy Scripture; "and to judge all other doctrines whatsoever by this pure word as by a certain rule and perfect touchstone." They agreed also upon certain rules for discipline, such as, when sanctioned by the bishop, do not appear to have involved either the assumption of authority or the disregard of canonical restraints. They provide for a reverent observance of the Lord's day in the town, with frequent sermons, and communions once a quarter. One of the rules provides that the youth shall, every Sunday evening, be examined in a portion of Calvin's catechism, which the reader shall expound for an hour. We suspect that Nowel's catechism was meant, which so much resembles Calvin's, that it is still disputed whether Nowel intended to do more than to present the Genevan divine in a better form and more adapted to the use of the English Church. A great clamour was raised against the prophesyings, which indeed has never ceased; but the use of Calvin's catechism was not urged against them as any proof of disaffection. Another article, "that singing and playing of organs in the choir shall be put down," gave far more offence, as indicating a tendency towards the scruples of the Puritans. The prophesyings, or religious exercises, were conducted by rules which it may be worth while to lay before the reader. They were these:—

That every minister, at his first allowance to be of this exercise, shall by subscription declare his consent in Christ's true religion with his brethren, and submit to the discipline and order of the same.

The names of all the members shall be written in a table; three of whom shall be concerned at each service: the first, beginning and ending with prayer, shall explain his text, and confute foolish interpretations, and then make practical reflection, but not dilate to a common place.

Those that speak after, may add anything they think the other has omitted, tending to explain the text; but may not repeat what has been said, nor oppose their predecessor, unless he has spoken contrary to the Scriptures.

The exercise to continue from nine to eleven; the first speaker to end in three quarters of an hour, the second and third not to exceed each one quarter of an hour; one of the moderators always to conclude.

After the exercise is over, and the auditors dismissed, the president shall call the learned brethren to him to give their judgment of the performances, when it shall be lawful for any of the brethren to propose their objections against them in writing, which shall be answered before the next exercise.

If any break orders, the president shall command him, in the name of the eternal God, to be silent; and after the exercise he shall be reprimanded.

When the exercise is finished the next speaker shall be appointed, and his text given to him.

The prophesyings were sanctioned by many of the bishops, and they were cordially approved by Grindal, who had now succeeded Parker in the primacy. But the cry of puritanism was raised, the queen was timid or suspicious, and an order was issued for their suppression. The archbishop addressed to her a long and solemn expostulation; he represented, in painful colours, the spiritual destitution of the land, the want of able preachers, the promising signs which had attended these exercises, and the right her people had to meet together and expound or listen to the word of God. Elizabeth was irritated, the venerable prelate was suspended, and would probably have been deprived, had not his death, which occurred soon afterwards, removed him beyond the power of his imperious sovereign. What would have been the effect upon the fortunes of the Church of England, and the character of the English people, had the prophesyings been encouraged, can only be a subject of conjecture. They seem to have supplied to the great and energetic founder of the Wesleyan societies in the last century, the idea of those social meetings in which the laity were to sustain an important part, though still under the guidance of their pastors; and in which the strength of Methodism consists. The want of some institution of this kind is very often lamented by those who are most affectionately

attached to the National Church. And under various forms, exercises, similar in character to these famous prophesyings, are found once more in not a few of those parishes in which her ministry is conducted by the most zealous and efficient of the clergy.

In doctrine the Church of England, throughout the reign of Elizabeth, adhered simply to the authorized standards of the Reformation. The attention of her great divines was unhappily confined to the Romish controversy on the one side, to that with the Puritans on the other. No great work appeared in pure theology. The Reformers were soon followed by a race of theologians, with one or two exceptions, visibly inferior; who seem to have contented themselves with studying the works of the great men of the Reformation and the ancient fathers, instead of attempting to enlarge the stock of profound and systematic divinity by any important contributions of their own. Calvin's Institutes were read in our Universities; and Bullinger's Decades, a work of the same kind, was especially recommended to the studies of the clergy. Whitgift, who succeeded Grindal as archbishop of Canterbury, wrote with ability, but only on the question of the times, the Puritan controversy. His work would probably still have been read with pleasure if it had not been superseded by that great monument of intellectual strength, the Ecclesiastical Polity of Richard Hooker. Four books of this great work were published in 1594, the fifth in 1597, the remaining part not till after Hooker's death. Professing to be a defence of the Church of England from popery and puritanism, there are in fact few doctrinal questions of importance that are not discussed in it. It is the great storehouse from which divines have long gathered their most effective arguments in defence of our National Church, as well as their clearest expositions of her doctrine. It would be unbecoming to affect a criticism of a work which has for more than two hundred years been allowed by all readers, of all parties, to rank among the great productions of great men. Its faults have been keenly exposed by the many opponents of those principles it was written to defend. The style is harsh, the argument occasionally dry, and the work, always sagacious not unfrequently profound, is still somewhat distasteful to the reader. There are passages of great eloquence, but it is the eloquence that instructs; it is

without warmth and creates no enthusiasm. Hooker was the morning preacher at the Temple Church, and was heard by a listless audience.

It is admitted by all parties that, throughout the former part of Elizabeth's reign, doctrinal Calvinism prevailed in the English Church. As the fervour of the Reformation cooled, zeal and piety partook of its decay. Calvinism became hard and systematic; its more questionable and least important points were thrust into foremost places, and, instead of calm and gentle reverence, the sharp scholastic spirit began to make its appearance in the discussion of sacred things. Disputes naturally followed. What was maintained with a spirit too peremptory on the one side was contradicted in a spirit no less rash and daring on the other; and, in an incredibly short space of time, the Church of England was in a blaze with fires which are not yet extinguished. The Calvinistic controversy broke out at Cambridge in 1595, and soon overspread the land. It was not properly a contest with the Puritans; for, though all the Puritans were Calvinists, yet all the Calvinists were not Puritans; in fact, the highest post in the Church of England was then filled by a man who was equally famous for his severity against the Puritans and his supralapsarian views of doctrine. The contest originated thus: Baroe, the Margaret professor of divinity, in a prelection before the University, affirmed the doctrine of universal redemption; that it is the will of God that all mankind should have eternal life, if they believe and persevere in the faith of Christ; but if they do not believe, or fall short in their perseverance, then it is not the will of God that they should be saved. Barret, a Fellow of Caius College, preached before the University in the same strain, with the addition, not unusual in those times even in the pulpit, of personal invectives against his opponents; mentioning the names of Peter Martyr, Calvin, Beza, and Zanchius, with contempt. The heads of houses remonstrated at Lambeth. Barret was sent for, and having been examined before the archbishop and some other divines, was enjoined to confess his ignorance and be silent for the future; but he left the University in disgust and shortly became a Papist. In the next century, Arminianism and Popery were always classed together, as though they had been of one blood. It is curious to see, in this instance, an illustra-

tion of the tendency to Rome in the first abettors of Arminianism in England; and yet the connexion has no real foundation either in logic or in history. To appease the tumult, Whitgift drew up nine propositions, commonly called the Lambeth Articles; they had the consent of the bishops of London, Bangor, and others, and of Young, bishop of Rochester (who excepted, however, to the words printed in italic letters), Dr Whittaker, master of St. John's, Cambridge, and other eminent divines, all staunch Episcopalians.

They were as follows:—

I. God from all eternity has predestinated some persons to life; some he has reprobated to death.

II. The moving or efficient cause of predestination to life is not the foreseeing of faith, or of perseverance, or of good works, or of anything which may exist in the person predestinated, but the will and pleasure of God alone.

III. Of the predestinated the number is certain and fore-ordained, it can neither be increased or diminished.

IV. They who are not predestinated to salvation shall *necessarily* be condemned for their sins.

V. True, living, and justifying faith, and the Spirit of God justifying, is not extinguished, does not fail, or vanish in the elect, either finally or totally.

VI. A man truly faithful, that is, endued with justifying faith, has the full assurances of faith, of the remission of his sins, and of his eternal salvation by Christ.

VII. Saving grace, by which they might be saved, *if they would*, is not assigned, communicated, or granted to all men.

VIII. No one is able to come to Christ, unless it be given him, and unless the Father draw him, and all men are not drawn by the Father, so that they may come to the Son.

IX. It is not placed within the power or will of every man to be saved.

These articles were transmitted to Cambridge by the archbishop, with an injunction that they should be received by the University, and form the standard of its teaching upon the controverted points. This was done, he said, simply to explain the undoubted meaning of the Church of England, and not with any intention of imposing new statutes or interpretations.

In his letter sent to the University with the articles, he says,

“they are not to be regarded as new laws and decrees, but only as application of certain points which they apprehend to be true, and correspondent to the doctrine professed in the Church of England, and already established by the laws of the land ;” and he adds that, “forasmuch as they had not the queen’s sanction, he desires they may not become a public Act, but be used privately and with discretion ;” yet he says her Majesty was fully persuaded of the truth of them. If so, her conduct afterwards was scarcely generous towards Whitgift.

The truth is, no doubt, that he presumed too much on her Majesty’s favour, but that if no ill consequences had ensued he might have been unmolested. But the University was not disposed to bow to Whitgift. A breach was opening which yawned in the next century into a fearful gulf ; for the present it was closed by the queen’s resolution. Cecil Lord Burghley was chancellor of Cambridge, and it is probable that these articles were communicated to him as they were to the queen. His vigorous mind and sound judgment led him to foresee the evil consequences of these discussions in a seat of learning. He entered into a long correspondence with Whitgift, in which he expressed his disapprobation of the course pursued by the high Calvinistic party. The queen addressed, through him, a remonstrance to the archbishop. “She misliked much that any allowance had been given by his Grace and his brethren for any such points to be disputed, being a matter tender and dangerous to weak, ignorant minds ; and thereupon commanded him to suspend the urging them publicly, or suffering them to be debated in the pulpit.” The propositions are drawn up in the spirit, if not in the very words, of St. Augustine ; but they pronounce with confidence upon several points on which the Reformers had been silent. The first article asserts, for instance, the doctrine of reprobation, which is neither asserted nor implied in the standards of our faith—nor, indeed, do any of the foreign Churches assert in their confessions the absolute decree of reprobation as stated by Whitgift. The queen, with her usual independence, punished both parties ; Whitgift and the University, by her frown ; while Baroe, the Arminian champion, was dismissed from his professorship. These events took place in the year 1595, when her reign was drawing to a close.

James I. succeeded to her throne in 1603. There had been for some years a lull in the storm which had previously agitated the Church of England; Puritans and Prelatists, with one consent, abiding their time in expectation of the new policy of another sovereign: and, such were the circumstances of James, and such his character, that all parties calculated with equal confidence upon his favour. He was the son of Roman Catholic parents; he had been baptized into the Church of Rome; and his mother, Mary Queen of Scots, of whom he always spoke with reverence, was considered by Romanists as no less than a martyr for the faith. He had expressed no strong dislike to the doctrines, though he detested the usurpations, of the Romish see. The Romish party, still powerful in England, welcomed him with joy, and petitioned immediately for an open toleration of their worship, which, since the pope's excommunication of Elizabeth, they had not been permitted to enjoy.

Whitgift and the High Church party calculated with at least equal reason upon his support. They might readily believe that a young king would not be reluctant to break through the restraints, not to say the thralldom, in which he had been held by the Presbyterian clergy in Scotland, and place himself at the head of an established Church, powerful and magnificent, and already strongly rooted in the affections of the English nation. The doctrines of the two national Churches knew at this time no shade of difference, and our preference for Episcopacy did not prevent an almost perfect union between the sister Churches. James's policy naturally would be to propitiate his new subjects, and not to disturb the institutions which he found existing. Elizabeth's death was no sooner known than Whitgift, ever watchful for the Church, sent the dean of Canterbury to Scotland, to assure the king of the unfeigned devotion of the English Church to his person, and to commend it to his protection. The answer of James was short, but it was considered satisfactory: "he would uphold the government of the Church as the queen had left it."

Yet the Puritans, even those of them who sighed for a Genevan Church and a Presbyterian ministry, not unreasonably believed that James was, in heart, their friend. For, in Scotland, he had not been satisfied with yielding a courteous submission to the Presbyterian Church, he had on all occasions magnified its pre-

tensions, and had even drawn invidious contrasts between the purity of the faith at home and the imperfect reformation of the Church which had taken place in England. Standing up in the General Assembly, convened at Edinburgh, with uncovered head and uplifted hands, "he praised God that he was born in the time of the light of the Gospel, and in such a place, as to be king of such a Church, the sincerest kirk in the world." "The Church of Geneva," he said, "keep Pasche and Yule" (that is Easter and Christmas), "what have they for them? They have no institutions. As for our neighbour Kirk of England, their service is an evil-said mass in English; they want nothing of the mass but its liftings. I charge you, my good ministers, doctors, elders, noblemen, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity, and to exhort the people to do the same." In his speech to his Parliament in Scotland, not long before the death of Elizabeth, he assured the estates that he had no intention to introduce papistical or Anglican bishops. And finally, when he left his native country, to take possession of the crown of England, he gave public thanks to God, in the kirk of Edinburgh, that he left both kirk and kingdom in that state which he never intended to alter, while his subjects lived in peace. Before he had arrived in London, the Puritans met him on his way, and presented the millenary petition, so called because it was intended to bear the signatures of a thousand hands, but the names actually subscribed were about eight hundred. They were neither factious men, they said, affecting equality in the Church, nor schismatics, aiming at its overthrow. They stated their demands under four heads, and prayed for a remission of their grievances, and for a moderate reform. Their requests on many points were reasonable, and upon none were they violent and factious, though in some of the details ill-considered, and, perhaps, impracticable. Still the acknowledged defects of the Reformation seemed to justify their prayer that the Church might be carefully reviewed, and that all its institutions might be brought into perfect harmony with each other and the word of God. They were met in no friendly spirit. The two English universities were prompt to answer the petition, and to protest against the concessions demanded by the Puritans. James resolved to have the matters in dispute debated before him, by the representatives of the two parties; and the conference at Hampton Court (of which a fuller

account is given in our article on the PURITANS) was called in January 1604. The conference brought no relief to the dissatisfied Puritans. In the same year, within a few weeks indeed, Parliament met, and with it the Convocation. In this assembly were passed the canons by which the Church of England is still governed. They are said to have been collected by Bancroft, who succeeded this year to the primacy on Whitgift's death, from the canons of the ancient Church, and the articles, and injunctions and acts of Convocation, during the reigns of Edward and Elizabeth. They received the royal sanction, but were not carried through the two Houses of Parliament. They are not, therefore, laws of the land. They bind the clergy only, and this by virtue of their promise of canonical obedience. Many of them have been virtually repealed by subsequent enactments, especially the Toleration Act. Of some, the altered state of society has rendered the application impossible—or mischievous, if not impossible. Others are binding, as Blackstone, Hardwicke, and other great lawyers have expressed it, not *proprio vigore*, not by their intrinsic authority, but simply as reciting laws already in existence. They still regulate the practice of the ecclesiastical courts, and on many questions, are the only rule to which the bishops and the clergy can appeal. That they stand in need of revision is universally admitted by those who would enforce, as well as by those who would escape, their sanctions. Though, perhaps, not deserving of all the censure with which they have been visited, it must be admitted that they are the work of a hard and barbarous age. Laws, even those of the Church, can, under any circumstances, reflect but little of the mildness of the Gospel: their business is to restrain, to compel, to punish. Still it is not unreasonable to demand that they should breathe the spirit of the institution that gave them birth; and the canons of the Church of England are such as the best and wisest of her members would gladly see revised. In the convocation to which they owe their existence, Rudd, bishop of St. David's, protested against the needless severity with which the cross in baptism, and other usages obnoxious to the Puritans, were enforced. And Fuller, the Church historian, who wrote in the reign of Charles, tells us that moderate men, who had no sympathy with Puritanism, expressed their apprehension that they were too heavy a burden to be long borne, and that they

thought it enough for the bishops to triumph over their adversaries, without insulting them. The translation of the Bible is a labour on which we dwell with greater satisfaction. It was undertaken at the suggestion of Reynolds, the Puritan leader, at the conference at Hampton Court; but three years passed before the work was begun, and another period of three years elapsed before it was brought to a termination. Fifty-four of the chief divines in both universities were nominated in the original commissions; but seven of these either died before the translation was completed, or, from diffidence, declined to engage in the undertaking. Its execution, therefore, devolved on the remaining forty-seven, and they were divided into six companies. The first company translated from Genesis to the first book of Chronicles; the second, to the prophet Isaiah; the third translated the four greater prophets, with the book of Lamentations, and the twelve minor prophets; the fourth had the Apocrypha; the fifth undertook the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the book of Revelation; while to the sixth were assigned the canonical epistles. Each individual translated the whole portion assigned to his respective division; that division selected the best interpretation, from a collation of all these separate translations, and the portion being completed, was submitted to the other divisions for the approbation of the whole body.

Regulations used by the most eminent fathers, "being agreeable to the propriety of the place and the analogy of faith," were prescribed for the guidance of the translators. They were directed to consult all the modern translations, but to adhere as closely as possible to the Bishops' Bible. They were not to change words which had been familiarized by long use, and had, consequently, acquired a sacred appropriation. Thus, the word bishop is not to be changed into superintendent, priest into elder, deacon into minister, and church into assembly. When a word had different significations, that was to be retained which was most commonly used by the fathers. The divisions of the chapters were not to be altered, unless necessity should require.

The contributions of the learned were solicited from all parts, and their different opinions were deliberately examined without any regard to complaints of the tardiness with which the work proceeded. The translators met at Oxford, Cambridge, and Westminster, and the translation at length appeared, with all the

improvements which could be derived from united industry and abilities. The final review and superintendence of the publication were committed to the care of Bilson, bishop of Winchester, and Myles Smith, afterwards bishop of Gloucester; and the last of these divines wrote the preface, which is still prefixed to the larger editions.

Of the spiritual advantages which this, our present authorized translation, has been the channel of conveying to a vast portion of the world we say nothing. Nor on its merits, in a literary point of view, can we here enlarge. It is the great popular model of pure English writing. Its wide diffusion has purified the national taste, while it has shed abroad the richer blessings of pure religion. One consequence of its general use we must stop to mention. Seventy years ago the English language was in an impoverished state and rapidly decaying, and the Bible was then but little read. It has, since then, undergone a wonderful change. It is again written and spoken in a degree of purity which an old language once suffered to become corrupt has very seldom, if ever witnessed; and this marked improvement, visible in all our best authors, our historians, orators, and poets, is due to the regenerating influence of our sacred literature, and chiefly to our greater acquaintance with the English Bible.

Another important event in the reign of James, was the synod of Dordt, in 1618, of which the reader will find an account elsewhere (article ARMINIANS). Four English divines were sent over to assist in the deliberations of the synod, and to represent the English Church: Calton, bishop of Llandaff, Hall, dean of Worcester, and afterwards bishop of Norwich, Davenant, afterwards bishop of Salisbury, but then Margaret professor of divinity at Cambridge, and Maud, master of Sidney-Sussex College in the same university. The decision of the synod (in which our English divines acquiesced) was in favour of the Calvinistic tenets. "But the five points," says a late writer, "were not to be settled by the synod of Dordt; the beaten party protested and lampooned; Arminianism gathered strength from its defeat, sprung at once into a new life, grappled with the Church of England, and, for more than a century, laid it at its feet." One fact is incontestable, that the decline of doctrinal Calvinism within the Church of England must be dated from this period; and within twenty

years, the seat of Whitgift was filled by archbishop Laud, one of the sternest opponents of Calvinism the Church of England has produced.

As the reign of James drew to a close, there can be little doubt that his mind reverted with increasing satisfaction towards the religion of his parents. Though not wanting in talents of a certain order, he was a man feeble in judgment, and unfixed in principle. There was scarcely a party, political or religious, which he had not, by turns, befriended and betrayed. He became the bitter enemy of the Puritans, to whom, in his youth, he had been firmly attached; the friend of the Arminians, to whose ruin he had been singularly instrumental; the champion of episcopacy, of which he had expressed himself in terms of hatred and contempt. His life was not free from immoralities, and he probably took refuge from an accusing conscience in those views of priestly absolution which the Church of Rome encourages. Before his death the tendencies were visible to those extremes on both sides which ripened to so fatal a maturity under his unhappy son. The Arminian, or High Church party inclined more and more to Rome, the Puritans to Presbyterianism. Bancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, asserted the divine right of episcopacy, and unchurched all Presbyterian churches. This was not a step in advance of the reformers, but directly in their teeth. The sacraments once more began to be spoken of in terms mysterious and perplexing. The pomp of the Romish ceremonial was copied in our public worship, and the Church of Rome was treated with studied respect by the clergy who hung about the court. The king was intent upon a marriage for Prince Charles with the Infanta of Spain; and, upon the miserable failure of this disgraceful project, his solicitations were directed, with but too much success, to the court of France. He died just as the fatal match which united the fortunes of his son and those of Henrietta Maria took place. She was not merely a Roman Catholic, but a bigot: her conscience was in the keeping of her confessor; she was attended by a papal nuncio and a host of priests. Bishop Kennett declares that next to the early influence of the duke of Buckingham, the marriage of Charles with this princess was the cause of his final ruin; and he adds, that it was looked upon as a greater judgment in the realm than the plague then raging in the land. To James's policy we owe this

disastrous match, and all the calamities which necessarily followed ; and, as the first and most apparent of those great evils, the Church of England began already to lose her independence. As if ashamed of her bold protests against the Church of Rome, and anxious to heal the breach of the Reformation, she now spoke in silver tones ; and although we acquit the prelates of any intention to return to Rome, we cannot deny that they made the essential differences so few between the two Churches, as to destroy, so far as in them lay, the enthusiasm of the people on behalf of Protestantism, and to make the justice and even the policy of the Reformation appear a somewhat doubtful question.

Pausing for an instant at the close of James's reign, to review the progress of the Church of England since the Reformation, and to inquire into the moral effects of her teaching, it must be allowed that whatever were her imperfections, she had already achieved a vast success. The Puritan writers complain, and we have no doubt with too much truth, of the extensive decay of piety during the last years of James. Baxter, who was then a boy, and Mrs. Hutchinson, who also wrote from vivid scenes which memory had left pictured in a mind of no ordinary force, present us with the same story, and give us distressing accounts of parishes returning to ignorance and barbarism under the new school of teachers sent out by Laud and Bancroft. Yet their own statements imply all that we have just affirmed ; religion, morals, private holiness, and public virtue, must have prevailed throughout these parishes, or the decay could not have taken place ; the change would not have been felt. The charges brought against Laud and his party in the next reign were always to this effect—that he had disturbed the principles of the English Church, and crushed the piety of the English people. That piety, then, existed : it was widely diffused ; it pervaded the mass of English society. At the death of James, England was, compared with the great continental nations, a barbarous country. But the English people were already at the head of the European commonwealth in public virtue and individual morality. Nowhere else, unless perhaps Holland be excepted, was there the same domestic purity. In no other state was there the same high sense of justice and love of truth ; and the religious knowledge of the people at large was, we suspect, greater than at any subsequent period of our history down to the present hour ; unless

again, we are obliged to make an exception (which is doubtful) in favour of the Commonwealth. In every great parish, a grammar-school had been erected by Edward or Elizabeth, out of the property of some dissolved monastery. These schools were sufficient for the education of the whole of the community, for the population of England certainly did not exceed five millions, and they were well-endowed, and well-conducted, religion being everywhere the prime element in the course of instruction; indeed, the interest which the whole nation now took in questions of abstruse theology, proves how well it was instructed in the elements of Christian learning. Calvinist and Arminian were now the Whig and Tory of Queen Anne's reign; they excited the same political passions, and inflamed the whole nation even to a greater extent; and this would have been impossible had there not been a very general acquaintance with the outlines, if no more, of the opposing systems. The reformed Church had not existed seventy years; her course had been impeded by open foes, heartless friends, and secret traitors, but she had accomplished a work so vast and so beneficial, that it may well fill the mind with astonishment, if it awaken no deeper feelings of devotion and gratitude.

The influence of Laud had been considerable during the later years of James, but it rose to a much greater height on the accession of Charles, in 1625. Buckingham, his favourite minister, was assassinated the next year, and Laud was called to preside at the royal councils. The selection was unhappy: he was a man of obscure birth, rough manners, and of a temper which spurned control. He was strongly imbued with the principles of the Arminian party. Heylyn, his chaplain and biographer, tells us that even at the university, he had the character of being "very popishly inclined." "Dr. Abbot, master of University College, who was afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, so openly branded him for a Papist, or, at least, popishly inclined, that it was almost made an heresy (as I have heard from his own mouth) for any one to be seen in his company, and a misprision of heresy to give him a civil salutation as he walked in the streets." His rise had been rapid: in 1611 he became president of St. John's College; in 1616, dean of Gloucester, being already one of the chaplains-in-ordinary to the king; the next year he accompanied James into Scotland, and advised him in his fruitless enterprise

of restoring episcopacy, and subverting the institutions of John Knox ; in 1621 he was consecrated bishop of St. David's ; in 1626, bishop of Bath and Wells, and dean of the royal chapel ; two years afterwards, in 1628, bishop of London ; and, at length, in 1633, on the death of Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury. The next day, we meet with the following curious entry in his diary : " August 17, Saturday. *I had a serious offer again to be a cardinal.* I was then from court, but as soon as I came thither, which was by August 21, I acquainted his Majesty with it ; but my answer again was that something dwelt within me which would not suffer that till Rome was other than it is." We can only add that the offer itself was infamy to an Anglican archbishop.

We despair of being able to place before the reader, within the limits which the plan of this work assign to us, an intelligible outline of the state of affairs during the next twenty years ; at the close of which the archbishop had perished on the scaffold, and his royal master was hastening to the same fate. Affairs crowd upon each other with a rapidity never known but when revolutions are at hand : the interests of Church and State are blended ; and the circumstance that Laud is prime minister, renders it often impossible to mark the distinction between the two. The history of a nation, over whose secular affairs a churchman presides, involves the fortunes and the history of the Church whose chief bishop he is. Presuming upon the reader's acquaintance with this period of English history, the following brief summary may perhaps suffice :—The king was poor and the court extravagant. The Parliament, unwilling or unable to satisfy his wants, was dissolved in 1626, and he had recourse to a forced loan. Laud, if not the author of the scheme, was the king's willing agent in effecting it ; and his biographer, Heylyn, from whose authentic narrative of the archbishop's life and story our materials are collected, assures us that "his dexterous performance of this service raised him higher than he was before in his Majesty's opinion." But nothing could have been more injurious to the Church ; for the clergy were instructed to defend the loan and excite the liberality of the people, both in private conversations and from the pulpits. And thus, from the very outset of his reign, and while scarcely a cloud was visible in the whole horizon, the clergy were gratuitously placed in circumstances the

most unfavourable to Christian ministers that can easily be imagined. They were obliged to urge an obnoxious tax on the grounds of religious duty, in the first place, and, so doing, to place themselves in open hostility to the estates of Parliament in the second. To make matters worse, the king, who professed to want supplies to resist Spain and the house of Austria, and to support the Protestant king of Denmark, soon afterwards abandoned Rochelle to the French king, and betrayed the Protestants of France, whose strongest garrison it was, and who relied upon his promises of help, to the fury of their oppressor.

London was looked upon by the king "as the retreat and receptacle of the grandees of the Puritan faction ; and "he knew of no better way," it seems, "to make them an example of obedience to the rest of his subjects than by placing over them a bishop of such parts and power as they should either be unable to withstand, or afraid to offend." Laud was therefore appointed to the see, in the place of Mountain, who was removed to Durham. One of his first measures was, to put an end to the controversy between the Calvinists and their opponents, or more properly, to silence the Calvinists. He drew up a proclamation for the king, which was published with the thirty-nine articles. "We will," says the declaration, "that all curious search into these things be laid aside, and these disputes be shut up in God's promises, as they be generally set forth to us in Holy Scripture, and the general meaning of the articles according to them." James had once issued a similar declaration, and Elizabeth had frequently interfered to "tune the pulpit," as she was wont to say ; but the consequences of this last experiment might have convinced a less resolute man than Laud, or a king less obstinate than Charles, that the Church must henceforth be ruled in another way. The Calvinistic divines of London drew up a petition which, however, was "stopped before it came to the king," complaining that they were deterred by the declaration from preaching the saving doctrines of grace. "They were brought," they said, "into a great strait ; they must incur God's heavy displeasure if they did not faithfully deliver their message, in declaring the whole council of God ; or incur the danger of his majesty if they confuted the Pelagian and Arminian heresies ;" both of which, they reminded the king, were preached and printed boldly, without fear of censure. The House of Commons

took up the quarrel, and passed a resolution professing their belief in the thirty-nine articles, according to the current and general exposition of the writers of our Church,—“and we reject the sense of the Jesuits, Arminians, and all others, wherein they differ from us.” The Laudian party looked upon it “as a kind of prodigy that men unqualified and in no way authorized for any such purpose should take upon themselves to determine matters, which were more proper for a national or provincial council.” It was a strange and ominous precedent no doubt; but the House of Commons would probably have replied, that a discussion upon the doctrines of grace lay quite as much within their path as the duties of a prime minister within that of an archbishop; or, more seriously, that for learning, manly piety, and high talent, they were at least by no means inferior to the House of Convocation.

The irritation was increased by the favour shown to the leaders of the Arminian party. Mainwaring and Montague had written in defence of Arminianism; and this, with so many concessions to Popery, together with so high a strain of declamation on behalf of the king's prerogative, that they had been censured and fined by the House of Commons. The king remitted their sentences, and gave them each a bishopric. The House of Commons was inflamed, and began to speak in a tone such as it had never yet assumed towards the sovereign. “I desire,” said Mr. Rouse, “that we may look into the belly and bowels of this Trojan horse, and see if there are not men in it ready to open the gates to Rome; for an Arminian is the spawn of a Papist, and if the warmth of royal favour rest upon him, he will turn into one of those frogs which rose from the bottomless pit.” The House of Commons passed resolutions that whosoever should favour Popery or Arminianism, was an enemy to the kingdom; that whosoever should advise the payment of taxes not levied by the authority of Parliament, and whosoever should pay the same, betrayed the liberties of their country. The king, with an angry speech, dissolved the Parliament.

The Court of High Commission and the Star Chamber were actively employed. The former of these tribunals was created by a clause in the Act of Supremacy, in the second year of Elizabeth; the other was of very ancient date, but had been remodelled by statutes of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. It consisted of

several lords spiritual and temporal, being privy councillors, together with two judges of common law; but it had no jury, and therefore it was hateful to the people. Its jurisdiction was ill defined, and in troublous times was easily stretched. It was, in effect, a court absolute and perfectly tyrannical. It declared that to be law which it held to be convenient, and it punished disobedience in whatever methods it thought fit; by fine and imprisonment, by whipping and the pillory, by slitting men's noses and cutting off their ears. Lord Clarendon, a devoted royalist, whose affection for King Charles was, however, tempered by his reverence for English law and his respect for the English constitution, admits "that it asserted all the king's proclamations and orders of state; vindicated illegal commissions and monopolies in trade; that it held that for honourable which was agreeable to itself, and that for just which profited the revenue." In short, to repeat the words of Blackstone, "the foundations of right were never more in danger to be destroyed." By this tribunal Dr. Leighton, the father of Archbishop Leighton, who revived in his own person the doctrines and the practice of an apostolic piety in the next generation, was seized and sentenced to have his ears cropped, his nose slit, his forehead burnt, and to be whipped. His crime was the authorship of a libellous book, in which he had inveighed against the bishops and the queen. Leighton suffered in 1630. Six years afterwards, Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton,—a barrister, a physician, and a clergyman,—were convicted before the Star Chamber for similar offences. They had published pamphlets which were offensive to the court, or injurious to Laud and his party, and were condemned to lose their ears in the pillory, to be fined each five thousand pounds, and to be imprisoned in Lancaster Castle; and Prynne was branded in the face. A hundred thousand men attended them to Highgate on their way to their northern dungeon. Their friends visited them even in that remote seclusion; and they were removed, in consequence, to prisons in Jersey, Guernsey, and Scilly. But the Long Parliament met in 1640; and the torrent, long pent up, burst through its banks. Their first act was to reverse these unrighteous sentences; and Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton were escorted into London with an enthusiasm and a triumph such as neither Plantagenet, nor Tudor, nor Elizabeth herself, had ever known.

The discontent was increased by the severity which Laud displayed in the suppression of the Puritan doctrines, now specially taken under the patronage of the House of Commons. Two of his measures were particularly odious to that large party which had become a political, quite as much as a religious, body. The want of able preachers was great; for the policy of the court had been, for some time, to discourage preaching as much as possible. To remedy the evil, the Puritans, with great activity established lectureships both in London and through the country. Private gentlemen retained the lecturers as chaplains in their mansions; the pious nobility had several, according to their rank, who were engaged in a kind of preaching mission upon their estates and in the neighbouring towns. Laud regarded these proceedings with great uneasiness. The lecturers were looked down upon with great contempt, for they were mostly Puritans, and evaded strict conformity. They were neither parsons, nor vicars, nor stipendiary curates; in fact, says Heylyn, "they were neither fish nor flesh, nor good red herring." The king, at Laud's suggestion, issued instructions to the bishops, commanding them to suppress these lectures, if preached in the afternoon, and to substitute catechetical lectures in their place. The bishops had probably been remiss in admitting men carelessly to holy orders. Many had been ordained without a title, or with no better title than a private chaplaincy. Charles issued a royal letter in 1633, censuring this practice, which had filled the Church, it was affirmed, with indigent clerks,—“trencher chaplains,” who “thrust themselves into gentlemen's houses to teach their children, or to conduct divine service at the table's end.” Gentlemen beneath the rank of nobility were strictly forbidden to retain their chaplains, and their domestic lectures were suppressed, and even the nobility were no longer permitted to give titles to their chaplains. Had this measure been fairly conducted there would have been no just reason for complaint; but, practically, it was worked so as to put an end to those lectureships on the Sunday afternoon at church, and those domestic instructions in private houses, by which the lamentable want of an efficient parochial ministry was sought to be supplied. These proceedings gave great uneasiness. Some of the bishops, and amongst them Hall, of Exeter, refused to suppress the lectureships, if the lecturers were men of character and piety; and in Exeter, the bishop tells

us, the exceptions were but few. Another proceeding of the court was equally offensive. A project had been set on foot, similar to that which has lately been effected by Mr. Simeon, of Cambridge, and his trustees; namely, that of purchasing advowsons, in order to obtain the legal right of placing ministers of acknowledged piety and zeal in important parishes. A company of feoffees was formed for purchasing impropriations. They erected a kind of corporation amongst themselves, consisting of twelve persons,—clergymen, citizens, and lawyers,—who soon collected large sums of money, bought up advowsons, and established lectureships, especially in corporate and market towns. Laud considered the proceedings dangerous both to Church and State. The attorney-general was commanded to prosecute. The feoffees were called into the Court of Exchequer, the feoffment condemned, the impropriations they had bought confiscated, and the further merits of the cause deferred for a final sentence; and the feoffees were subjected to such punishment as the Star Chamber chose to inflict. But other troubles arose, and the matter seems to have been dropped; for the present, however, the lectureships were suppressed.

The Book of Sports first uttered by King James, was now republished. It was a brief proclamation, setting forth in few words the games and pastimes which were lawful on Sunday; it was accompanied with a declaration commanding its publication in every parish church; and this “was done out of a pious care for the service of God, and for suppressing of any humours that opposed the truth, and for the ease, comfort, and recreation of our well-deserving people.” It is dated the 18th of October, 1633. It was received with a burst of indignation: numbers of the clergy refused to read the hated document, and were silenced; some read the Book of Sports, and then the fourth commandment, and invited their congregations to determine, like the Jews of old, whether they would follow the Lord or worship Baal. Ten years after, the Book of Sports was burnt by the common hangman, in Cheapside, at the instance of the House of Commons.

This affair of the Book of Sports throws some light upon the character of English manners and religion in the reign of Charles, and shows a rapid improvement. The Book of Sports, when first issued by James in 1618, had given great offence;

not, as is generally supposed, because it introduced new follies, but simply because it legalised and gave the sanctions of law and religion to some of those which were already in existence. It permitted "dancing either of men or women; archery for men, leaping, vaulting, or any such harmless recreations." Nor were his Majesty's subjects to be debarred "from having May-games, Whitsuntide-ales, or morris-dances, and setting up of May-poles, or other sports used therewith, provided all were done without impediment to divine service." The women, too, had leave "to carry rushes to the church for its decoration, according to their old custom." But it especially forbade unlawful games, describing as such, bear-baiting, bull-baiting, common plays, and bowling. These last it seems were the Sunday recreations of our forefathers long after the Reformation.

The first Book of Sports, in fact, rather narrowed the amusements of the lads of the parish. The sin that was charged upon it was of another kind; it encouraged recreations, which, though less barbarous, were equally at variance with the sanctity of the day of rest. It was not till the first year of Charles I. that an Act was passed, much, as Heylyn intimates, to the displeasure of the court, "that from thenceforth there should be no assembly or concourse of people on the Lord's day out of their own parishes, or any bull-baiting, bear-baiting, interludes, common plays, or any other unlawful exercises or pastimes in their own parishes on the same." Richardson, Chief-Justice of the King's Bench, had charged the grand jury of the county of Somerset, at the Lent assizes in 1631, to take care for the better observance of the Lord's-day; he was immediately summoned before the Privy Council, "and peremptorily commanded to reverse his former orders at the next assizes for that county, receiving withal such a rattle for his former contempt by the Bishop of London, that he came out blubbering and complaining that he had been almost choked by a pair of lawn sleeves."—*Heylyn's Life of Laud*, part ii. p. 8.

In this strain matters proceeded; the king ruling without a parliament, the nation filled with discontent, and Laud and Strafford bearing the odium, though in unequal proportions, for the archbishop, as a clergyman, was looked upon as the greater delinquent of the two. At length the parliament met, and the revolution opened, in 1640. Laud was now primate: in this

capacity he had assisted the king in that disastrous measure which, more than any other, was the cause of all his subsequent calamities—the attempt to introduce episcopacy and the Book of Common Prayer in Scotland. A furious tumult was the immediate consequence in the high church of Edinburgh; the precursor of a civil war which was to deluge both nations with misery and blood.

The parliament, instead of voting supplies as the king desired, begun their sessions by discussing the grievances under which the country had laboured during the last twelve years; for during that long and dreary period no parliament had sat. Charles angrily dissolved them within a month, and before a single bill had been completed. The convocation had, of course, been summoned with the parliament; and according to the usual practice of the English constitution, the dissolution of one of these assemblies involved the dissolution of the other. But Laud was anxious to prolong the sittings of the convocation; and the lawyers were consulted whether the king might not retain the services of the spiritual parliament though no House of Commons was in being. Most unhappily, as it proved, one or two precedents were found; and Charles determined that the convocation was not dissolved, and that its sessions should continue. He proceeded further, and with the intention of giving greater weight to its acts, pronounced it to be, not a convocation merely, but a synod. No synod had been called in England for centuries; it was unknown to the laws and to the constitution, since the Reformation at least. It was a dubious point whether a convocation had any legal existence now that parliament was dissolved; but a synod assembled under these circumstances possessed still fewer claims to be considered a legal or legislative body. The temper of the people was inflamed, a mob threatened the convocation house, and its sittings were protected by a guard of soldiers. Laud was already marked for vengeance. Two thousand of the citizens burst into St. Paul's, where the court of high commission sat, and in an instant broke up and finally dispersed a tribunal which has been sometimes called the English inquisition, with the ominous cry, "No bishops! no high commission!" The palace at Lambeth was surrounded, and the windows broken. One of the rioters was hanged, but the archbishop did not quail.

The convocation of 1640 is memorable in the history of the Church of England for the canons which it framed ; of which Dr. Short, the Bishop of St. Asaph, has truly said, in his History of the Church of England, "they are such as prove the violence of those who framed them, and who must have been actuated by despair or fatuity to select such a time for their publication." As if the subjects of contention were not already sufficiently numerous, the convocation introduced new discords. "In a word," says Lord Clarendon, "it did many things which, in the best of times, might have been questioned, and, therefore, were sure to be condemned in the worst." The canons were seventeen in number. The first, concerning the regal power, runs thus : "We ordain and decree, that every parson, vicar, curate, or preacher, upon one Sunday in every quarter of the year, in the place where he serves, shall read the following explanation of the regal power. That the most high and sacred order of kings is of divine right, being the ordinance of God himself, founded in the prime laws of nature and revelation, by which the supreme power over all persons civil and ecclesiastical is given to them, &c. That tribute and custom, aid and subsidy, are due to the king, by the law of God, nature, and nations ; yet subjects have a right and property in their goods and estates," &c. In the temper of the nation then prevailing, this canon excited more of indignation than alarm. The king had governed twelve years without a parliament, and had claimed the right of making laws by proclamation without its assistance, and of levying taxes at his own pleasure without its consent ; and now the clergy were called in to give the sanction of religion to these unconstitutional proceedings. The third and fourth canons excommunicate Papists and Socinians ; but the fifth decrees that the two preceding canons shall be in full force against all Anabaptists, Brownists, and other sectarists, as far as they are applicable ; and the Puritans suspected that the third and fourth canons existed only for the sake of the fifth. But the *Etcetera oath*, contained in the sixth canon, drew forth the strongest marks of indignation. All the clergy were compelled to swear that they "would never give their consent to alter the government of the Church by archbishops, bishops, deans, and archdeacons, *etcetera*, as it now stands, and as by right it ought to stand." Not only the Puritans, but vast numbers of the clergy, who had never

felt a scruple on the subject of Church government, or the peculiarities of the Church of England, at once refused to take an oath so carelessly or so maliciously drawn up. The penalty was suspension for the first offence, and, after three months, ejection. The moderate bishops remonstrated with Laud. The wise Sanderson, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, assured him that the peace of the Church was in greater danger from this one act, than from anything that had occurred within the memory of man. Laud was, as usual, obstinate, and the king was obliged to interfere and command the suspension of the oath till his further pleasure should be known. The long parliament met in the autumn of this eventful year; and Laud was immediately impeached of high treason, and committed to the Tower.

Here he lay four years, during which period war broke out, the constitution was destroyed, and the Church of England overthrown. One of the first acts of the parliament was to appoint a commission for religion, which appointed several sub-committees, to whom were intrusted the reformation of the Church. One of these, the committee for scandalous ministers, erected a summary tribunal for the punishment and ejection of unworthy clerks. They cast out great numbers of the clergy; their enemies say six thousand, their own defenders reduce the number by two-thirds. Still more inconsistent are the statements which each party has handed down to posterity as to the character of the clergy who were thus deprived. They are represented, on the one hand, as good men, confessors for the Church and sufferers for their loyalty to the king; and, on the other, as turbulent and ignorant, or even profligate and licentious. The bishops were soon afterwards ejected from the House of Lords. This was an act of violence on the part of the mob. The bishops unwisely, it has been thought, protested that in their absence no proceedings in the House of Peers were legal; and they were, in consequence, committed to the Tower on a charge of treason. This shows the increasing violence of the House of Commons when it had scarcely sat twelve months. The charge was so absurd in itself, that one of the lawyers friendly to the parliament declared, that they might have with as much reason been committed on the charge of adultery. They were soon afterwards deprived of their votes, and pillaged of their property. The Star Chamber and Court of High Commission

fell before the indignation of the Commons without a division in the house, or a voice raised in their favour. In 1642 the civil war broke out, and Laud was for some time allowed to remain unnoticed in the Tower. The exasperation on both sides increased; the Scotch had marched into England to assist the parliament, and they looked upon Laud as their greatest enemy. The parliamentary historians do not hesitate to admit that the archbishop was sacrificed to conciliate their northern allies. He was brought to trial before the House of Lords on the 12th of March, 1644.

The charges against him were comprised under ten heads, subdivided into many more. The archbishop, on the first day of the trial, observed that there were in fact but two. In six of these articles he was charged with a traitorous subversion of the law, the other four concerned religion. By order of the House of Commons, the report of the trial was published by Prynne, one of the managers, and a leading member of the house. It occupies a folio of nearly six hundred pages, and to this we must refer the reader who may be anxious thoroughly to comprehend a portion of our English history equally difficult and painful. The charge of high treason was sustained by accusations drawn from almost every action of his life: he had upheld the tyranny of the Star Chamber; he had advised the king to set his parliament at nought; he had fomented the rebellion of the Papists in Ireland; he had provoked the Scotch to draw the sword; every error of the king and his privy council was visited on his devoted head; and to complete his crimes, the canons of 1640 were not forgotten. The doctrines which they inculcated, with regard to regal power and the divine right of kings, were treason to the commonwealth. The Etcetera oath afforded a wide field for indignant invective on the part of the managers. This was the most recent grievance, and by no means the least. Laud, it was proved, had attempted to enforce it with severity. It was said he had gone so far as to imprison the Bishop of Gloucester for refusing to administer it to his clergy. All these charges together, several of them individually, it was argued, amounted to high treason.

Under the head of religion, he was accused, in general, of having favoured popery, and in return of having received overtures from the pope. His diary was ransacked, and the offer of

a cardinal's hat was not overlooked. Nor was it difficult to adduce the instances in which Laud's conduct had been strangely inconsistent with the duties and the position of a Protestant archbishop. A letter was produced from Laud to the archdeacon of Canterbury, commanding him to obliterate a monument which had been placed in one of the churches of that city to commemorate the destruction of the Spanish Armada and the Gunpowder Plot. Of clergymen censured or punished for denouncing popery, or refusing to comply with superstitious usages, as they esteemed them, which Laud had introduced, the numbers were great, and, in some cases, the hardships inflicted shameful. The introduction of copes and other splendid decorations in the official dress, the placing of lighted candles on the communion table, the introduction of piscinas and credence tables, or side altars, the turning of the table into an altar, and then approaching it with profound obeisances, the introduction of choral singing to the exclusion of congregational psalmody,—these, and numberless charges of the same kind, were adduced to prove that the archbishop was a Papist in heart, and if a Papist then a traitor and worthy of death. “To conclude,” said Sergeant Wilde, in his opening speech on the first day of the trial, “Naaman was a great man, but he was a leper. This man's leprosy hath so infected all, that there remains no other cure but the sword of justice, which we doubt not but that your lordships will so apply that the commonwealth shall yet live again and flourish.”—*Prynne's Canterbury's Doom, or the Trial, &c. of Archbishop Laud*. Printed by command, &c. 1646.

Whatever the delinquencies of Laud, he was certainly treated with injustice. His crimes were not high treason. This the prosecutors felt, and they had recourse to the monstrous figment of cumulative treason, under which Lord Strafford had recently been destroyed: “a treason,” his biographer remarks, in the conclusion, “which could not be gathered from the premises; a treason in the total, when nothing but misdemeanor could be found in the items.” On his trial he was addressed with invectives, interrupted in his defence, and insulted by the spectators below the bar. He defended himself with an eloquence and ability which gave great uneasiness to the House of Commons, at whose instance the Lords had been induced, or rather compelled to bring him to trial. His trial lasted for upwards of a fortnight.

During the summer no sentence was passed, and the archbishop was occasionally brought up for further examination. But the king was successful in the field, and the Scotch army became impatient for revenge, and the apprentices and mob of London for a victim. A petition was prepared, signed by twenty thousand hands, demanding justice on the archbishop. The commons sent a message to the lords requesting them "to proceed vigorously with the punishment of delinquents;" and that "for the more quick dispatch of business they would sit together with the commons, and so form one house." Under this pressure, in a slender house, containing not above six or seven peers, an "ordinance" was passed which condemned the archbishop to the scaffold.

He died on Tower-hill the 10th of January 1645. At his trial he had shown impatience and an irritable temper; but his demeanour now was worthy of a Christian bishop. He prepared and read upon the scaffold a long speech in which, while admitting with all humility, that he was a most grievous sinner in many ways, by thought, word, and deed, he defended his public life in every point, and professed his attachment both to the constitution and to the Church of England. No misgivings troubled him. In his last prayer, after fervently commending his soul to God through Christ, he added these words: "I humbly beseech thee now to give me, in this great instant, full patience, proportionable comfort, and a heart ready to die for thine honour, the king's happiness, and this Church's preservation. And my zeal to this, far from arrogancy be it spoken, is all the sin, (human frailty excepted and all the incidents thereunto,) which is yet known to me in this particular; for which I now come to suffer." It is impossible to doubt the sincerity of professions thus made. Laud was no doubt sincere; the wisdom of his course is another matter. It is not easy to believe that he entertained the doctrinal views of the Reformation; or the reformers' dread of superstition; or their abhorrence of the corruptions of the Church of Rome. He saw the growth of numberless sects and heresies, on the one hand; he watched with jealousy, not unmixed with admiration we suspect, the grandeur and power of the Church of Rome, now recovering from her losses of the previous century, on the other; and he hoped by religious pageantry and lofty notions of priestly

rule to give force and solidity to the Church of England. This is the most favourable view which can fairly be taken of his character.

But he miserably failed, and drew the Church of England with him to destruction. The day before Laud was condemned, an ordinance passed both Houses for the establishment of the new directory; that is, of the Presbyterian form of discipline and worship in England; and the use of the Common Prayer-book was forbidden. The deprivation of the bishops and the destruction of episcopacy was at once accomplished. The clergy who refused to abandon the Prayer-book were ejected from their livings. The bishops and dignitaries lived in silence and poverty, or went abroad. A third of the income of each living was reserved, by an ordinance of Parliament, for the maintenance of the ejected minister; but it was seldom paid, and in the troubled state of the times which now ensued, he had no means of enforcing it. Cromwell, more generous than his party, protected a few great men. Archbishop Usher was still permitted to preach in London, but Hall of Norwich was suffered to linger in obscurity, and to die almost in want. By a law, enacted soon after the directory was enforced, it was made penal to use the Book of Common Prayer even in household worship; the penalty was five pounds for the first, and a hundred pounds for the third offence. This was in 1645; and through the whole of the protectorate to the restoration of Charles II. in 1660, the Church of England had no existence, except in the persons of its individual members, scattered and oppressed, who still clung, with an ardour proportioned to their perils, to the religion of their happier days. (See articles INDEPENDENTS, PRESBYTERIANS, PURITANS.)

The ancient monarchy was restored in the person of Charles II. in May 1660, and the Church of England, at the same time, and almost without an effort, was seated once more in her high position. The enthusiasm of the people was too impatient for legal forms, and in thousands of parish churches the liturgy was restored on the Sunday after his return, under no other authority than what was conferred by the unanimous feeling of the pastor and his flock. Charles, the next day after his landing, spent the Sunday at Canterbury, and the service was performed at the cathedral in his presence according to the old ritual, which was still proscribed by law. Some of his friends were anxious that

the surplice should not be used on this occasion, and that some of those ceremonies should be omitted which had been the grounds of so fierce a quarrel. But he replied, that while he meant others to follow their own opinions, he should claim the same liberty for himself. This was one of a hundred instances in which he showed that he knew his people much better than any of his courtiers; a fact which explains the strange anomaly that the most immoral of our kings was the most popular, and that his memory is cherished with affection by thousands who detest his character, even to the present time. The truth was, Puritanism had suddenly collapsed; it retained no hold on the affections of the people, and they scarcely expressed the slightest interest in its fallen fortunes. The reaction was sudden and complete. Clarendon tells us that the king, he doubts not, had he been so inclined, might have then restored the Star Chamber and the Court of High Commission amidst the indifference or even the applauses of his people. There was a passionate demand for the ancient institutions of the country; and the question whether they admitted of any reforms was scarcely raised. The Puritans, who from this time took the name of Presbyterians, had no inconsiderable share in bringing the king back, and at first they were treated with much courtesy. Charles repeatedly expressed his wish for a comprehension, such as should include all good men, and loyal subjects, in the national Church. We may give him credit for full sincerity, although we are aware that he himself was at heart a Papist, and was soon after secretly reconciled to the Church of Rome. But it would be easier to govern a united than a factious people, and as to their religion, if it must needs be Protestant, all that he desired was that it should be enjoyed in quiet; so he gave kind words to all parties, and promised that, as soon as possible, a conference should be held, in which they themselves should be the arbitrators of their own differences. Meanwhile bishoprics were offered to three of the Puritan leaders, Calamy, Baxter, and Reynolds. The latter only accepted the bishopric of Norwich. Several deaneries were offered to Manton, Bates, and others, but also declined; chiefly under the plea that, until the terms of conformity were known, they could not accept of preferment with a safe conscience.

The Savoy Conference followed in 1661. Twelve Presbyterian commissioners, with nine assistants, were summoned to meet as

many bishops and their assistants. Baxter was the leader of the Presbyterians, and Sheldon of the Prelates. But the Conference broke up without doing any good. Bishop Burnet's impression at the time was, that it aggravated the evils on both sides. Baxter was much blamed for the number of objections which he raised on every point on which it seemed possible to create a difficulty, as well as for his rashness in presenting a crude liturgy of his own, the work, he tells us, of a single fortnight, which was to supersede the Book of Common Prayer. In his autobiography he justifies at length his conduct on both points. But in truth, the Savoy Conference was a mere sham fight got up without hope on one side or sincerity on the other. The prelates had determined not to yield; and the Presbyterians seized the occasion to state all their objections to the national Church, as a kind of final protest, rather than to confine themselves to the few important topics which were really essential to their differences. "Baxter," says Burnet, "spent some days in much logical arguing, chiefly with Sanderson and Gunning, his opponents, to the diversion of the town." The minutes of these debates must satisfy every reader, who has made himself acquainted with those times, that the champions on both sides, however learned and good, were the men of a former generation, unequal to the wants of the age which had now begun, and incompetent to the work before them. With the restoration, the fine arts, politeness, eloquence, and a new literature, had dawned, attended by an excessive and unreasonable contempt of antiquated modes. Yet Sanderson and Baxter were disputing in public in the Strand with the weapons of the old scholastic logic; precisely as Cranmer had disputed with the Romish priests at Oxford, or the elder Puritans before king James at Hampton Court. The terms they used were unintelligible, and their metaphysics provoked a smile. It was the last occasion probably, in which these ancient weapons have been used in public discussion; with what effect they were employed let the reader judge by the following specimen, which we take from "A true and perfect copy of the whole disputation at the Savoy," published at the time.

"That command which commandeth an act in itself lawful, and no other act or circumstance unlawful, commandeth an act in itself lawful and no other act, whereby any unjust penalty is

enjoined, nor any circumstance whence directly or *per accidens* any sin is consequent, which the commander ought to provide against. *Ergo*, That command which commands an act in itself lawful, and no other act or circumstance unlawful, is not sinful."

The Presbyterians make answer thus—"The proposition denied is not in the conclusion.

"The major is denied, because the first act commanded may be, *per accidens*, unlawful, and be commanded by an unjust penalty, though no other act or circumstance commanded, be such."

This may serve as a specimen of this fruitless discussion.

The time expired, and the Conference separated. Clarendon was powerful at the privy council, and he was inveterate against the Presbyterians. The prelates were disposed to severity; the House of Commons was eager for revenge. The upper house maintained a calmer tone of mind; but the next year the Act of Uniformity was passed, though by slender majorities in both houses. It required the clergy to declare their unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer. The consequence was, that on St. Bartholomew's day, 1662, two thousand of the Puritan clergy resigned their benefices. The Corporation Act, the Conventicle Act, and the Five Miles Act, followed each other, within the next three years. By the first, which was repealed in the reign of George IV., every officer of a corporation town was obliged to receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the rites of the Church of England, within a year of his election. By the second, repealed by the Toleration Act, the being present where more than five persons were assembled for the purpose of religious worship, exclusive of the family, subjected the offender to a penalty of five pounds, or imprisonment for three months, for the first offence; ten pounds, or six months, for the second; and a hundred pounds, or transportation, for the third. It was found impossible to enforce a law which was entirely at variance with every sense of justice; and a second Conventicle Act was passed in 1670, which reduced the penalty to five shillings for the first offence, and ten for the second; and imposed upon the preacher a fine of twenty pounds for the first, and forty for each future offence. By the Five Miles Act, passed in 1665, every non-conforming clergyman, who should come within five miles of a corporate town, or of any parish where he had held a living or

been used to officiate, was liable to a penalty of forty pounds, or six months' imprisonment. At length the Test Act, in 1672, deprived the Nonconformists, in common with the Papists, of all offices or places of trust and profit. The impotence of harsh measures to protect a national Church was proved by these tyrannical decrees. When the last of them became law, it was discovered that religion itself was nearly extinct in England; and within a few years our Protestant faith was saved by the help of a foreign army, and at the expense of a revolution.

Such were the penal laws by which it was attempted to suppress dissent, and conciliate the attachment of the people to the national Church in the wretched days of Charles II. Sheldon the archbishop, a majority of his colleagues on the bench, and a great proportion of the working clergy, were favourable to these measures. It is impossible to defend their conduct; which, in almost every one of the instances adduced, is directly opposed to the simplest elements of Christian morals, as much as to the first principles of fair and upright legislation. Some palliatives their conduct has. They were emerging from a civil war, and, to them at least, a hateful usurpation. They had seen England drenched with blood, and they and their families, in the confiscations that ensued, had been amongst the greatest sufferers. The Presbyterians, against whom their animosity was now directed, had never, it was true, been the cordial friends of Cromwell, still less, however, in the estimation of the Royalists, had they been the faithful subjects of King Charles. Their grievances, after an interval of twenty years, were forgotten. It was only their rebellion that was kept in mind,—the scaffolds of Laud and Charles, and all the miseries that followed after, to the persecuted clergy. Forgiveness would have been a noble virtue, and true policy, we have long since discovered, would have been on the side of charity. Sheldon and the clergy lost such an opportunity as seldom returns, of at once re-establishing the Church of England on broader foundations, and of displaying, on a most conspicuous theatre, an illustrious example of the Christian virtues, and of rendering good for evil. Unhappily they were, with a few exceptions, men of narrow minds and ordinary piety. From all that they had seen, and in all that they had suffered, they appear to have learned but one lesson; namely, a childish dread of change; unless we add a second, the dread of Puritanism.

Theirs was the vulgar cry that one concession will only call forth another demand! Safety lies in conceding nothing! The Savoy Conference admitted a few corrections and some real improvements; but, upon the whole, it left the Book of Common Prayer more exceptionable to the Presbyterians, and, consequently, the terms of conformity much harder, than when the war began. Some new holidays were added, and these had always been a grievance to the Puritans. And more lessons were taken out of the Apocrypha, as the story of Bel and the Dragon. But it was agreed that no apocryphal lesson should be read on Sunday. It was proposed, when they had gone through the Prayer-Book, to revise the canons of the Church. This the king's licence empowered them to do, and the necessity was urgent. Besides, they might have reformed several great abuses. They might have made a new distribution of a vast portion of the ecclesiastical property. They might have provided an effectual remedy for the shameful poverty which, to this hour, cripples one-third of the livings of the Church of England. The Church estates were, almost all of them, let on leases; and there had been no renewals for twenty years. Most of them were lapsed: the estates of the Church were in the hands of the new incumbents; and the fines raised by the renewing of the leases at the restoration, amounted to the enormous sum of a million and a half. Had but one-half of this, as Burnet has remarked, been applied to the buying of glebes or tithes, for small vicarages, the foundations of a great practical reformation would have been laid. But selfishness and rapacity prevailed. In some sees forty or fifty thousand pounds were raised by these renewals, and went to enrich the bishops' families. What the bishops did with the great fines was an example to the lower dignitaries, who cared more for themselves than for the Church. Something was saved for the repair of colleges and cathedral churches; and a noble collection was made for redeeming the English slaves in Barbary; but this fell far short of what might have been expected. The influx of sudden wealth was ruinous to its possessors. The men of merit and service were loaded with many livings and many dignities; but they were now in the decline of life; and, with ease and wealth, sloth and pomp and spiritual indifference rushed in. On the pretext of hospitality, some indulged an extravagant mode of life; others made large purchases of land, and left

great estates, which soon melted away. The true concerns of the Church were neglected. They left preaching and writing to others, and gave themselves up to ease and luxury. It is a painful history; and the reader may, perhaps, think it uncharitable, till he learns that we have transcribed it from the honest page of bishop Burnet. He concludes it in these words: "In all which sad representation some few exceptions are to be made, but so few, that if a new set of men had not appeared, of another stamp, the Church had quite lost her esteem over the nation."—*History of his Own Times*, vol. i. p. 261.

This party, of which Sheldon was the head, unhappily governed the Church of England during the greater part of the reign of Charles II. Towards its close they were succeeded by wiser councils and better men; but the evils they inflicted on the Church meanwhile were very great; and it is no less the part of an upright historian to place in a clear and impressive light the faults and follies of those who, by indolence or cowardice, have betrayed the sacred interests intrusted to their keeping, than to dwell upon the apostolic graces of eminent saints. Written upon any other principle, history obscures truth, and merely lends her sanction to the vile strife of selfish factions. We must admit with sorrow that the Church of England, restored to all her dignities and wealth, did little more, during this disgraceful reign, than to chant her pæans over prostrate dissent. Popery lifted its bold front, and ostentatiously displayed its pomp, but it met with no stern rebuke; it was confronted now with no withering blast of popular eloquence. The strong arm of ancient learning no longer smote it. The hand of keen searching argument no more despoiled it of its sophistries; and, worse than this, licentiousness and profligacy grew to an appalling height undismayed, and almost unnoticed. Sermons preached before the Court and Parliament are extant in great numbers; many of them are written in a polite strain of well-sustained thought and happy illustration. They discourse, as after a civil war it was reasonable perhaps they should, upon the sin of schism, and "the horrid wickedness of our late unnatural rebellion." But there is one sin upon which they seldom touch at all—the profligacy of their own times, and the unexampled wickedness and debauchery of the king of England, his court, and subjects. After reading these sermons, we rise under the

impression that if the Anabaptists could be crushed, and the Presbyterians silenced, all would be purity and peace. As time wore on, South, and other bold spirits like himself, dared sometimes to renew the assault on popery, and with good effect. But we may look through the whole ecclesiastical literature, whether printed or spoken, of these divines, and scarcely stumble upon a single page in which the loathsome vices of their own age, its atheism, its contempt of all restraints, human and divine, its audacity in falsehood, its systematic profligacy, its heartless levity, its fierce implacable factiousness are spoken of in becoming terms; that is to say, in language of horror, and indignation, and disgust, with tears of penitence, or the deep blush of burning shame.

Vice was fashionable. It soon corrupted the universities, and so provided another generation with Christian ministers who had been brought up amidst polluting scenes. The Sheldon theatre, at Oxford, the magnificent donation of the archbishop to his university, was opened in 1669. The proceedings were disgusting; but they must find a place in our pages that the reader may fully comprehend the abyss of moral degradation into which England at this time fell. A letter from Mr. Wallis, who was present, to the Hon. Robert Boyle, is preserved by Neale, in his *History of the Puritans*. He relates, amongst other matters of less interest, "that a letter of thanks was read in the morning, at convocation, to Sheldon, wherein he was acknowledged to be both our creator and redeemer, for not only having built a theatre for the Act, but—which is more—delivered the Blessed Virgin from being so profaned in future." The allusion here is to the circumstance that, heretofore, the university Act had been held in St. Mary's Church. "These words," says Mr. Wallis, "stopped my mouth from giving a place to that letter when it was put to the vote. I have since desired Mr. Vice-chancellor to consider whether they were not liable to a just exception. He did at first excuse it, but, upon further thoughts, I suppose he will think fit to alter them before the letter be sent and registered." "After the voting of this letter, Dr. South (as university orator) made a long oration, the first part of which consisted of satirical invectives against Cromwell, fanatics, and the Royal Society, and new philosophy; the next, of encomiastics in praise of the archbishop, the theatre, the vice-chancellor, the architect and the

painter; the last, of execrations against fanatics, conventicles, comprehension, and new philosophy, damning them *ad inferos, ad gehennam*." There is satire here, but, we fear, no exaggeration. South was one day preaching, much in the same strain, before Charles II., in Westminster Abbey, the subject of his declamation being "that bankrupt, beggarly fellow, Cromwell." The king burst into a violent fit of laughter, and exclaimed to Lord Rochester, "Your chaplain must be made a bishop." South, however, did not court preferment, and more than once declined a bishopric. Mr. Wallis proceeds with his letter thus: "The afternoon was spent in panegyric orations, and reciting of poems in several sorts of verse, composed in praise of the archbishop, the theatre, &c., and crying down fanatics. The whole action began and ended with a noise of trumpets; and twice was interposed variety of music, vocal and instrumental, purposely composed for this occasion. The *terræ filius* for both days were abominably scurrilous, and so suffered to proceed without the least check or interruption from vice-chancellor, proctors, curators, or any of those who were to govern the exercises, which gave so general offence to all honest spectators, that I believe the university hath thereby lost more reputation than they have gained by all the rest; all, or most of the heads of houses, and eminent persons in the university, with their relations, being represented as a company of ——— and dunces; and, among the rest, the excellent lady, which your letter mentions, was, in the broadest language, represented as guilty of those crimes ———. During this solemnity (and for some days before and since) have been constantly acted (by the vice-chancellor's allowance) two stage plays in a day (by those of the duke of York's house), at a theatre erected for that purpose at the Town Hall, which (for aught I hear) was much the more innocent theatre of the two. It hath been here a common fame, for divers weeks (before, at, and since the Act), that the vice-chancellor had given 300*l.* bond (some say 500*l.* bond) to the *terræ filius*, to save them harmless, whatever they should say, provided it were neither blasphemy nor treason; but this I take to be a slander; a less encouragement would serve the turn with such persons. Since the Act (to satisfy the common clamour) the vice-chancellor hath imprisoned both of them, and, 'tis said, he means to expel them."

But another school of divines was now forming. They were men of liberal minds, fond of study, of years sufficient to see clearly the mistakes of the men around them, and young enough to strike out a new and independent course of action for themselves. Many of them had been educated by the Puritans; all of them wrote and spoke about them with a degree of charity the more remarkable because so directly opposite to the conduct of Sheldon and his party. Yet they were not Puritans in any sense. The Puritans were Calvinists, the new school were low Arminians—lower far than Laud and Montague. They were men of refined tastes, addicted to philosophical pursuits, and some, too, were profound scholars of the highest class. They detested affectation of all kinds, and it was impossible for them to be serious in religion without exposing themselves to the charge of affectation. Anxious to avoid the weakness of the Puritans they fell, with equal weakness, into the opposite extreme. They had been bred up amongst men who obtruded sacred things on frivolous occasions. The remedy they applied was, to expel the phraseology of Scripture, not only from their daily talk, but as far as possible, from their discourses in the pulpit. They became Christian philosophers rather than divines; and, except an occasional dissertation on the Trinity, or a Whitsunday sermon, in which the work of the Holy Spirit was carefully guarded against fanatical abuses, they scarcely interfered with matters of Christian doctrine. Still, they were men of blameless lives, and in a slothful age remarkable for pastoral diligence. Amongst the leaders were Witchcot, Cudworth, Wilkins, Moore, and Worthington: some of these were known to be men of eminent piety, but it was more apparent in their lives (and, since their deaths, by their private diaries) than in their preaching. They were equally afraid of superstition on the one hand, and enthusiasm on the other. They loved the constitution of the Church, and were well satisfied with the liturgy; but they did not think all other forms unlawful. They wished to see a spirit of greater moderation. They continued on good terms with nonconformists, and allowed great freedoms, not only in philosophical speculations, but in religion. Episcopius, the Arminian professor, who conducted the cause of the remonstrants at the Synod of Dordt, was one of their favourite authors; and the boldness of their inquiries into the reasonableness, rather than the scriptural warrant, of the truths

of religion, led them to be regarded as Socinians. They were all zealous against popery; and the Papists cried them down, in return, as Atheists, Deists, or, at best, Socinians, and men of no principles at all.

In the society of these men, Tillotson, Patrick, Lloyd, and Stillingfleet were trained,—the greatest divines of the next generation, but still with the faults of the school in which they had been educated. They received, and long bore, the title of the Latitudinarian divines; and, in the sense in which we have explained it, the charge was just. They attempted a divorce between evangelical doctrine and Christian practice. The former they at first neglected, and at length lost out of sight; the latter they displayed with admirable clearness, and if any other principles than those of the gospel could possibly have enforced it, they would not have so completely failed. But the founders of the school made no deep impression in the days of Charles II.; and their still more gifted pupils saw religion, in the Church of England, almost expiring in spite of all their efforts; and learned how vain it was for men without warmth and fervour to recall a nation to holiness, and how impossible to effect a second reformation without the aid of those inspiring doctrines which had quickened England into new life under Latimer and the first reformers.

The ecclesiastical occurrences of this reign, after the Act of Uniformity, are few, and of little consequence. It was the age of violent factions and scandalous intrigues. In 1667, the earl of Clarendon, in former times the friend of Charles I., the adviser of his wisest measures and the sharer of his misfortunes, was impeached of high treason before the House of Lords. He was now Lord Chancellor, and appears to have always been a faithful servant of the crown. The charges brought against him were, most of them, preposterous. He had acquired a large estate; he had procured grants of land for his relations; he had corresponded with Cromwell; he had advised the borrowing of money from the corporations on the king's authority; he had recommended the sale of Dunkirk to the French. But he fled from the storm, and spent the remainder of his life in France, where he was followed by a decree forbidding his return. No doubt his real crime was that he was an unbending Protestant, and that he was somewhat magisterial in his carriage towards the king. He left behind him a vindication of his conduct. One

thing he mentions that is not to be forgotten—all the severe measures against the Presbyterians had been agreed upon at the council table with perfect unanimity. Clarendon's bitterness towards them is the great stain upon his character; yet, if not wiser, he was no worse, it seems, than other men of his party. However, his fall was the turning-point in the fortunes of the dissenters. From that time they were less mightily oppressed; and in his speech to Parliament in 1667, the king ventured to introduce the subject of a toleration: "One thing more I venture to recommend to you at this present, that is, that you would seriously think of some course to beget a better union and composure in the minds of my Protestant subjects in matters of religion; whereby they may be induced not only to submit quietly to the Government, but also cheerfully give their assistance to the support of it." No doubt he was influenced by a secret desire of favouring Roman Catholics. He could not expect any concessions in their favour while none were made to Nonconformists. But the House of Commons was inexorable, and met the king's speech with a petition "that he would enforce the laws against conventicles, and preserve the peace of the kingdom against unlawful assemblies of Papists and Nonconformists." Sheldon and the clergy of his party took the same course, and complained bitterly of the increase of conventicles. Bad men have a keen eye for the vices of the clergy; and Charles II., careless of his own duties, was sensitive enough to the failings of those whose profession it was to maintain the doctrines of the gospel, and display its purity. Burnet says that "when complaint was made of some disorders and conventicles, the king said the clergy were greatly to blame; for if they had lived well, and gone about their parishes, and taken pains to convince the Nonconformists, the nation might have been well settled; but they thought of nothing but to get good benefices, and keep a good table." A painful testimony, if we must believe it to be true.

In 1668, the project of a comprehension was renewed, and proposals were drawn up by bishop Wilkins and Dr. Burton, on behalf of Tillotson, Stillingfleet, and Reynolds, the lord chief justice Hales, and others. It was communicated through the lord keeper Bridgman to Bates, Manton, and Baxter, the heads of the Nonconformists. But it was again foiled by the fears and clamours of the Sheldon party; and the House of Commons,

seized with the same panic, passed a resolution "that no act for the comprehension or indulgence of dissenters, should be brought into that house!" At length, in 1671, the duke of York, the heir-apparent to the throne, having now formally abjured the Protestant religion, Charles, by proclamation, and without the consent of Parliament, proclaimed liberty of conscience to all his subjects. "We do declare our will and pleasure to be, that the execution of all, and all manner of penal laws, in matters ecclesiastical against whatever sort of Nonconformists and recusants, be immediately suspended, and they are hereby suspended." This remarkable instrument was dated from Whitehall, 15th of March, 1672.—Charles had been careful to submit it to the eye of his friend and patron the king of France.

As a legal document it was mere waste paper. The dispensing power, by which Charles II. by a stroke of his pen affects to set aside the statutes of the realm, was not in his possession. And now the question arose, and was violently agitated, whether the Nonconformists ought to avail themselves of an illegal indulgence; and the rather because it was clearly meant to promote the interests of the papal party. Various arguments were used; but that which had most weight with the Nonconformists was one, the force of which, little felt at that period, has made it an axiom in the legislation of more enlightened times. The liberty which the king now undertakes to grant, is, in fact, they said, a natural right: a right of which no legislative power on earth can lawfully deprive us, so long as we remain dutiful subjects. We, therefore, merely accept that which is our own. Most of their ministers took out licences under the proclamation, and opened their meeting-houses anew; and a cautious and moderate address of thanks was presented to the king. When the House of Commons met in 1673, it protested against the indulgence as contrary to law, and refused the supplies. The designs of the duke of York were now too apparent; and the Protestant dissenters declared, through one of the members for the city of London, "they would rather forfeit their own liberties, than enjoy them at the expense of the great Protestant interest." The king was in want of money, and, of course, abandoned his indulgence. The remaining years of the reign of Charles II. present us with a nation filled with impotent turbulence—with the agitations of a people helpless and bewildered—incapable

because possessing neither public virtue nor individual piety, the prey of needless fears and the dupe of worthless pretenders; and it was long before the Church of England recovered from its degradation.

James II. went openly to mass, and avowed himself a member of the Church of Rome. At first he promised to protect the Church of England; but when the failure of the rash attempts of Argyle and Monmouth against his throne, had set his mind at ease, he scarcely concealed his intention of reducing England into subjection to the see of Rome. To try the temper of the nation, the clergy were forbidden to preach against popery; the king, by what was again termed a "dispensing power," superseded the laws against the Papists; and the judges who refused to recognize his absolute right to set aside these penal enactments were dismissed. To conceal his project, or to render it more palatable, the Nonconformists were taken into favour, encouraged to re-open their chapels, and assured of the king's protection. In defiance of an express law (namely, that by which the Court of High Commission had been suppressed in 1651), he issued an ecclesiastical commission: it is dated April 1686; and empowers the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Durham and Rochester, with five others, to inquire into all misdemeanors and contempts which might be punished by the censures of the Church, and to call before them all ecclesiastical persons of what degree and dignity soever, and punish the offenders by excommunication, suspension, deprivation, or other ecclesiastical censures. The clergy, now thoroughly awake to the dangers from popery, nobly did their duty, firmly maintaining the Protestant cause, yet with respect and loyalty to the throne. The bishop of London refused to punish one of his clergy for preaching on the controverted points, before he had been heard; and he himself was summoned before the new commission, of which Jeffries, the lord chancellor, was president (in whose absence, indeed, the commission could not sit), and was treated by him with his usual brutality. The bishop objected against the court as illegal; and pleaded further, that he had obeyed the king's orders as far as he legally could; having suspended the accused party until his case should be tried in the ecclesiastical court; and he could do no more. But arguments, as Burnet remarks, in his account of this proceeding, how strong

soever, are feeble things when a sentence is resolved on, before the cause is heard. The bishop was suspended, and he became at once the idol of the nation. James's daughter, the princess of Orange, had the courage to remonstrate with her father, which only provoked his obstinacy. But in a few months the bishop was tacitly allowed to resume his functions. So odious was the first proceeding of this new commission.

In the same year the vice-chancellor of Cambridge was suspended, for refusing to confer a degree, at the king's command, on a Benedictine monk. Soon after, James sent a mandamus to the vice-president and fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, to elect Farmer, a Roman Catholic priest, and a man of worthless character, president, the office being vacant. They calmly remonstrated, and chose Dr. Hough to the vacant office. Farmer's character was so notorious that even James was ashamed to force him upon the college; but his infatuation would not permit him to retrace his steps. Another mandate came, commanding them to choose Parker, bishop of Oxford, a pliant man, and a tool of the court; the fellows refused, and were deprived in consequence. The university of Oxford, devoted in its loyalty to Charles I., had transferred its enthusiasm to both his sons, and, up to this period, had been complaisant, even when James was most outrageous. Happily for the Protestant cause, he now forced his loyal university to choose between their religion and their king. They had just subscribed and published a set of propositions, inculcating abject submission to the powers that be, and denouncing as unchristian the doctrine that "a king, the representative, and vicegerent of God" could lawfully be resisted, however great the provocation. This affair of Magdalen College showed the real worth of such professions. Much to the honour of the university, they were rescinded by a vote of her convocation in 1710.

The next year the crisis came. James published a declaration of indulgence in the "Gazette" of the 4th of April, 1687; the most liberal, and, if honestly meant, the wisest measure of any of the Stuarts, and yet that which drove him into exile, and despoiled him of his crown. It proclaimed a general liberty of conscience to all his subjects, of what persuasion soever. Never in the history of nations were the facts of the story and the meaning of the events—the course of the stream and the direc-

tion of the under-current—more opposite. The legislation was worthy of the nineteenth century; the intentions it concealed would have disgraced the twelfth. James's purpose was to introduce popery at all hazards. To gain his ends, the Nonconformists must be won over. They could not, he thought, object to a measure so vastly to their own advantage; they could not protest against the introduction of popery through the same door by which the demon of persecution, which had troubled their borders so long, should at last be shut out; and with the dissenters in his favour, he should have nothing to fear from the Church of England. But he had miscalculated: the Nonconformists, with a noble self-denial, declined to avail themselves of an indulgence which they clearly saw was meant to favour the introduction of popery, and to crush the Church of England. Louis XIV. was tracking his Protestant subjects with fire and blood. James was known to be his warm ally; he was not *then* known to be his obsequious instrument and slave, a fact which the correspondence between Louis and Barillon, his minister in London, places beyond all controversy: fortunately, too, the indulgence rested on the king's arbitrary will. The Parliament had not been consulted; and, ever since the earlier days of Elizabeth, the Nonconformists and their fathers had rested their dependence chiefly on the House of Commons. Scarcely a congregation availed itself of the indulgence. Mortified, but not discouraged, the king renewed his declaration by proclamation, April 27, 1688, and ordered it to be read in all churches and chapels in time of divine service, on days specified. The bishops were required to have it distributed, and to cause it to be read throughout their dioceses; and with this demand some few of them complied.

But now it was that the majority of the bench, and the clergy, felt that the time for action was come. The inroads of popery must be resisted now or never; and it was a happy circumstance that the resistance would be bloodless; if it occasioned suffering, the suffering would fall upon themselves. Eighteen bishops out of twenty-five, refused to publish the declaration. In London it was read only in seven churches, and over all England in about two hundred. The commission now issued citations to the disobedient clergy, which the bishops refused to serve. Seven of them met at Lambeth and drew up a respectful remonstrance to

the king: they were not wanting, they said, in respect for his Majesty, or in tenderness for dissenters; they were willing to make such terms with the latter as Parliament should agree upon; but the declaration was founded upon a dispensing power, —a power once admitted, which might set aside all laws, ecclesiastical and civil. In their consciences they believed it to be illegal, and they could neither read it themselves nor command their clergy to do so. The names subscribed are illustrious in the annals of the Church of England: Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury; Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph; Ken, of Bath and Wells; Turner, of Ely; Lake, of Chichester; White, of Peterborough; and Trelawny, of Bristol.

The seven bishops were summoned before the Privy Council, and required to acknowledge the petition as their act; they readily did so with a caveat that a confession thus extorted could not legally be made use of to their disadvantage. They were charged with printing their petition; this they absolutely denied. The petition, it was thought, had been printed by some of those to whom the king himself had shown it. They were then required to enter into securities to appear before the Court of King's Bench; this, too, as peers of the realm, they refused to do; and they were, by a warrant signed by the Privy Council, committed to the Tower. There were thousands living who could remember the tumults with which the civil war had opened in 1642; the melancholy parade with which king Charles had visited the Guildhall after the arrest of the five members, when he met fear or sorrow in every eye that was turned upon him; the frenzy of tumultuous joy with which Prynne and Bastwick were received when their unrighteous sentences were reversed; the military triumphs of Cromwell; the awful gloom of Charles's execution; and the exultation, bordering upon madness, of the restoration, and the 29th of May. But the men who remembered all this, lived to see it all surpassed. The committal of the bishops to the Tower, threw the whole city, to use the words of Burnet, "into the highest fermentation that was ever known in the memory of man." They were sent by water from Whitehall, and all along, as they passed, the banks of the river were full of people who awaited their approach upon their knees to ask their blessing, and greeted them as they were slowly rowed along, with cheers; the soldiers and officers in the Tower caught

up the enthusiasm that prevailed without, and received their prisoners with every demonstration of regard and reverence, falling on their knees and asking for their blessing. When the day of their trial came, the same enthusiasm broke out again. Vast crowds filled Westminster Hall and its approaches. The charge was for publishing a libel tending to defame the king's government; but of their signatures to the petition there was no legal proof, except their own admission before the Privy Council, which it was thought a base thing to use against them; and of their having had any share in its publication, there was no proof whatever. But the dispensing power was the grand point at issue, and the right of remonstrance and petition. The crown lawyers asserted the doctrine that although the two houses had a right to petition in parliament, it was seditious to do so on points of government, even for members of the upper house, except in their parliamentary capacity. The trial lasted ten hours: the jury then retired and deliberated all night. The next morning they returned their verdict of acquittal. The joy was rapturous and universal; it was carried in a few minutes, in the shouts of thousands, from Westminster into the city, and to the camp at Hounslow, where the king was waiting the decision; and in a space of time incredibly short, to every town and parish in the kingdom. James, still infatuated, was only the more obstinate or the more enraged; he was determined, he said, to punish the disobedient clergy; and they were actually cited before the ecclesiastical commissioners. But the prince of Orange was already taking his measures in concert with the patriots at home. On the 5th of November he landed at Torbay, and before the end of the year, a bloodless revolution had placed the Church and kingdom in a state of safety, and James was an exile and a pensioner at Versailles.

The year 1689, the first of William and Mary, is marked by the passing of the Toleration Act. Heretofore, dissent had been illegal. An assembly for religious worship, if not according to the forms of the Church of England, and under the protection of a license unless in the parish church, was a conventicle, and all who were present were liable to punishment: the Act of Toleration put an end to these oppressions. Some wise men would have gone further: an Act of Comprehension was prepared, and even passed the House of Lords, which, if it had not succeeded

in healing the divisions of the Church, would at least have removed many subjects of irritation of long standing. The bill dispensed with the promise of assent and consent to everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer, and substituted a promise of general conformity; it dispensed with kneeling at the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and with the sign of the cross in baptism when the parties considered the use of it unlawful; but it was thrown out in the House of Commons.

In connexion with these endeavours to reduce, if possible, the whole of Protestant England into cordial union with the national Church, a royal commission was issued under the great seal, 17th of September, 1689, to prepare such alterations and amendments of the liturgy and canons, and such proposals for the reformation of ecclesiastical abuses, as the commissioners should see fit. These were to be presented to the convocation and to parliament, that "if it should be judged fit they may be established in due form of the law." The commission was directed to ten of the bishops, four professors, four archdeacons, and six eminent clergymen of the city of London. It included the names of Lamplugh, Compton, Sprat, and Burnet, of the bishops; besides Tillotson, Stillingfleet, and Patrick of the deans; and Tenison and Beveridge of the inferior clergy. Dr. Jane, of Oxford, represented the extreme party, the advocates of prerogative and High Church principles, and never attended after the first three sittings; he appears to have been dissatisfied with the authority under which they were convened; and drew from Iloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph, the remark, that those who were not satisfied with the commission might withdraw and not be spies upon the rest.

The commission sat six weeks: it embraced able men of all parties. If their tone of piety was less fervent, and their acquaintance with ecclesiastical history less extensive, than that of the reformers, they had some other qualifications which seemed to give them a peculiar fitness for the task. They were men of liberal studies: some of them came to the work, like Beveridge, earnest divines; some, like Tillotson, political moralists; some, like Burnet, were both statesmen and divines. Many of them had been brought up amongst the Puritans, and knew how to appreciate their objections; all of them had witnessed the perils of the Church, and felt how nearly in the late

reign it had been driven to the verge of ruin. A revolution scarcely over may be supposed to have taught them caution, and their own previous dangers wisdom and experience. But their project entirely failed; for at this period the leaders of the Church were far in advance of the parochial clergy; and while the bishops and the House of Lords were striving to conciliate dissenters, the lower house of convocation was a scene of disgraceful violence and vulgar party spirit. Jane and Tillotson were nominated to them for the office of prolocutor; their choice of the former showed the disposition in which they met together. The proposal of concessions to dissenters filled them with vexation or alarm. They passed a resolution not even to entertain the question of alterations in the liturgy and canons. It was in vain the bishop of London, in his answer to the prolocutor's speech, made a calm and dignified remonstrance; they were scarcely respectful even to the king himself. The upper house of convocation sent down an address acknowledging the protection which the Protestant religion in general, and the Church of England in particular, had received from him. But this would have recognised the Presbyterian Churches of the Continent; and they refused to thank the king for his care of them, and erased the words "this and all other Protestant Churches." The king dissolved them, and for ten years they met no more.

A journal of the proceedings, taken by Dr. Williams, bishop of Chichester, one of the commissioners, together with an exact copy of the alterations proposed in the Book of Common Prayer, has been preserved at Lambeth. It has just been printed, "in return to an address of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated 14th of March, 1854." Every sentence of the Prayer-book seems to have been subjected to a close revision. We can but notice a few of the most striking changes. The word priest is generally, though not invariably, changed for presbyter. A rubric is inserted explaining that the surplice is used only as an ancient and decent habit; and that if any minister declared that he could not satisfy his conscience in the use of it, the bishop might dispense with his doing so, and appoint a curate to officiate in his stead. In the state prayers some of the titles of honour are omitted, such as royal highness, &c. In the creed of St. Athanasius, the condemning clauses "are to be understood as relating only to those who obstinately deny the substance of the

Christian faith." In the litany, additional supplications are introduced against infidelity, profaneness, superstitions, and idolatry; against drunkenness and gluttony; against lying, cursing, and perjury, and all injustice. And to the petition, "by the coming of the Holy Ghost," is added, "and by thy continual intercession at the right hand of God." Many of the collects are enlarged, generally by a fuller exposition of the original, but occasionally by the introduction of new petitions. In the communion office there are many alterations, which, however, affect no point of doctrine, except, perhaps, in the passage where the penitent is directed to apply to the minister of God's word that he may receive the benefit of absolution, which is altered thus, "may receive such spiritual advice and comfort as may lead to the quieting of his conscience," &c. And by a rubric at the end, the minister may give the sacramental bread and wine "in some convenient place or pew, to those who are persuaded in their conscience that they cannot receive it kneeling without sin." And in the baptismal service the same liberty is permitted with regard to the cross. The commination service introduces our Lord's beatitudes in the form of a litany; and instead of the denunciations, as at present, concludes with supplications to be delivered from various sins which are enumerated seriatim. In the visitation for the sick the absolution is struck out, and these words introduced: "Our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath left power to his Church to absolve all sinners, &c.—upon thy true faith and repentance by his authority committed to me, I pronounce thee absolved," &c. And in the burial for the dead, the expression of a sure and certain hope of the resurrection of the departed to eternal life, is altered into "a firm belief of the resurrection of the dead at the last day, in which they who die in the Lord shall rise to eternal life."

The bishops had suffered severely from James's rigour; they had felt and avowed that the Church of England was in the utmost danger. But when he was deposed, in some of them anxious scruples arose. Their notion of the divine right of kings led them to doubt whether any misconduct in the sovereign could justify his people in dissolving their allegiance, and transferring it to another. Of the seven bishops who had been imprisoned, three (including Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury) refused to recognise the new king. They were soon joined

by a considerable number of the clergy; and thus within the pale of the Church of England a new schism was created, the more dangerous because political. The party we speak of bore the name of NONJURORS. Refusing to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, of course they were not recognised by law; but they were men, in general, of quiet, harmless lives, or political enthusiasts, contented to suffer for conscience' sake, and not often detected in any direct attempts to subvert the existing government. Their worship was conducted in hired rooms or private houses; for their numbers, small at first, exhibited through the whole of their existence one unbroken process of decay. They ordained several bishops, and retained most of the forms of the Church of England, in the faint hope of one day seeing a Stuart on the throne. They did not finally disappear till George III. had sat some years upon the throne; they became extinct in 1780. It is only necessary to add that their views of Church government were those of the extreme section of high churchmen. They held the absolute necessity of an episcopate, and of apostolic succession, and taught the sacramental system of grace as maintained by the Anglo-catholic or Tractarian party of our own day. Also that the Church is subject to the jurisdiction, not of the civil magistrate, but of God alone, particularly in matters of a religious nature: that, consequently, Sancroft, and the other bishops, deposed by King William III., remained, notwithstanding their deposition, true bishops to the day of their death; and that those who were substituted in their places were the unjust possessors of other men's property: that these unjust possessors of ecclesiastical dignities were rebels against the State, as well as schismatics in the Church; and that all, therefore, who held communion with them, were also chargeable with rebellion and schism: that this schism, which rends the Church in pieces, is a most heinous sin, and that the punishment due to it must fall heavy upon all those who do not return sincerely to the true Church from which they have departed. They merged at length, on the death of the Pretender, the last representative of the Stuart line, into the SCOTCH EPISCOPAL CHURCH—to which we refer the reader.

By the confession of all parties doctrinal religion in the Church of England was at its lowest point of depression at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and many years passed away before

the slightest improvement was visible. A hundred years had been spent in preparing revolutions and recovering from their calamities. The revolution of 1688, though accomplished without bloodshed, had left painful traces of another kind. Party spirit had already degenerated into faction; political and religious differences, even within the Church, were now distempered with malignity. Whatever the Church of England had gained by the Act of Uniformity, and the final ejection of the Puritan party in 1661, she had certainly not gained repose. When the seventeenth century began, she was rent with the contest between Puritans and prelatists. At the commencement of the eighteenth she was distracted with High and Low Church factions; both, with a few noble exceptions on either side, sorely deficient in that personal zeal and piety, and only less deficient in that deep theological and biblical lore which had always given dignity and importance both to the contests and the combatants of a preceding age. "Politics and party spirit," says Burnet, "eat out what little piety remains amongst us." Men of the world and politicians began to look with undisguised scorn upon the conflicts of Churchmen, and the man was unfashionable in good society who did not treat religion with at least a polite contempt. Mr. Macaulay, in his brilliant history, has drawn the character of the parochial clergy of this period with a severe pen. But we must allow that the clergy of the country parishes were, as a body, ignorant and inefficient men. The universities, even a century later, did not impose any test of scholarship on their graduates, which really proved that they had gained the elements of a liberal education; and even now the number is considerable of those who, having lounged through the universities, lounge through the remainder of a useless life. But at this period zeal and learning were the rare exceptions. Burnet tells us that the ember weeks,—the periods of the examination of candidates for holy orders,—were the misery of his life; and he draws a melancholy picture of the ignorance and incapacity of the future race of curates and incumbents, who passed under his hands. Controversial divinity, as neither reproof fashionable vice, nor disturbing the leaden current of the times, was alone rewarded, and therefore was chiefly cultivated. It is remarkable that the most popular book of devotion of the age, Nelson's "Fasts and Festivals," was the work of a layman. The clergy distinguished

themselves by pamphlets on the Protestant succession, on the sinfulness of nonconformity, and on subjects more directly political and secular. There were, however, it must be borne in mind, illustrious men amongst them of another character. The Church was not without its worthies in an age that produced Burnet's treatise "On the Thirty-Nine Articles," and his "Pastoral Care." Butler's "Analogy," and bishop Newton's "Dissertation on the Prophecies," belong to a rather later date. Bishop Bull, whose zeal, at least, was great, and his learning profound,—though his theology was questioned at the time, and publicly censured by the divinity professor at Oxford, and by Morley, bishop of Winchester,—died in 1709.

Yet even in these, in some respects the darkest times of the Church of England, two projects were formed which have been productive of a vast amount of good—the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, chiefly by the circulation of Bibles, Prayer-books, and religious tracts, was formed in 1698; and out of it arose the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, which obtained a royal charter in 1704. These two societies were designed, the former to supply the spiritual necessities of the poor and neglected at home; the latter to meet the wants of the colonists in what were then termed our factories and plantations abroad. And to them the honour belongs of having set the first example of those Protestant institutions for carrying on the work of Christian benevolence, both at home and abroad, which have multiplied in the present century to so vast an extent.

An affair occurred in 1710 of which perhaps it may safely be affirmed that never did so insignificant a business affect importance on the page of history; yet it must be mentioned here because it throws a strong light upon the state of things in the Church of England. Dr Hoadley, afterwards the celebrated bishop of Bangor, preached before the Lord Mayor, on the measure of obedience due to civil government; asserting that it was not only lawful but a duty incumbent on Christian men to resist bad kings and tyrannical governments; he concluded with a vindication of the revolution which had recently occurred, and of the government then existing. Upon this a cry was raised by the Tory and High Church party (names which these events brought into popular use), that he had preached up rebellion;

and he was attacked by Leslie, a Nonjuror, and other pamphleteers. Sacheverel, a London clergyman, took up the question, and answered Hoadley from the pulpit. A man more unfit to take part in such a controversy could not have been found. His mind was naturally confused and incapable of close reasoning; he was shallow and declamatory; and had the boldness which belongs to men who are conscious of no infirmities. In such times Sacheverel was of course popular; and the more so, because he threw out offensive reflections upon all who differed from him, however high their rank; making particular allusions to the bench of bishops. The House of Commons condescended to impeach him, and he became at once the idol of the Jacobites. The clamour was industriously spread throughout the kingdom, that the Church was in danger, and it was believed. The clergy in general espoused Sacheverel as their champion who had stood in the breach, and they made his cause their own. Sermons were preached, both in London and other places, to provoke the people, in which, it is said, they succeeded beyond expectation. Much time was spent in preparing the articles of impeachment, and the answer to them was delayed as long as possible. In the mean time the people were possessed with the apprehension that a design was formed, by the Court, the Whigs, and the Low Church party, to pull down the Church; and that this prosecution was meant to try their strength. If Sacheverel fell the Church was lost. When his answer was presented to the House, it was bold and haughty, and scarcely respectful. He made no submissions, but defended all that he had preached. He was ordered to be tried at the bar of the House of Lords; but it was the interest of his party to keep alive the excitement of the people. It was moved and carried that the trial should take place in Westminster Hall, where the House of Commons might be present. This magnificent array would provoke a smile, were it not for one consideration; it was not Sacheverel but the revolution of 1688 that was in truth upon its trial. At last the trial began in Westminster Hall; it lasted three weeks, during which all other business was at a stand; it was the only subject on which men spoke and thought. Sacheverel lodged in the Temple, and came every day to Westminster in his coach, in a slow and stately manner, escorted by thousands. They pressed about him as he left his carriage for the honour

of kissing his hand, and showed all the enthusiasm which is due to heroes or to martyrs. Enthusiasm in a mob soon leads to violence. Several meeting-houses were burned in the city. Those who refused to join in the cry of "The Church and Sacheverel," were knocked down, insulted, and sometimes killed. Queen Anne, in a proclamation, laid the blame upon the Papists and Nonjurors; and there can be no doubt they instigated the riots. Our commiseration, at the same time, is due to the ignorant and misguided rabble; their dread of popery, and a sincere attachment to the Protestant cause, made them the dupes of men as weak as themselves, but far more designing. Sacheverel's trial occurred in 1710, and (in one respect not unlike that of Warren Hastings in the same hall, seventy years afterwards) began with vigour and expired of inanition. The accusation was conducted by managers for the House of Commons; he read his own defence, which was plausible and pathetic; it was supposed to have been written for him by Bishop Atterbury, a Nonjuror. A long debate followed in the House of Lords. In that assembly no one attempted to justify the sermon, or to assert the doctrine of absolute non-resistance. It is on occasions such as these, that the House of Lords has so often commended itself to the deep respect of the English people; and shown that, if the House of Commons gives full expression to their will, the House of Peers is no less necessary to interpose sometimes between the democracy and its own excesses. But, in fact, at this period, it is impossible not to be struck with the contrast between the wisdom and moderation of the House of Lords, and the factious turbulence both of the Convocation and the House of Commons. The peers who defended Sacheverel said no more than this—that a clergyman preaching on the duty of obedience ought to state the doctrine in full and general terms. Obedience was the rule, the exceptions were very rare, hard to be defined and needless for the purposes of public religious instruction. Some of the bishops spoke on each side. Hooper, bishop of Bath and Wells, in excuse of Sacheverel; but Talbot of Oxford, Wake of Lincoln, Trimnel of Norwich, and Burnet of Salisbury, on the other side. "We showed," says the latter, "the falsehood of an opinion too commonly received, that the Church of England had always condemned resistance, even in the cases of extreme tyranny; the books of the Maccabees, bound in our

Bibles and approved by our Articles, (as containing examples of life and instructions of manners, though not as any part of the canon of the Scripture,) contained a full and clear precedent for resisting and shaking off extreme tyranny. The Jews under that brave family, not only defended themselves against Antiochus, but formed themselves into a new and free government. Our homilies were only against wilful rebellion; such as had been then against our kings, while they were governing by law; but, at that very time, Queen Elizabeth had assisted, first the Scotch, and then the French, and to the end of her days, continued to protect the States, who not only resisted, but, as the Maccabees had done, shook off the Spanish yoke, and set up a new form of government: in all this she was not only justified by the best writers of that time, such as Jewell and Bilson, but was approved and supported in it. Both her parliaments and convocations gave her subsidies, to carry on those wars. The same principles were kept up all King James's reign. In the beginning of king Charles's reign, he protected the Rochellers, and asked supplies from the Parliament to enable him to do it effectually; and ordered a fast and prayer to be made for them." At length the sermon was ordered to be burnt, and, by a vote of the House of Peers, Sacheverel was suspended for three years. The famous decrees of the university of Oxford, of 1683, in favour of divine right and passive obedience were included in the censure of the House of Peers, and burnt together with Sacheverel's sermon. The punishment, such as it was, was regarded as a triumph by the Tories, and was celebrated through the kingdom with bonfires and illuminations.

By a curious inconsistency the High Church party, generally headed by the bishops in former times, was now opposed to them. During the reign of Queen Anne the constant effort of the bench of bishops was to restrain the violence of the parochial clergy. If the latter were fairly represented in their lower House of Convocation, they were, as a body, averse in politics to the principles of the Revolution, and, in religion, to the principles of the Reformation; but we must be allowed to entertain a doubt whether, at this time, that assembly spoke the voice of the parochial clergy. One serious objection to the House of Convocation, as at present constituted, is, that it throws the representation of the Church too much into the hands of the cathedral clergy, who

generally have it in their power both to provide the candidates and to manage the elections. And a hundred and forty years ago, when the cathedral close was far more important, and the village parsonage far less accessible than at present, this evil no doubt existed to a much greater extent. We think we are safe in the conclusion that no inconsiderable number, at least a large minority, of the parochial clergy still held themselves aloof from faction and violent extremes, in the calm pursuit of the duties of their sacred calling. It was amongst this class soon afterwards that the regeneration of the Church began. At present, however, as far as religion was concerned, the prospect was gloomy.

From broils like these, so absorbing at the time, so insignificant to posterity, we turn aside and dwell for a moment on a subject of more importance, the state of the pulpit and of religion during the reign of Anne. It was at this time that the pulpit of the Church of England assumed a character which it still retains. The divines of the Reformation were, in the truest sense, eloquent and popular. Latimer is the father of English eloquence; and, could he reappear amongst us, might instantly claim the supremacy of the pulpit once more. Fervid, pathetic, argumentative, impassioned, abounding in shrewd remarks, and venturing sometimes into the very province of wit and even of broad humour, yet always recovering himself in good time, and chasing off the offending smile with tears, he had every quality, if we except grace and elegance, for a perfect orator. He evidently gave the tone and character to the preachers of the Reformation; but such talents are always rare, and even Latimer must have been indebted for his success in some measure to the vast enthusiasm of the Reformation. By degrees the fervour of the pulpit subsided, though still, through the whole of Elizabeth's reign, preachers of a high order of eloquence are to be met with. Under James I. the pulpit was defiled with the pedantry and affectation of the age. Bishop Hall, however, has left some noble studies in scriptural biography, which were heard, as they are still read, with interest. But this is a kind of preaching which aims no higher than to interest and instruct. The loftier flights of eloquence, and, therefore, the deeper emotions of the heart, are beyond its reach. From this time till the school of Tillotson was formed, the pulpit was dry, formal, and scholastic;

retiring more and more from the wants and sympathies of the multitude, and addressing itself to the educated classes who took an interest in religion. The multitude, meanwhile, taking its reprisals, by a growing indifference to religion, and, at length, an utter scorn of the clerical office and its public instructions. A new style of preaching was introduced chiefly by the example of Tillotson and his associates. They abandoned the cumbrous forms under which the pulpit had been crushed, and, following the dictates of nature and good sense, preaching in a natural and easy method, they contributed more than can be well imagined to reform the preaching of the age. Instead of a long and wearisome exposition of the text, a sort of concordance upon every word, with a refutation of every heresy to which it had ever been applied, and a few practical uses at the last, these preachers gave a short paraphrase or explanation of their text, with no unnecessary parade of learning or criticism, and then addressed themselves at once, through the understanding, to the conscience of the hearer. Tillotson preached in London, where his popularity was unbounded. His hearers were delighted with sermons clear, simple, and no longer of a wearisome and intolerable length. In the Augustine age, as it has been termed, of Queen Anne, such discourses became the models of the clergy. Purity of style and grammar were now cultivated in a way unknown before. The clergy, too, at least in London, were scholars and men of considerable powers. Tenison, the archbishop, and Wake, his successor, in 1716, were learned and exemplary prelates; Sherlock, the master of the Temple, was the ablest of the Tillotson school, and there were others of deserved repute. But the two faults of this party were of a serious kind; the great doctrines of the Christian faith were obscurely taught, and its sanctions were not enforced with the authority and seriousness due to their importance. Tillotson appears to have thought (and, indeed, Burnet, in his funeral sermon, gives an intimation to that effect) that the laity in general were more concerned with the duties of religion than its doctrines. This was the fatal error of his party and of their followers; and it implies a painful amount of ignorance on their part upon a subject with regard to which ignorance in a Christian minister has no excuse, for it is in our practical acquaintance with these doctrines that the only sufficient motives to obedience are to be found. The hearer, for instance,

who is exhorted to repentance, must previously be made acquainted with the reasons why repentance is required ; and these are, on the one hand, the doctrines of the fall of man and his actual transgression, and, on the other, the purity of the Divine law and the necessity of the atonement made for sin in the person of the Redeemer. Instead of motives such as these the Tillotson divines spoke of the fitness of things, the complacency of virtue, the vexations and remorse of an ill-spent life, and the certainty of future judgment ; but even here their addresses were cold and unimpassioned. In their theory of metaphysics man was simply a reasoning machine, everything was to be settled by pure reason ; or if they occasionally betray themselves into some warmth, and address our hopes and fears, or kindle the fires of imagination, and so assault the heart, it is but for a moment ; it seems to have been an oversight, and they hurry away like men ashamed. The divines of the Tillotson school scarcely made any impression on the age ; they were admired by men of taste and utterly neglected by the multitude. Profligacy declined underneath their teaching ; and this was their highest achievement, for religion made no progress. Grave fears were entertained by the wisest men lest, in the course of a generation, religion should become extinct.

After Sacheverel's affair the Convocation was allowed to meet, but they assembled only to quarrel and break up. A bill was offered by the archbishop of Canterbury to prevent the re-baptizing of dissenters ; it was intended to put a stop to an opinion which was then regarded, according to Burnet, as new and extravagant, that no ecclesiastical functions were valid if performed by persons who were not episcopally ordained. This doctrine was advocated by Dodwell, Hickes, and others. They taught that none could be saved except those who, by the sacraments, had a federal right to the blessings of the covenant of which these were the seals, so that all who died without the sacraments were left to the uncovenanted mercies of God ; and, since none had a right to give the sacraments but those who were commissioned, and since the commission ran only in the line of an episcopal apostolic succession, it followed that sacraments administered by other men were void ; the dissenters, therefore, were not even Christians, and the scheme of any comprehension which should include dissent was of course an act of great profanity. Dodwell carried

his speculations so far on the subject as to assert that the soul is naturally mortal, but that the immortalizing virtue is conveyed by baptism. To put a stop to these views the archbishop proposed a declaration against the irregularity of baptism by persons not in holy orders, coupled with a declaration that, according to the practice of the primitive Church, and the constant usage of the Church of England, no baptism with water, in the name of the three persons of the Trinity, ought to be repeated. It passed the upper House of Convocation with only the dissenting voice of Sprat bishop of Rochester, but in the lower House it met with no encouragement; they refused even to entertain it. These were the palmy days of infidelity; the days of Toland, Whiston, Collins, Tindal, and Shaftesbury. The Convocation censured their writings, but wanted the power to repress their principles. Infidelity spread through all ranks, for "while men slept the enemy sowed tares."

The Bangorian controversy, connected as it is with the abeyance of Convocation for upwards of a century, claims a passing notice. The dispute was occasioned by a sermon which the king, George I., who heard it, ordered to be printed. The preacher, Hoadley, bishop of Bangor, endeavoured to prove that the true Church did not require any other than spiritual sanctions; that it was not intended by its divine founder to be supported by political aids, or checked by political discouragements; that such interferences, on the part of the state, tended to give to the Church a worldly character, not altogether consistent with genuine piety, and not favourable to pure devotion; and that the ecclesiastical establishment would flourish more under its own guidance than under temporal direction. The kingdoms of this world, he said, could not suggest proper views of that government which ought to prevail, in a visible and sensible manner, in Christ's kingdom. The sanctions of Christ's laws, appointed by himself, were not the rewards of this world, not the offices or honours of this state, not the pains of imprisonment or of exile, or the discouragements that belong to human society: these could not be the instruments of such a persuasion as would be acceptable to God. To teach Christians that they must either profess, or be silent against their own consciences, because of the authority of others over them, was to found that authority upon the ruins of sincerity and common honesty; to teach a doctrine

which would have prevented the Reformation, and even the existence of the Church of England. No power, repugnant to the supreme authority of Christ, could be justly claimed over the Church by Christians even of the highest rank. These opinions were controverted, with that asperity which religious questions always appear to attract around them when viewed in connexion with secular politics, by a host of writers, of whom Sherlock may be mentioned as the chief. His conduct in this controversy was so offensive, that he was removed from the list of the king's chaplains. The Convocation, as a matter of course, took up the quarrel, delighted with an opportunity of opposing the Whig policy of the court; nor must it be forgotten that Hoadley, and many of his supporters, were justly obnoxious to the orthodox clergy. If high churchmen had exaggerated the sacraments, Hoadley passed into the other extreme. He was one of the leaders of the rational clergy of the age, who, in their attempts to prove the reasonableness of Christianity, presented it to the world in the mere nakedness of a code of morals. About the same time other struggles, in which the clergy took their full share, embittered the quarrel between them and the court. A bill was introduced for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts; it was rejected; and, in retaliation, it was followed by a bill from the opposite party, which shared the same fate. The design of this latter bill was to inflict penalties on Socinians, Arians, and all others, who might be guilty of blasphemy and profaneness. Such legislation, though often attempted, has always failed of producing good results. The evils complained of are great indeed; but they are such as to elude the vigilance of human jurisprudence; or if not, since penal laws of this kind affect none but the conscientious, they encourage hypocrisy on the one hand, or they invade the sacred domain of conscience on the other.

The Convocation was dissolved in 1717. Its violent proceedings had evidently brought it into contempt; while the peculiarity of its constitution caused it to be regarded with jealousy,—on the one hand by patriots fond of liberty, on the other by statesmen fond of power. After having slumbered for a hundred and forty years, the revival of Convocation is once more demanded by a considerable party; and some men of influence have placed themselves at the head of the movement. We take

the opportunity to lay before the reader a sketch of the constitution of this venerable and once renowned assembly.

Ecclesiastical councils, provincial and national, have been holden in England from the earliest times; out of these the Convocation grew. From the reign of Edward I., when the commons were first assembled in Parliament, it became the practice to summon the Convocation at the same time. About the year 1400 it assumed its present form: the bishops meeting in one place, and the priors, deans, archdeacons, and proctors, or representatives of the clergy, in another. There was at this time a Convocation for the province of York, and another for that of Canterbury; and the clergy already possessed the right of granting subsidies—that is, of taxing themselves; thus, in 1452, the Convocation readily granted a subsidy to the king, but refused to do so for the pope, though requested by the nuncio. At the Reformation, the king assumed the title of supreme head of the Church. Both Convocations hesitated to acknowledge his claim, and that of Canterbury was fined 100,000*l.*, that of York, 18,000*l.*, for their contumacy. The king, says Strype, made them buckle to at last; and the recognition of the supremacy was made at Canterbury in 1531, and the next year at York. In 1532, the Act of Submission passed: it required the clergy, in the first place, to consent that no ordinance or constitution should be enacted or enforced but with the king's permission; secondly, that the existing constitutions should be revised by his Majesty's commissioners; and, thirdly, that all other constitutions, being agreeable to the laws of God and of the land, should be enforced. The bishops demurred, but the king and the commons were against them, and they were compelled to yield; and, in 1534, their submission was confirmed by Act of Parliament. Since this period the Convocation can only be assembled by the king's writ: when assembled, it cannot make new canons without a royal *licence*, which is a separate act from the permission to assemble; having agreed upon canons in conformity with the royal licence, they cannot be published or take effect until confirmed by the sovereign; nor, lastly, can they enact any canon which is against the laws or customs of the land, or the king's prerogative, even should the king himself consent. For the last of these reasons, we may here observe, the canons of 1640 are invalid; and on this and other accounts they

were immediately repealed, or rather declared null and void by the Long Parliament. Prior to this period, the archbishop of each province could assemble his provincial synod at his pleasure; though, at the same time, the sovereign could summon both provinces by a royal writ. When, too, the Convocation met at the command of the king, the archbishop could either dissolve them, when the business of the crown was finished, or continue the synod for other purposes by his own authority. The metropolitans could assemble the clergy at pleasure. They had a right independent of the crown. Even when assembled for state purposes by the king's writ, the metropolitans could proceed to the consideration of matters ecclesiastical. Prior to the Act of Submission there were, in fact, two kinds of ecclesiastical councils, often, in practice, merged into one. First, a Synod for ecclesiastical matters, called by the archbishops; secondly, a Convocation for granting subsidies and other secular business, assembled by the crown. But by the Act of Submission these rights were lost. It is in consequence of this Act that the dean and chapter of a cathedral are compelled to choose for their bishop the individual nominated by the crown. The right of taxing themselves was relinquished by the clergy on the restoration of Charles II. It was not then perceived, that as the Convocation would be no longer wanted for granting subsidies, it would certainly perish whenever it should come into collision with the crown and Parliament.

England is divided into the two provinces of Canterbury and York; and by the term Convocation is meant the synod or provincial council of those provinces. There are therefore two Convocations, each independent of the other, but instances have frequently occurred in which they have acted together, by mutual consent. Commissioners have sometimes been sent from York to sit in the Convocation of Canterbury, with full powers to act on behalf of the northern Convocation. Since the Reformation, for obvious reasons, the legislation of the Church of England was virtually in the hands of the southern Convocation. That of York seldom originated any important measure, or persisted long in resisting the decisions of Canterbury. It became at length the faint echo of its more favoured sister's voice.

The Convocation of Canterbury consists of all the bishops of the province, who constitute the upper house; and of the deans,

archdeacons, proctors of chapters, and proctors for the parochial clergy, who compose the lower house. Before the dissolution of the monasteries, the abbots also had seats in the upper house; at which time the members were more numerous than those of the lower. At present, however, the upper house in the province of Canterbury consists of the bishops; the lower, of the dignitaries, who are ex-officio members, and the proctors.

The method of choosing the proctors for the clergy varies somewhat in different places. In the diocese of London, each archdeaconry choose two, and from the whole number so chosen, the bishop selects two to attend the Convocation. In Sarum, the three archdeacons choose six, and the six make a selection of two of their own number; and the same method is adopted in the diocese of Lichfield and Coventry. In Bath and Wells, all the incumbents choose their proctors jointly. In Lincoln, the clergy of the six archdeaconries send commissioners to Stamford, who make the necessary choice of two persons. In Norwich, the two archdeaconries of Norwich and Norfolk meet and choose one, and the archdeaconries of Suffolk and Sudbury choose the other. The same is the case in Chichester. In ancient times the clergy were represented in convocation by the archdeacons. Such is the mode of choosing proctors in the province of Canterbury. In the province of York two proctors are returned by each archdeaconry. Were it not so, the numbers would be too small for the transaction of business.

The archbishop is president of the Convocation. A prolocutor is chosen by the clergy, who is presented to the archbishop. On his presentation he intimates that the lower house intend to deliver their resolutions to the upper house through him, whose duty it is also to collect the votes of his brethren, and to secure the attendance of the members.

As president, the archbishop summons the Convocation to meet at the command of the king. Were he to attempt to assemble a synod of his own authority, he would be subject to a præmunire, and the proceedings of such synod would be void. Since the Act of Submission, however, the power to summon the Convocation at the commencement of a new parliament has usually been granted; though, since the time of George I., no business has been transacted. It is also the duty of the archbishop

to prorogue and dissolve the Convocation under the direction of the crown.

The powers of Convocation are great. They have power to correct and depose offenders; to examine and censure heretical works; and, having obtained the royal license, they can make and publish canons, alter the liturgy, and in short transact all business of an ecclesiastical character. By statute the clergy are protected from arrest, just as the members of parliament, during their attendance on Convocation. Only rectors, vicars, and perpetual curates, can vote for proctors to represent the clergy in the lower house. The Convocation has not acted as a provincial synod since 1717, because the royal license has not been granted. As soon as the license is issued, a power is given to the Convocation which it did not previously possess, though assembled by royal writ. It is then a provincial synod, and competent to transact ecclesiastical business.

The lower house possessed a privilege which is scarcely consistent with the notion of the presbyter's duty of absolute submission to the bishop: they could always negative the proceedings of the upper house. Thus the clergy were at all times able to thwart the proceedings of the bishops; since when their assent was refused, no measure could be carried. The Convocation, lastly, though it cannot enact canons without the authority of the crown, can refuse its assent to measures proposed by the sovereign. As the matter now stands, it cannot meet without the royal writ, nor when assembled make canons without the royal license, nor publish them without the royal confirmation. The *writ* is always issued with that for assembling Parliament, but the *license* has been withheld since 1717. Thus the matter stands at present: we refer the reader for further information on this subject to our writers on ecclesiastical councils: *e. g.* Collier's Church History; Wilkin's Concilia; Wake, or Lathbury, on the Convocation.

The suppression of Convocation, though perhaps an arbitrary measure, was certainly followed by happy results. The clergy, no longer invited to take an active share in politics, were no longer factious. Slowly they returned to the proper studies of their profession, and resumed in consequence, though not all at once, a position they had almost lost in the respect and reverence of the laity. Philology and biblical criticism were cultivated.

The Commentaries of Whitby and the elder Lowth gave an impulse to these studies. Bishop Butler's 'Analogy,' followed, after a few years, by Bishop Newton's 'Dissertations on the Prophecies,' introduced the clergy to new studies, and taught them to think over a wider surface, and to reason to a greater depth. Writers such as we have named always call forth a number of imitative followers, who dilute their thoughts, and perhaps correct or even extend the application of some of their principles. These writers are a useful class to the age they live in: they abounded at the period of which we write, and, though now forgotten, they show that an age of thoughtful studiousness was once more returning, and as we place ourselves by their side, make us hopeful for the future. Still the clergy as a body were more distinguished, through the whole of the last century, for learning and decorum than for zeal and piety. Under the first and second Georges, the profligacy of the previous generation had been succeeded, in the higher classes, by an almost universal scepticism; in all classes by profound indifference to religion. From this stupor a degraded nation could not be aroused by the sermons of Sherlock, which were indeed a clear and masterly exposition of his text, but cold and cheerless. Nor by the writings of Butler, to the mass of readers unintelligible. Nor by the demonstrations of Bishop Newton, which required a patient industry they did not possess, and presupposed an intelligent interest upon a subject on which they were profoundly unconcerned.

The dawn of a brighter day appeared; and with it, John Wesley, his brother Charles, and their little band of *Methodists* at Oxford. We shall relate upon a future page (see *WESLEYANS*) the history of these remarkable men, their triumphs and their trials. When all around wore the icy mantle of a spiritual winter, the fervent zeal of these men drove them out to proclaim the saving truths of the gospel in every parish where they could find admission. They were young, and sometimes indiscreet, and the pulpits of the Church were very soon closed against them. They now appeared in their gowns and cassocks (for Wesley was at this period of his life a resolute Churchman) under the shade of a spreading oak, or on the village green, or during the winter in some friendly barn. The eloquent Whitfield soon joined their company,—a man whose voice was melody itself, whose

pathos, and powers of declamation seem to have been unrivalled. Before him the coldest melted into tears, and the churl begged money from his neighbour to throw a larger offering than his own purse contained upon the plate. Thousands in London and Bristol,—not unfrequently ten thousand,—assembled in one overflowing congregation to listen to their sermons. The churches were deserted, and, as a natural consequence, the clergy were displeased. Persecution began, and virtually Methodism became a new species of dissent. It was not only in the novelty and freedom of their career that the early Methodists had so vast an advantage over the parochial clergy. There was another cause. Scarcely anything was to be heard from the pulpit of the parish church but dry lessons of morality, relieved, when the sacrament was administered, with dissertations on sacramental grace. Wesley and his friends went forth to preach the gospel. His own acquaintance with human nature resembled an intuition. His followers imitated his style, and caught something of his spirit; and they all felt that it was not by the calm statement of duties, however important in their place, but by the earnest inculcation of the doctrines of salvation, that the hearts of their hearers could be reached. Ever since the Restoration, the prejudice against Calvinism in the Church of England had been such as might have satisfied Laud himself. In this prejudice the Wesleys shared deeply through life. Whitfield became a Calvinist, on which the two leaders were estranged, and parted for ever. The persecutions that Wesley encountered receive no excuse under this head. His irregularities were made the pretext; but the bishops, still, at this period, wiser, and more moderate than the clergy, had not thought it necessary to condemn them. The Church of Rome, in her deep sagacity, would have seized the opportunity, drawn Wesley into closer union, and made him the instrument of reviving a languishing cause. She would have made allowance for a zeal, which, if erratic, was fervent; for a loyalty to the Church, which, if self-willed, was perfectly sincere. We of this generation owe no gratitude to the age which cast forth the Methodists. We suffer still from the wrongs it inflicted on these righteous men.

From the year 1760, when the long reign of George III. began, religion may be considered as slowly advancing in the Church of England. Yet, more than twenty years later, we find Dr.

Horsley on the one side, and Low Churchmen, his opponents, on the other, still deploring "the great increase of profaneness and irreligion, and the indifference in all men for everything serious or sacred."—('Apology for the Liturgy and Clergy of the Church of England, 1785.') The difference at present was not more than this, that atheism and infidelity were less bold and systematic. But the study of divinity had almost ceased, and the attainments of the young clergy were of the most meagre kind. Shute Barrington, then bishop of Salisbury, a most respectable prelate, in a letter to his clergy in 1789, recommends to candidates for holy orders "a frequent perusal of the moral parts of both Testaments; with such works as Scott's 'Christian Life,' Mason on 'Self-Knowledge, and the Great Importance of a Religious Life.' " In the same year we find Archdeacon Paley recommending candidates for orders to study Taylor's 'Key to the Romans.' Taylor was an Arian minister amongst the Non-conformists. This was just a century after the Revolution. The nation had bounded forwards, during that period, in a wonderful career of wealth, power, and secular knowledge. But the standard of clerical literature, far from keeping pace, had actually stemmed the impetuous current of an advancing century, and gone backwards. It would be idle to speak of the theological sentiments of those whose training for the ministry consisted in the frequent perusal "of the moral parts of both Testaments," with the study of Mason on 'Self-Knowledge;' or of the orthodoxy of the disciples of Dr. Taylor, the Arian divine. It would be idle to inquire what influence men with such slender furniture could have with a generation who idolized the writings of Dr. Johnson and thrilled under the eloquence of Burke. Fervent piety might have made them respectable in a humble sphere, but under no circumstances could they have had much weight in England in 1789.

The latitudinarian divines still existed as a party, though their influence had greatly decreased. They were the movers in a project for the reformation of the liturgy, which excited no little interest about this period. "An association" of clergymen, gentlemen, and a few of the nobility, was formed. They met at the *Feathers Tavern*, and from hence their name. Professing to deplore the irreligion of the times, they would have applied a remedy worse than the disease. Nearly three hundred clergy-

men were members of the association. They signed a petition requesting the excision of the damnatory clauses in the Athanasian creed, and the relief of their consciences in the matter of subscription; and with this no doubt many of them would have been satisfied. But the laity went much further. In the war of pamphlets which this affair created, some of them spoke of the Reformation, the doctrine of the Trinity, and the thirty-nine articles, with ridicule. When the matter was debated in the House of Commons, the doctrines of the Church of England were treated with contempt. "I would gladly exchange all the thirty-nine articles," said one of the speakers, "for a fortieth, of which the subject should be the peace of the Church!" The doctrine of the Trinity was denounced by one of the writers of the association as "an imposition,—a deception of a much later date than Athanasius,—a deception, too, on which an article of faith is rested." The whole system of Christian doctrine, as taught by the Church of England, was assailed. The same writer affirms, with a degree of effrontery that might well rouse the indignation of the clergy, "that certain parts in the public service and doctrine of the Church are acknowledged by every clergyman of learning and candour to be unscriptural and unfounded; no man of sense and learning can maintain them."—('Hints, submitted to the Association, &c., &c., by a Layman. 1789.') Bishop Horsley answered with force, but with the unbecoming asperity which defaces all his controversial writings. He, again, was met by Gilbert Wakefield, whose name, now almost forgotten, was famous in this and many another controversy.

Wakefield, himself a clergyman, and the son of a clergyman, treated the doctrines of the Church of England with scorn, and avowed himself a Socinian. Christianity with him was a progressive science. We could interpret the Scriptures better than our fathers, because we lived at a later day. "Will you be hardy enough to assert," he exclaims with triumph, "that we of this day have not arrived at a better interpretation of the Scriptures than our ancestors at the Reformation? And what is the theology that is not founded on this interpretation, but priestcraft and tradition? . . . Yes; fresh labour, fresh learning, fresh ingenuity, will lead succeeding generations to the solution of difficulties insuperable to their predecessors; and the sun of

knowledge, I will be bold to prophecy, is but rising upon us, in comparison with the perfect day of our posterity." Of the liturgy he says, "I do not say that petty blemishes and errors disfigure the body of your liturgy, but it is deformed from the sole of the foot even unto the head with babbling repetitions, unscriptural formularies, unscriptural anathemas, and idolatrous invocations, unknown to the sons of God in former generations. I say and repeat it, idolatrous invocations." The worship of Christ is expressly included amongst these idolatrous invocations. "What a niggardly business do you make of revelation: only three persons in one God—a poor artist truly!" He boasts that these opinions were entertained by no small number of the clergy. But he was an intemperate writer, from whom such statements should be received with caution. He retired from the Church, and was attended in his secession by a few of the clergy.

In a different spirit Archdeacon Paley joined in the controversy, and published his 'Considerations on Subscriptions to the Articles.' He was (perhaps too painfully) conscious that his views were those only of a minority; and that the man who writes, as he expressed it, against a flourishing establishment writes with a halter round his neck. But if his views were those of any considerable number of the clergy, he certainly affords a lamentable proof how contemptuously they had broken loose from the restraints which their subscription was meant to impose. Bishop Watson too, of Llandaff, published, though anonymously, in 1790, 'Considerations of the Expediency of revising the Liturgy and Articles of the Church of England: by a consistent Protestant.'

Watson was a Socinian, and scarcely deigned to disguise his sentiments; but Paley was an earnest inquirer after truth, and lived to entertain far different views of Christian doctrine, and, we may add, of Christian morals, from those which he now expressed. He would have regarded the articles as terms of peace, and subscription as a negative act, binding the subscriber to respect rather than to defend them, and leaving his own private opinions open and unmolested. He protests against the injustice of framing articles in language more precise or stringent than the words of holy writ. The only use of confessions of faith is, he maintains, instruction; and this is not gained by any affectation of precision and metaphysical accuracy. All this, we conceive, admits of an easy answer. But one remark he makes to

which, we believe, no answer was attempted. "It is objected," he says, "to the articles of the Established Church that they are at variance with the actual opinions both of the governors and members of that Church; so much so, that the men who most faithfully and explicitly maintain these articles, get persecuted for their singularity, excluded from orders, driven from universities, and are compelled to preach the established religion in fields and conventicles." This was but too true.

There was indeed at this time, both amongst High and Low Churchmen, with few exceptions, a painful inconsistency between the doctrinal standards of the Church and their own divinity. Still, the remedies proposed by the clergy of the Feathers Tavern could not long satisfy men of honest minds. The subjects in debate are too momentous in their consequences—too nearly allied not only to the hopes and fears, but to the daily life and conduct, of Christians—to be thus lightly disposed of. To subscribe to the stupendous mysteries of the Christian faith with a doubt upon one's mind,—still more, to do this in order to obtain a living,—implies a laxity of principle for which no reproof is too severe. That the Church of England needed, and still needs reform, we must allow; and in no point more than in the article of subscription to the Book of Common Prayer;—a subscription the very meaning and extent of which is, while we trace these lines, once more the subject of public controversy. But it is well for England that the Feathers Tavern association was put down by the force of public opinion; for neither they nor their opponents were the men to be intrusted with the regeneration of the national Church.

Some advantages unquestionably arose from these discussions. To the cause of Church reform they were disastrous. For fifty years, if a voice were heard, which was a rare occurrence, in favour of a revision of the liturgy or canons, it was silenced at once by a reference to the Feathers tavern. Never since the Church of England existed was the subject more unwelcome. The rashness of the association opened a gulf, in which even the most moderate schemes of reform perished. The advantages it conferred were reaped by its opponents. From this period a marked improvement in the theology of our clergy is evident. Their sermons wore less of the character of a moral essay. Evangelical truth by degrees reappeared in the pulpit. The standards

of the Church, and especially the homilies, were read. The scriptural proofs of the thirty-nine articles were much insisted on, especially by the bishops in their examinations; and above all the sacred volume was no longer a neglected book.

The eighteenth century closed amidst hopeful signs rather than any positive triumphs to the cause of religion. Compared with our present standard the bishops were still luxurious, and the clergy slothful; and a deadening tone of secularity pervaded the Church.

Still the clergy, during the forty years which had elapsed since George III. was crowned, had greatly improved. The high morality of his own court, the miseries of the French revolution, the humiliation which the whole nation felt on the loss of the American colonies, and the overwhelming struggle in which we were then engaged with France, all had conspired to bring the nation to a thoughtful state. Profaneness began to be discountenanced, a proclamation was issued against vice and profaneness, and it was no longer fashionable to boast of infidelity. The morals of the people and of the higher classes were low. Still there was improvement. Good men who could glance backward to the beginning of the reign, spoke of it with astonishment, and of the prospects of religion with an enthusiasm which, at this distance of time, we can hardly understand. During this century the increase of national wealth was incredible. The low state of religion at its close may be stated in the single fact that the proportion set apart for the promotion of religion was almost too small for computation. The only two societies in connection with the Church, raised each a few thousand pounds a-year by guinea subscriptions. Our colonies were already found in every quarter of the globe, but there were few colonial chaplains, and, except in Canada, not one colonial bishop. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel struggled to support here and there a catechist or a chaplain amongst our countrymen abroad; but for our heathen subjects, numbering hundreds of millions, no efforts whatever had been made. Not one missionary had yet been sent out* amongst the heathen. At home

* Perhaps the Danish mission at Tranquebar ought to be excepted. It was handed over by the king of Denmark at the beginning of the eighteenth century to the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, and by them transferred soon after to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. But the clergy employed in it were Danes, or Germans, and members of the Lutheran Church.

the same apathy prevailed. The vast increase of London had rendered an increase of churches necessary. In the reign of Anne an Act was passed for building fifty churches, but only twelve were erected. Down to the close of the century, while the population increased enormously, very few were added. Amongst the wealthier classes this grievous want was in some measure supplied by proprietary chapels; but from these the poor were excluded. No parishes were subdivided, no churches built for their use; they lived and died in fearful depravity and ignorance. In the provincial towns there was the same state of things. Birmingham had grown from a country village to a population of fifty thousand, and four churches had been built. Manchester had increased with equal rapidity, and had also gained three or four new churches in the century. Liverpool, fortunate in its wealthy corporation, was rather better supplied. But the erection of a church was a difficult and expensive matter, and seldom accomplished without an especial Act of Parliament. In almost every instance, the new church was unendowed, and the minister was dependent on his pew-rents. Two evils followed: it was seldom placed in a poor district, and it was always inaccessible to poor people. Thus stood the Church of England at the close of the eighteenth century.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, England was plunged in a war which continued with little intermission till it was closed by the battle of Waterloo in 1815. Yet even then the Church of England showed the beginnings of a re-nascent life. The Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East was formed, as the century began. Its beginnings were but small, though Porteous, bishop of London, and Barrington of Durham lent it their powerful sanction. It had existed ten years before its income exceeded ten thousand pounds. For the whole question of missions was new to the English people and girt with prejudice. The East India Company refused to admit any missionaries into our Indian territories, and it was not till their charter expired in 1814 that their opposition was broken down in Parliament. In 1840 the whole bench of bishops, with one exception, joined this institution. Its income for the year 1853 amounted to about one hundred and thirty thousand pounds. Its proceedings, like those of all our religious societies, are laid before the public in an annual report.

The Bible Society was formed soon after. Its object being simply to circulate the Scriptures, its constitution was not limited to members of the Church of England. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge is at present in a highly efficient state, and issues vast numbers of Bibles, Prayer-books, and religious tracts. The National Society was formed about 1809 for the education of the children of the poor in the principles of the Church of England. Dissenters, joined with churchmen, had just at the same time taken a similar step, and formed the British and Foreign School Society.

We have enumerated only a few of the leading societies; a vast number have since sprung up within the Church, or of a mixed character, or entirely beyond its pale; so many, indeed, that it has become a serious question, whether they do not, to some extent, impede each other, and whether a real service might not be rendered to the cause of Christian philanthropy by a reduction of their number. But the question which more immediately interests a historian of the Church of England is their influence on the constitution of the Church itself. They have wrought in this respect, and are still working, a silent revolution. The Convocation has long been in abeyance. These societies have, to some extent, assumed its functions. And their composition, and the manner in which their influence is felt, are points of considerable interest. Their utility is their justification. Our constitution, both in Church and State, instead of being modelled to an ideal theory, or after an antique form, has grown up in obedience to the same law which has created in the nineteenth century these novel spiritual jurisdictions. Its perfection arises out of this circumstance—that it is the development of a long succession of remedies for experienced evils. It is practical in its working, chiefly because it is not the result of theory so much as of hard experience. In these considerations the power, equally sudden and extensive, of our religious societies, will find its best apology. So long as it is well employed, it excites no jealousy; it is even regarded with approbation; for it meets a great emergency, against which no provision had been made. And, while the societies faithfully discharge their trust, we feel persuaded that the great bulk of churchmen would be sorry to see their influence diminished, however *irregular* that influence may be.

In 1818, the spiritual destitution of large towns engaged the

attention of the Government, and a grant of a million of money was easily obtained from Parliament for building churches; and when this sum was spent, a second grant of half a million followed. By this time, however, the temper of the House of Commons was somewhat changed. The old parish churches, it was said, had been built by the landlords, who found a sufficient motive in the spiritual benefits derived by their tenants and themselves, and a sufficient recompense in the possession of the patronage; the work of building churches should be left to private benevolence, and not made a charge upon the country. These arguments were heard by the best friends of the Church with feelings bordering on dismay; but thirty years' experience has shown that they were just. The million grant was opportune. It directed public attention to a subject hitherto neglected; and by providing a few stately churches (for the grant was sorely squandered in buildings of immense size, and, for the most part, in a style of architecture at once expensive and insipid), pointed out the want of more; and when it was seen that no further assistance could be looked for, at the public cost, patrons and parishes began to turn their attention to the subject, and to tax their own benevolence. A new era in the Church began, the nature and extent of which may be stated thus:—When the century opened, the number of churches in England was, probably, not one more than when the last of the Saxon kings expired on the field at Hastings. The distribution and the number of parishes was the same, with very few exceptions. Since that time, most of our parish churches had, indeed, been rebuilt, and, probably, enlarged, and many new churches erected in the cities and boroughs. But, on the other hand, many ancient towns had fallen into decay. Before the Reformation, many parish churches had already crumbled into ruins, and after that event, many magnificent churches, which formed part of conventual institutions, were barbarously destroyed. Scarcely an effort had been made to overtake the spiritual destitution of a population which had more than doubled itself since the Reformation; and the ravages of that era of ecclesiastical spoliation were not yet repaired. The parliamentary grants were exhausted in 1831, having called one hundred and thirty-four churches into existence. But the total number of churches erected in the present century, now amounts to about two thousand six

hundred; at a cost, to private benefactors, and in addition to the parliamentary grants, of at least eleven millions, five hundred thousand pounds. To those who understand the English character, these facts, sordid as the reckoning may seem, will express, with impressive eloquence, how deeply seated is the Church of England in the affections of the nation, and how astonishing the zeal which has succeeded the languor of the eighteenth century.

The affairs of the Church during the last twenty years are too new for history. We have given in a separate article a sketch of the Anglo-Catholic or Tractarian movement; in which, however, we have confined ourselves nearly to statements gathered from their own documents. No mind is so calm and true—no spirit of man so deeply imbued with philosophical penetration, or so rich in wisdom—as to be able to assign to the occurrences of his own times their proper place, and to see them in their right dimensions; and the deeper his interest in them, the greater is the danger that he will exaggerate on the one side, or depreciate on the other. The present state of the Church of England, and the prospect which may lie before her, is a solemn—we may justly say—a sublime consideration; for it involves the fortunes of Christianity itself, and the religion of nations more numerous and more remote than those which were represented on the day of Pentecost. No institution since the world began—not the papacy in the summit of its pride—ever wielded such an influence as the Church of England now possesses. Her members, and especially her clergy, scarcely strike a note at home that is not listened to throughout the vast American republic, echoed in Canadian forests, repeated on the Ganges and the Indus, in burning Africa and in the countless islands and new-born continents of the southern seas. England multiplies herself, and establishes her hold upon the hearts of men, far beyond the limits of her colonies and her conquests, by her religion and her Church. These give the tone to millions who owe no allegiance to the mother-country, and who even, perhaps, dissent entirely from her episcopal communion.

It has been the fate of the Church of England from the beginning to be divided into parties. This is but, in another form, to say, that in doctrine she has avoided extreme opinions, and that in practice she has been, compared with other Churches, tolerant. Free opinion has had room to move. Her members

have recently been distributed, and the nomenclature seems to have taken root, into three great sections—High Church, Low Church, and Broad Church. Each of these has its subdivisions, and there are not a few zealous and fearless churchmen who protest against being classed with any party.

The High Church party, at the beginning of the century, possessed, with scarcely an exception, every post of emolument or honour. The universities were entirely under their control. The theological character of the Church was moulded in their hands; and under their management the Church had remained in a state of lethargy. The faults of this party were two. Their preaching was moral and didactic, rather than evangelical. Nor, as a body, did they maintain the high sanctity of the ministerial character. They were worldly-minded and eager of preferment, and, consequently, too obsequious to wealth and power. Yet they had great qualities. Many of the leaders were profoundly learned. During the reign of George III. they headed the scholarship of England, and, in many branches, its literature. There were shameful exceptions which seemed to court publicity; but, in general, they were men of pure lives, and in their homes they maintained a standard of morals far above that which prevailed in general society. Social life, after the two revolutions of America and France, passed through various forms. The time had arrived when every class of subjects began to be discussed by every class of men. A new infidelity was abroad; superficial, daring, insolent, and democratical. As far as argument went it was answered with a superfluity of evidence by Watson, Paley, and Porteus. The new infidelity assailed the Church in her most apathetic state, and was beaten and disgraced. But the clergy did not follow up their triumph. The very men whom they had convinced of the truth of revelation yawned and fell asleep beneath their sermons. They grievously wanted activity, and zeal, and courage. Thus, constantly falling behind the age in which they lived, the old High Church party was wearing out, when the Tractarian movement in 1833 breathed into them fresh life, and opened for them a new career.

The Low Church, or Evangelical, party of the present day must not be confounded with the Low Churchmen of Queen Anne. Entertaining the same principles on some points, on others they are in direct opposition to them. The Low Church-

men of the last century, as represented even by Tillotson, were charged by their opponents with latitudinarianism; by which term was meant, indifference to the doctrinal teaching of the New Testament, and a leaning to Socinianism. The accusation was not without some truth. They were, indeed, the first to introduce the cold moral essay in the place of the sermon, which the High Churchmen of a later age were contented to repeat. The Low Churchmen of the present day received that designation from their opponents; in the first instance, because they were said to be low in their views of Church discipline, and of the obedience which is due to the Church's authority. But, at the same time, they are charged, not with latitudinarianism, but its opposite, that is, Calvinism. Fifty years ago, the doctrines of salvation—we mean the atonement, the necessity of Divine grace, and the work of the Holy Spirit—were obsolete doctrines in the pulpit, and whoever preached them was immediately set down as a Calvinist. Horsley, bishop of Rochester, rebukes this clamour in one of his charges, in which he advises the clergy, with but little respect it must be owned for their attainments in divinity, “to be quite sure that they knew what Calvinism was before they ventured to decry it, lest,” said he, “in opposing Calvin, you should chance to fall foul of our common Christianity.”

The Evangelical party in the Church of England claims to represent, both in Church polity and doctrinal theology, the principles of the Reformation, as the Reformation was understood and practised, down to nearly the close of the reign of James I. Amongst them are to be found some who hold the Divine right of episcopacy and the necessity of an apostolical succession; but these are the exceptions. In general they maintain, rather, that episcopacy is a wise and ancient form of government than that it is essential to the constitution of a Church. They do not hesitate to recognize Presbyterian Churches, nor do they deny the claims of orthodox dissenters. Orders may be valid, though irregular, and Churches may be defective in many points and yet possess all that is essential to constitute a Church. The unity of a Church consists in the spiritual dependence and vital union which each member of it possesses with Christ, the Church's head. In doctrine, the Low Church party place justification by faith only in the foreground; they preach the total fall of man in Adam, and the necessity of the new birth; and they differ

from High Churchmen in asserting that this new birth, or regeneration, does not of necessity take place in baptism, and they deny that it is inseparable from it. Of both the sacraments, indeed, they hold that they do not necessarily convey grace; but only to those who partake of them aright. In their ministrations the doctrines of redemption are made prominent. They have occasionally been charged with neglecting to inculcate the ordinary duties of life; but Antinomianism, which would be the result of such neglect, seldom makes its appearance in their flocks. The party is often termed Calvinistic; but the word is not very accurately employed. Many are Evangelical Arminians, and not a few, who are content to accept the name of Calvinists, hold, in fact, the disputed points nearly as Arminius held them. It is singular, perhaps, that amongst the evangelical clergy the writings of Calvin should be little read, and, indeed, scarcely known. A society was formed within the last few years for the publication of Calvin's works; it met with little encouragement, and entailed, we have understood, a heavy loss on its projectors. About the same time the Parker Society was instituted, for republishing the divines of the English Reformation, and met with complete success.

The Low Church party are a minority in the Church of England. Of its wealthier benefices and posts of honour they fill but few; but their influence is great. The manufacturing towns are almost entirely in their hands. Their zeal in promoting missions abroad, and plans for spiritual improvement at home, are sufficiently attested by the fact, that their favourite societies—the Church Missionary, and the Pastoral Aid Society, and some others—are supported with a degree of liberality which places them at the head of all institutions of that kind in connexion with the Church of England. The severe contests of the last twenty years with the Tractarian party have been highly beneficial to the evangelical clergy. They have made them feel the necessity of theological learning, and especially of a deep and accurate acquaintance with the sacred writings, and with the history and constitution of their own Church.

The Evangelical party, as now constituted, arose in the days of Hervey, Berridge, Romaine, Venn, and Simeon, in the last century. The Broad Church party, of whom we have still to speak, appeared scarcely ten years ago. It has hardly assumed

the coalescence of a party, but its influence is great already ; and we must notice the infant struggles, though of comparatively a handful of resolute men, whose aim seems to be to impress a new character upon the Church of England.

Dr. Arnold, of Rugby, may be considered the founder of this school. Not that he designed to form a party, still less to lead one ; but the character of his mind led him to detect the infirmities of existing institutions, while his courage and his dauntless love of truth compelled him to expose them. Dr. Arnold's pupils arrived at the universities just as the Tractarian movement was at its height. A few of them were dazzled and fell in with it at once. A much larger proportion set themselves to investigate the foundation of those claims they heard so constantly asserted on behalf of tradition and of priestly authority. In the presence of a powerful body, which claimed the absolute prostration of their judgment in deference to whatever Catholic antiquity had imposed, they naturally fell into the opposite extreme. Nothing was to be received without investigation ; nothing was too sacred for discussion. The whole question of inspiration, of a providence, of the existence of a God, was debated anew. One or two Oxford men seemed to verge to atheism itself ; but this extravagance passed over, and its abettors quitted the university. In a few years, however, a party was formed, which is rather known at present by its attacks upon the dogmas of its opponents than by its own fixed principles. It is equally opposed to the Evangelical and High Church parties.

Several leading writers and preachers of this the Broad Church party have been charged with Socinianism ; with denying the true divinity of Christ, and, in the orthodox sense, his atonement. They, certainly, have spoken of man's natural goodness, and of his moral power, in a strain which is scarcely consistent with the doctrine of the corruption of human nature. But they deny the justice of these charges, and when thus accused declare that they have been misunderstood ; and while there is much in their writings which it is difficult to reconcile with the doctrines of the Church of England, still it is right to give them the benefit of this disclaimer.

Such, with respect to parties, is the present state of the Church of England. There are various other subjects, more or less connected with the interests of these parties, by which we are at

this moment agitated. One of the chief of these is the revival of Convocation. This is warmly advocated by the High Church and Tractarian party, and as warmly opposed by the other sections of the Church. The reasons on both sides are obvious. Convocation, as legally constituted, would fairly represent the views of High Churchmen only. In the upper house their influence would preponderate. The lower house, consisting, in the Convocation of the province of Canterbury, of about one hundred and forty-six members, would not be accepted as a fair representation of above ten thousand clergymen. The laity would be entirely unrepresented, so would the Church of Ireland, and the English Colonial Church throughout the world; and yet the colonial bishops, being suffragans of Canterbury, would fall, with their dioceses, within its jurisdiction. The province of York has a separate Convocation, and it cannot safely be assumed that the two legislatures would work together. These are a few of the difficulties which surround the question.

We are compelled to pass over many subjects of importance, and hasten to a close. We shall conclude with a brief account of the constitution of the Church of England. There are at present, 11,728 benefices in England and Wales. This number includes the ancient parishes, and 1,255 ecclesiastical districts, or new parishes. The ministers of each of these are incumbents: rectors who receive the whole of the parochial tithe; vicars who receive only the small tithe, in those parishes in which the great tithe of wheat and grain were seized by Henry VIII., and is now possessed, as private property, by laymen, or in some cases by collegiate bodies; and, lastly, perpetual curates, the legal designation of the incumbents of the new district churches, and of a few ancient chapelries. They are supported by endowments, or, in many instances, simply by the rental of the pews; the incumbents are often assisted by stipendiary curates, who are not beneficed, and whose stipend the incumbent pays out of his own resources, or, of late years, by the aid of a grant from the Pastoral Aid Society, or the Additional Curates' Fund. The average income of the incumbents is about 270*l.* per annum; that of a curate varies from 80*l.* to 120*l.* In the southern counties almost every parish has its glebe or parsonage-house; but in the province of York this is rather the exception than the rule, especially in the large towns and recent districts. With the exception of

pew rents in the case of new churches, the Church of England is supported from her own property—property of a more ancient date than any now existing in England. The tithe was granted long before the Norman conquest: the glebe lands are, for the most, of such antiquity, that no records are preserved to show the period of their donation to the Church. A Commission was issued in 1830, to inquire into the amount and distribution of the ecclesiastical revenues; they reported thus:—

	£.
Bishops - - - -	181,631
Deans and chapters - -	360,095
Parochial clergy - -	3,251,159
Church-rates - - -	500,000

Total annual revenue £4,292,885

When the Commission was issued in 1830, many abuses existed which, mainly in consequence of its report, have since been removed. It was no unusual thing for a clergyman to hold two or three livings, with, perhaps, the addition of cathedral preferment. These pluralities were a grievance of ancient date; they were found in the Anglo-Saxon Church, and went on increasing till the Reformation. No effectual stop was then put to them; and during the last century the evil had again increased. Many of the bishops held livings *in commendam*; the bishop of one diocese was often the dean of another cathedral, or the rector of a remote parish. All this is done away by statute law. No clergyman can hold more than one living with cure of souls. The incomes of the bishoprics, then very unequal, have been adjusted, and profess to average from 4000*l.* to 5000*l.*; Durham, London, and Winchester, and the two archbishoprics, are more liberally endowed; the see of Canterbury is 15,000*l.* a-year. But the present disposition of cathedral property is far from giving general satisfaction; it is the subject of constant discussion in the House of Commons, and will probably soon be dealt with in a decided manner, and made more subservient than it has hitherto been to the interests of religion.

The church-rate is a tax which the parishioners only, legally assembled at a parish vestry, summoned for that purpose, can impose upon themselves. In the neglect into which the Church had fallen at the beginning of the century, it was often profusely

squandered, and became, in consequence, unpopular, especially where dissent prevailed. In Liverpool, Manchester, and Birmingham, it is no longer collected ; and the legislature has expressed some hope of being able to place it upon a better footing. The uses to which a church-rate can be legally applied are simply these two : the preservation of the fabric of the church, and the necessary expenses of public worship. But the law is extremely tenacious on both points : the sustentation of the edifice does not include its decoration or enlargement ; and the necessary expenses of public worship will not cover the salary of an organist, or even of a parish clerk, much less the luxury of stoves. Within these limits the impost would have been scarcely felt ; it is of high antiquity, and existed in the Anglo-Saxon Church.

The constitution of the Church of England is episcopal ; but during its long and vigorous existence it has received some peculiar features from every successive age. Most of the bishoprics, as they now exist, were founded in early British or in Saxon times, and the boundaries of some of them still show the limits of a kingdom of the heptarchy. Seven were created by Henry VIII., on the ruins of suppressed abbeys, and endowed with the confiscated property ; two others, Manchester and Ripon, were created by Act of Parliament in 1837. There are twenty-five bishops for England and Wales, who are barons of the realm, and sit in the House of Lords, and the bishop of the Isle of Man, who has no seat, or rather, has a complimentary seat and title, but may not vote ; over these the two archbishops preside. The colonial Church is placed beneath the care of the archbishop of Canterbury. Spiritually, the archbishops are on a level with their episcopal brethren, *primi inter pares* ; they exercise no spiritual powers except what are common to every bishop. They consecrate their suffragan bishops, assisted by some of the episcopal body. The duty of the bishops is to govern the Church, each within his respective diocese, and to examine and ordain those who may be appointed to vacant cures within it. In the Church of England bishops only administer the rite of confirmation. Every cathedral church has its dean and chapter, corresponding to the rector and curates of a large parish : these offices are much coveted as posts of honour and emolument. Originally, the dean and chapter were the bishop's council ; but this is no longer the case : they have no right to interfere with advice in

matters not connected with their own cathedral, nor can the bishop claim their assistance, and divide his responsibilities with them. Except as a reward of learning, or a retreat for worn-out zeal, these capitular bodies have at present no practical value.

The bishop is assisted by his archdeacons, chancellor, and rural deans. The office of the former is of high antiquity amongst us: it existed among the Anglo-Saxons, but with this difference, that the archdeacon, who now rules, under the bishop a territorial section of the diocese, was then only a member of the cathedral body. There are several archdeaconries in each diocese; their total number is seventy-one. The archdeacon is a clergyman of the cathedral, and generally possesses a benefice in the diocese besides. There is, perhaps, no officer in the Church of England whom the clergy regard with more respect, or whose post is really more important. The limits of his archdeaconry are not so great as to make his work oppressive; he cultivates a friendly intercourse with the clergy, and is acquainted with them individually. He is appointed by the bishop, whose interest it is to choose for his archdeacons those who possess already the confidence of his diocese. His preferment is not such as to place him at too great a distance from his brethren; nor need he embroil himself in those political contentions from which his bishop, a member of the legislature, cannot always escape. Practically the archdeacon is a petty bishop. A thousand important questions which must otherwise be brought before their diocesan by the clergy, are easily adjusted by the archdeacon. And in cases of difficulty, he becomes the medium of communication between the parochial clergy and their bishop. The churchwardens are placed beneath his control. Once a year he makes a visitation, to which they are summoned; he then administers to them a declaration (by which the former oath of office has been recently superseded) which they subscribe, engaging to discharge their duties lawfully; they make their presentations, or formal complaints, of whatever they conceive to be amiss in their parishes, or in the conduct of their clergy, and they receive his instructions. For these purposes the archdeacon presides in his ecclesiastical court, in which, generally speaking, the churchwardens' business of every kind is arranged and finally determined. Of late years the archdeacons have summoned the

clergy to these visitations, and delivered a formal charge, in which they enter upon the theological questions of the day.

The chancellor of the diocese is its ecclesiastical judge, appointed by the bishop. It is not necessary that he should be in orders, but he must be "one that is learned in civil and ecclesiastical laws, and reasonably well practised in the course thereof." We cannot profess to give the faintest outline of the business which belongs to these ecclesiastical courts, and to the Court of Arches to which, as their superior, appeals may lie. We must be satisfied to mention that all the ecclesiastical courts are governed by canon law; but the canon law, is cumbrous and impracticable; and Acts of Parliament are made in every session in the vain attempt to fit an antiquated Italian code for a free people and a Protestant Church in the nineteenth century. Greatly will that man be honoured who shall undertake and execute the gigantic task of preparing a code of spiritual law, scriptural, simple, inexpensive, which shall meet the wants, and command the respect, of the Church of England. All the ecclesiastical courts are subject to the sovereign, who may summon to his aid a judicial committee of the privy council. By this court, the decisions of the Court of Arches were lately overruled, in the case of *Gorham versus the Bishop of Exeter*.

The rural dean, though invariably a clergyman beneficed in his own deanery, is now a secular officer whose chief business is to inspect the parish churches and report to the archdeacon or bishop, if they fall into decay. Originally the proper office of a rural dean was the inspection of the lives and manners of the clergy and people within their district, in order to report them to the bishop. He holds no court, nor is the office judicial. Still it is found very useful; and rural deaneries of late years have been introduced, or revived, in some of the northern dioceses where they did not previously exist.

After all, the strength of the Church of England lies not so much in the wealth of her endowments, in her ancient associations, or her well-ordered constitution, as in the piety, zeal, and wisdom of her episcopate and her parochial clergy. To them it is intrusted, to no small extent, to mould the national character. The education of the higher classes, the management of the public schools and of the ancient universities, is entirely in their hands. From week to week, in nearly fifteen thousand

public assemblies, they are heard in silence; and with a strong predisposition in their hearers to receive their statements as faithful expositions of the word of God; and the results, though far short of what should have been accomplished, are not altogether disproportionate even to a machinery so vast. If the reader would really ascertain what is the amount of good effected by the parochial clergy, let him propose the question to himself in another form; let him ask himself, what would be the state of England, not in three centuries, but in the lapse of as many weeks, if the clergy were silenced, if the churches were closed, if the parish school were deserted by the minister and his family, if his household ministrations and domestic example were withdrawn, if the charities, of which he is the soul and mainspring, lost his assistance, if the fountain of theological literature, fed in every shape by the incessant contributions of a regularly-educated clergy, suddenly dried up? Let him calmly put the question to himself, what would there be left in England worth preserving, whether of domestic purity in humbler life, or of high virtue and integrity, to say nothing of religion, in any rank? How far could voluntary churches supply the dismal void? These considerations may lead the reader, as they have led thousands, whether churchmen or pious dissenters, devoutly to thank God for the preservation of the Church of England.

On the question of patronage, a subject by which almost every Protestant church in Christendom has been at one time or other disturbed or driven to the brink of ruin, the Church of England is not without her perplexities. Her theory is this:—the patron represents the original founder of the church. In return for so great a benefit conferred upon the parish, he who built and endowed a church, was intrusted with the choice of his own minister in perpetuity; he became, in other words, the patron of the living. In a few instances this right is still vested in the descendants of the original patron, but these must be rare. The right of patronage is now a saleable commodity, transferred, or sold by auction, to the highest bidder, like any other real property; and the patronage of the Church of England is consequently dispersed wherever wealth has found its way: 1,144 benefices are in the gift of the crown; 1853 in that of the bishops; 938 in that of cathedral chapters and other dignitaries; 770 in that of the universities and collegiate bodies;

6,092 in private persons, and 931 (vicarages or perpetual curacies) in the incumbent of the mother-church. The good and evil of this system are so nearly balanced, that thoughtful and wise men are to be met with every day, who, as they look at the favourable or dark side of the question, are disposed to cherish it as the nearest approach that is ever likely to be made in practice to a perfect theory ; or, on the other hand, to reject it as unjust and full of danger. Its evils lie upon the surface, and they are by no means slight. It has a tendency to promote a subservient spirit, inconsistent with the courage and simplicity of the Christian minister, towards those in whose hands patronage is vested, for upon them advancement in the Church depends. It excludes many valuable men from livings of importance, and thrusts many incompetent men into stations for which they are but meanly qualified. It fills our choicest parishes with men rather well bred than deeply learned—men of courtesy and benevolence rather than a fervent zeal ; and consequently the parish church wears to the poor man too frequently something of a cold and aristocratic air. He is spoken to by his superior in the presence of his superiors, and he retires to the dissenting chapel, not that he prefers dissent, but that he meets with sympathy and feels himself at home. Patronage is either held by individuals or vested in corporations or in trustees ; but the individual may have little sense of religion, he may give away his church on considerations of friendship, or he may look upon it merely as a provision for a younger son. Corporate bodies have less conscience than individuals. Previous to the Act for reforming Municipal Corporations, twenty years ago, most of the livings in our ancient towns and boroughs were in the gift of our municipal corporations. Their appointments, on an average, were certainly not better than those of private patrons ; religion slumbered in our great towns not less profoundly than in our country villages. Several trusts have been formed of late years for the purchase of advowsons (an advowson is the right of presentation in perpetuity), and none can deny them at least the praise of pure disinterestedness. They have expended large sums to obtain in return the right of placing zealous ministers, of evangelical principles, in populous places. But all these various methods of patronage labour under the same defect—the congregation whose spiritual interests are to be committed to the new pastor, and the parish-

ioners amongst whom, as their friend or their example, he is to live and die, have no voice whatever in the momentous choice. The party most interested looks on with indifference, or hope, or silent resignation. The English lay churchman, in the most important event that can affect his parish during his life-time, finds everything done for him—it is only on trifling matters that he is consulted. He may help to build the school, he may discharge the duties of churchwarden, but with regard to the appointment of the minister he has no right to speak.

On the other hand, the system is better in practice than in theory, and it has even some peculiar advantages. In the first place, the variety of patrons and of patronage is productive of much good. The national Church of a great and free people can only exist when it is wide and comprehensive. It must either reflect the general character of the nation, or become the Church of a mere section, and then its ruin follows. Now, under the present system, every variety of orthodox sentiment is represented in the Church of England: we say of orthodox sentiment, because the patron can, in the first place, only nominate to his vacant living one who has twice passed the ordeal of the bishop's examination, first for deacon's and secondly for priest's orders. He cannot obtrude a layman on the bishop; he can only select one out of an order of men all of whom have been pronounced competent for the ministry, and are actually engaged in it. Neither is his nomination final; he "presents his clerk" to the bishop, the bishop institutes him. The cases are extremely rare, it is true, but there are not wanting instances in which the bishops have refused to institute the clerk on the ground of his incompetency or unsoundness. The patrons again are to be found in every class and every profession. Bishops, peers, soldiers, citizens, country gentlemen, and clergymen. Their interests, on the whole, are those of their parishes. Their sense of religion may be assumed to be as deep as that of most other men; and it must be much less so if a solemn conviction of the importance of acting as in the sight of God, did not in some measure influence their minds. And if the present system of patronage were abolished, can a better be substituted in its stead? Would it be safe, for instance, to trust the parish, in every instance, with a veto, or with the absolute right of election? Could any system do more than is now accomplished? Popular election might encourage ready and

declamatory men of popular talents; would it promote, in fair proportions, men of quiet thought and unpopular learning, or of a really deeper tone of piety? No system can make efficient ministers. The present law of patronage dooms many who deserve a far different lot to poverty and an obscure post, but it silences none: the Church still has the benefit of their services. The most popular system could but make use of the materials which it finds existing: in short, the improvement which the Church needs is to be sought more in the improvement of the clergy themselves in learning, zeal, and holiness, than in any essential changes that could possibly be effected in the law of patronage.

By an Act of Parliament of 1834 a new kind of patronage has been introduced, which is, to some extent, a compromise between the ancient system of patronage in private hands and a free election by the parish or congregation. It permits any body of subscribers to erect a church, and if it be endowed with at least a thousand pounds, to claim the patronage, which they must vest in not less than three, nor more than five trustees, elected by themselves. These trustees become the patrons, and they fill up their own vacancies. If the parishioners of the new church were allowed themselves to fill up the vacancies as the trustees die off, this mode of election would perhaps become sufficiently popular to satisfy the demands of most of those who argue in favour of the parish choosing its own ministers, while it would avoid the evils which seem to be inseparable from all popular elections in sacred things. As it now stands, however, this Act is exceedingly beneficial. Of the new churches lately built a very large proportion are placed beneath its operation; and in almost every instance which has come under our knowledge, the minister thus chosen by trustees is acceptable to the people. It is extremely difficult at present to obtain subscriptions from the public towards the erection of any church where the patronage is not thus vested in trustees.

The authorities for the foregoing article are far too numerous to be recited. The principal facts, however, are to be met with in the following writers:—

1. Period ending at the Reformation.—*The History of Ingulph*, which contains the laws of William the Conqueror and the settlement of the English Church on the ruins of the Anglo-Saxon; *The History of Gaimar*; *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, to the death of Stephen, 1154; *The Chronicle of Florence of Worcester*. (The above are reprinted in 'The Church Historians of England,' London, 1853); *The Life of*

John Wycliffe, by Le Bas; *Foxe's Acts and Monuments*; *Fuller's Church History*, and documents in the notes to Oxford edition.

2. Reformation to the Commonwealth:—*Heylin's History of the Reformation*; *Burnet's History of the Reformation*, and especially 'The Collection of Records and Original Papers' published in the Appendix; *Lives and Works of the Reformers*, published by the Parker Society, especially those of Cranmer, Ridley, Hooper, and *The Zurich Letters*, in 2 vols.; *Paul's Life of Archbishop Whitgift*; *Brook's Life of Cartwright*; *Walton's Life of Hooker*, and *Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity*; *Neale's History of the Puritans*.

3. From the Commonwealth to the year 1688:—*Lord Clarendon's History of the Great Rebellion*; *Heylin's Life of Laud*; *D'Ewes's Journal*; *Whitelock's ditto*; *Speeches in this Great and Happy Parliament, 1642* (the overthrow of episcopacy); *The Ordinances of the House of Commons, 1640-50*; *Hetherington's History of the Westminster Assembly*; *Life and Works of Bishops Jeremy Taylor, Sanderson, and Hall*; *Ditto of Richard Baxter*, especially his *Autobiography*, published by Silvester; *Bishop Short's History of the Church of England*; *Carwithen's ditto*.

4. From 1688 to the accession of George III. in 1760:—*Burnet's History of his own Times*; *Lives of Tillotson and Sancroft*; *Lathbury's History of Convocation*; *Ditto of the Nonjurors*; *Sermons, Tracts, and Pamphlets of the day on religious questions*; particularly the Revolution settlement; Sacheverell and Hoadley's affair; Convocation, &c., &c.; *Life and Writings of Bishops Butler, Atterbury, Newton, Bull, Dr. Sherlock*, and others.

5. From 1760 to the present time, the history of the Church of England is that of the literature, religion, and politics of England, and is only to be learned by an extensive acquaintance with our best writers on those subjects. For the statistics of the Church at the present time we are partly indebted to the Census of 1852.

FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.—This powerful body was formed by an act of secession from the Kirk or National Church of Scotland in 1843. In its articles of faith, its mode of worship, or even its ecclesiastical constitution, it differs from the mother-church in no respect whatever. It retains the Westminster Confession and the Assembly's Catechism; and wherever it obtains a footing proceeds to establish the forms and discipline of the ancient Kirk. Nor has it seceded in consequence of any misgivings with regard to the connection of Church and State, or from any unwillingness to share the endowments which the State confers, but solely, to use its own language, because the State through its Parliament, and the decrees of its civil courts, had essentially changed the conditions under which the establishment had hitherto acted.

This painful difference, which has rent in twain the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, and ended in the secession of nearly half her clergy, and a large proportion of the Scotch nation, arose upon a single question, namely, the right of patrons.

Ever since the union, a large party in Scotland had felt aggrieved. The patrons claimed the right of intruding their own nominees ; the parishioners claimed a veto ; and the two parties, intrusionists and non-intrusionists, were arrayed against each other. At last, the non-intrusionists retired and formed the Free Church of Scotland.

We must take a rapid survey of the history of this question, without which it is impossible to understand the position of the Free Church. One circumstance we must mention at the outset, which, had it always been borne in mind, would have simplified the point at issue to English minds, and removed some prejudices both from Scotch and English students of the question. It is this—a Scotch patron, if he claims the absolute right of appointing a minister to his vacant living, claims that which no English patron possesses. The difference is this—in England the patron can only appoint a clerk in priest's orders ; that is, one whom the bishops have pronounced, after examination, competent to the ministry, and who is, in the fullest sense, an ordained presbyter. But in the Church of Scotland, ordination does not precede, but follows, the appointment to a living. The *probationer* whom the patron names is a youth on trial. He must obtain a parish, or pastoral charge, before he can be ordained. It is unnecessary to explain in how many ways this adds to the patron's power, and how much it deepens the anxieties of the parishioners. The English clergyman, when presented to a living, has been at least two years a curate ; his character and abilities are known ; and his principles have been tried. In Scotland the probationer, beyond his university career, is untried ; and his fitness for the post to which he is appointed, must always be a matter of some anxiety. Besides, the bishop in England has a veto, which, as in the Gorham case, is sometimes though seldom exercised. In the Gorham case the Bishop of Exeter refused to institute the patron's nominee on the charge of unsound doctrine. His decision was overruled by the Queen in Council it is true ; but not because he had used a power which did not belong to him, but because his objections to Mr. Gorham were decided to be untenable. This explanation will show to English readers, the importance of the point at issue in Scotland ; and it may explain to Scotchmen something of the apparent indifference with which England has regarded their unhappy

quarrel. South of the Tweed, in short, the subject is very little understood. But we must trace its history.

The Church of Scotland has always been extremely tenacious of State interference. It has considered not only that the independence of the Church was compromised, but that its purity was affected, whenever it submitted to secular authority. Christ is the sole head of the Church: in whatever degree the interference of the State is permitted, to the same extent are the rights of Christ denied. "And what then," says Dr. Buchanan, the historian of the Free Church, "was the real nature of the question which gave rise to the ecclesiastical convulsion of 1843? It was a religious question; the question of Christ's sole headship, and supremacy over his body, the Church. From the very outset it had its root in that fundamental doctrine, and in the end it was upon that doctrine the entire controversy turned." This principle does not interfere with the question of Church establishments. The State may claim control over an unestablished Church; it may leave an established one, independent. The ground that the Church has received a civil establishment is by no means the only one on which the State may assail her spiritual freedom; nor will the simple renunciation of such an establishment always suffice to protect her from the encroachments of the civil power. The Church is only safe when the State can be brought to recognise those principles which are essential to her. The plea of all states for invading the rights of the Church is that there can be no *imperium in imperio*; to which the answer is, that the Church is not an *imperium in imperio* which can give the State a right to control it. The *imperium* of the Church is over a different and distinct province from that which belongs to the *imperium* of the State. It is no rival power. Its field is conscience, that of the State is person and property. The one deals with spiritual, the other with temporal things. And there is therefore not only no need, but no possibility of collision between them, unless the one intrude into the other's domain. That this controversy about the doctrine of Christ's headship has been so little heard of out of Scotland is explained, according to Dr. Buchanan, by the fact, that by none of the Reformed Churches out of Scotland was the doctrine thoroughly investigated, or the attempt ever made to bring it to bear practically upon the framing of their constitu-

tion, or the administering of their affairs. The English Reformers are considered highly blamable for consenting to the supremacy of the State ; and Switzerland and Germany, it is said, have changed the pope's supremacy for an Erastian despotism—the despotism of the civil power. In France the Protestants never gained sufficient power to try the question. Thus, in Scotland, the Reformation assumed certain peculiarities by which other Reformed Churches are not so strongly marked ; and of these the most striking is the jealousy with which it guards against the interference of the State. Such are the statements of the Free Church advocates.

The laws of patronage in Scotland display this spirit of independence in a strong light. By an Act of the Scottish Parliament in 1567, “anent the admission of them which shall be presented to benefices,” it is ordained “that the examination and admission of ministers shall be only in the power of the Kirk :” and the patron seems to have been left with no other power than that of simply recommending a candidate. He may appeal to the superintendent and ministers of that province where the benefice lies, and desire the person presented to be admitted. If they refuse, an appeal is to be made to the General Assembly of the whole realm, “by whom the cause being decided shall take end as they discern (decree) and declare.” It does not appear, from this Act, whether the patron might again present, or how often he might repeat his nomination of an unsuccessful candidate ; or whether the Assembly, when a difference of this kind occurred, filled up the vacant living ; probably this, however, was the case. When this Act was passed, of all the parochial benefices of Scotland, amounting to nearly a thousand, three-fourths were in the hands of ecclesiastical patrons ; and only two hundred and sixty-two, to whom this Act applied, in the hands of laymen. As the Reformation advanced, the greater benefices, which had been connected with religious houses, were erected into temporal lordships. These were bestowed upon private individuals, who, under the name of titulars or lords of erection, became the patrons of the parochial benefices. These patronages were all along complained of by the Church party as unjust and indeed illegal. Still the patronage seems, in fact, to have remained with the people. “The First Book of Discipline” expressly declares that it appertaineth to

the people and to every several congregation to elect their minister. And the "Second Book of Discipline," A.D. 1578, condemns lay patronage as "having flowed from the pope, and corruption of the canon laws; in so far as thereby any person was intruded or placed over churches having cure of souls." "This manner of proceeding," it says, "has no ground in the word of God, but is contrary to the same, and ought not to be permitted." These laws, whether of the Church or Parliament, were of course distasteful to the court and the nobility; and several Acts were passed, in 1584, which, for a time, deprived the Kirk of its liberty and independence. These transferred the spiritual supremacy to the crown, and annulled all spiritual jurisdictions which were not sanctioned by the king and Parliament. One of these Acts re-established prelacy. All of them were received with abhorrence by the people, and were repealed soon after, namely, in 1592. They are generally termed in Scotland the Black Acts. In this settlement of 1592 the king's supremacy was explained to be conceded only so as to be in no way prejudicial to the independence of the Church; and, with regard to patronage, the presbyteries were directed to ordain all presentations according to the discipline of the Kirk; but they were to ordain and admit only those who being duly qualified were presented by the lawful patrons. In the recent struggle this clause was claimed by both parties; by the patrons, who insisted that it obliged the presbytery to accept the patron's nominee; by the Free Church party, who insisted that it obliged the presbytery to do nothing inconsistent with the discipline of the Kirk as established by the Act of 1567.

It is unnecessary to pursue the history during the period which elapsed till the revolution of 1688. Events of great importance occurred, but they are related in the history of the Scottish Church; and the question of patronage was held by the Presbyterians (for several attempts were made to supersede the ancient Church by the introduction of prelacy) to remain in the state in which it was left by the Act of 1592. On the accession of William III., after the revolution, it was therefore necessary to reassert once more the principles and rights of the ancient Kirk. This was done by the abolition of episcopacy in 1689, and the restoration of the Presbyterian clergy to the livings from which they had been ejected. By an Act of 1690, the Westminster

Confession of Faith was engrossed *verbatim* in the statute-book, and thus made part and parcel of the law of Scotland. Above all, the Act "concerning patronage," of 1592, was re-enacted, with this remarkable exception—that the restricting clause, whatever its force might have been, was now expunged, and in its stead a clause was introduced in the following terms:—"In case of the vacancy of any particular church, and for supplying the same with a minister, the heritors of the said parish, being Protestants, and the elders, are to name and propose the person to the whole congregation, to be either approved or disapproved; and if they disapprove, that the disapprovers give in their reasons, to the effect the affair be cognosed upon by the Presbytery of the bounds, at whose judgment, and by whose determination, the calling and entry of a particular minister is to be ordered and concluded." It appears to us that the interpretation thus affixed to a doubtful clause irritated the patrons, who considered, no doubt, that it deprived them of their just rights; indeed, it seems to have superseded them altogether; and we are not surprised to find that they seized the earliest opportunity of once more fighting the battle which at the revolution they seemed to have lost.

The union of the two crowns was effected in 1707. One of the conditions on which the Scottish Parliament assented to the measure was, that the worship, discipline, and government of the Church should be effectually and unalterably secured. These conditions were accepted by the English Parliament, and became the basis on which the union, as regards the Kirk of Scotland, was effected. Yet in 1711 an Act was passed from which the recent convulsions and the existence of the Free Church take their origin. It was "an Act restoring patronage." It repealed the Act of 1690, in so far as the same relates to the presentation of ministers by heritors and others, and declares, that "from and after the 1st day of May, 1712, it shall and may be lawful for her Majesty, her heirs, and successors, and for every other person or persons who have any right to patronage or patronages of any church or churches whatever, in that part of Great Britain called Scotland, to present a qualified minister or ministers to any church or churches whereof they are patrons." Bishop Burnet, who was himself of a Scotch family, and well acquainted with all the chief actors in the business, says that this bill was passed

“merely to spite the Presbyterians, who, from the beginning, had set it up as a principle that parishes had, from warrants in Scripture, a right to choose their ministers.” Sir Walter Scott seems to have taken a similar view of the matter. “The Act,” he says, “which restored to patrons the right of presenting clergymen to vacant churches, was designed to render the churchmen more dependent on the aristocracy, and to separate them in some degree from their congregations, who could not be supposed to be equally attached to, or influenced by, a minister who held his living by the gift of a great man, as by one who was chosen by their own free voice.” The decision of the British House of Commons was received in Scotland with much dissatisfaction. Commissioners were sent by the Assembly to remonstrate before the House of Lords, and were heard by counsel at the bar. But the Presbyterian party appears to have been weak in both houses. The bill was passed in the Lower House by 173 votes to 76, and in the Lords almost without discussion. Whatever the merits of the bill itself, there is but too much truth in the following reflections of Dr. Buchanan:—“Many, in all probability, of the English members of the legislature neither knew nor cared much about the matter. In 1711 national prejudices in the south were particularly strong, and were, no doubt, easily enlisted by the Government of the day in favour of any scheme that promised to spite the Presbyterians of Scotland.”

Attempts were made by the Assembly, from time to time, to obtain the repeal of the measure, but without success. Still, it was so unpopular that, for some years, patrons were afraid to use the power invested in them; contenting themselves with using such private influence as their position gave them to procure a call for (that is, to induce the parish to invite) the individual whom they might wish to nominate. “Competing calls” were of frequent occurrence, and the patron’s nominee was by no means in general the successful candidate. It was not till 1720 that a patron ventured to assert his right of patronage in the face of the opposition of the congregation. The patron in this instance failed. The first instance of a minister settled against the will of the people appears to have taken place at Aberdeen, in 1725. But for fifty years after the Act of 1711 the Church frequently enforced the non-intrusion principle; pronouncing judgments in her courts which show, either that she refused to re-

cognise the Act of Queen Anne, or else that, in her view of it, it did not really interpose any legal obstacle to the full exercise of her own discretion. She still decided for herself, in these instances at least, under what circumstances she would ordain any man to the office of the sacred ministry, or induct him in a cure of souls. By degrees, however, the rights of patrons became more absolute; and it was decided in the courts of law by lord Kaim, lord Monboddo, and other great legal authorities, that the right of the stipend being a civil right, the ecclesiastical power might settle the minister in the parish, but they could not secure him the stipend. "It would be a great defect," said the former, "in the constitution of a government that ecclesiastical courts should have an arbitrary power in providing parishes with ministers. To prevent such arbitrary power, the check provided by law is, that a minister settled illegally shall not be entitled to the stipend. This happily reconciles two things commonly opposite. The check is extremely mild, and yet is fully effectual to prevent the abuse."

But about the middle of the last century a large party—the Moderates—sprang up, who had, in truth, very little respect either for the ancient creed of the Scottish Church or its ancient discipline, and who became the devoted allies of the patrons. Both parties had hitherto admitted the constitutional necessity of a call from the parish as a foundation of the pastoral relation. It was the policy of the Moderate party to make this call a mere form, and practically of no importance. They began by holding that the call of heritors and elders was sufficient; and these being few in number, and often influenced by the patron, were easily dealt with. Next they maintained that any call, if signed by a few of the parishioners, would serve the purpose; and this the patron could always procure. Thus, towards the close of the century, the rights of patrons had become absolute in Scotland; but the victory cost many a fight, and more than one large secession. Sometimes the intruding minister was carried over the heads of a reclaiming congregation by the help of a band of soldiers, and thus instituted in his pastoral care. This occurred in the instance of Mr. Syme of Alloa; he was the brother-in-law of Robertson the historian, the leader of the Moderate party, and grandfather of the present lord Brougham. But these were disastrous victories. An overture, presented to

the General Assembly, in 1768, by the minority of that house, declares that the progress of schism in the Church was already alarming; that more than one hundred meeting-houses had been erected; that the seceders amounted to more than one hundred thousand; and that the effects of this schism were beginning to appear, and likely to take root, in the most populous towns. The interests of the country and the peace of the Church were threatened. But the claims of the patrons seem at length to have been urged by Dr. Robertson and the majority of the Assembly with a rigour with which the civil courts would scarcely keep pace. It was even moved in 1782 to set aside the call altogether; but the Assembly declared, by a majority, that it was agreeable to the immemorial and constitutional practice of the Church, and ought to be continued. Thus the practice of the Church of Scotland was, all must confess, in strange contrast with her principles; and the administration of ecclesiastical affairs was conducted upon a system both unconstitutional and disingenuous. The forms prescribed were studiously observed with ostentatious seriousness, while their spirit was as openly defied. The pastoral relation was still based professedly on the call of the congregation. "The paper called a call," as the Moderate party in derision termed it, was still produced at every ordination. In solemn terms it invited the presentee, in the name of the parishioners, to take the oversight of the flock, engaging on their part to render him "all due obedience in the Lord." On the day of ordination it was placed in his hands; and the question was solemnly proposed to him by the presbytery as heretofore, "Whether he closed with this call, and engaged in the strength of the Lord faithfully to do the work of the ministry among that people?" It was possible enough, and indeed it happened not unfrequently, that the congregation at the moment of this solemn farce, instead of calling the presentee, were protesting against his settlement amongst them, as a gross outrage upon their spiritual interests, and a direct violation of their rights.

It is no slight evil when even, by mere efflux of time, ancient forms, to the observance of which we are bound under solemn obligations, have been emptied of their original uses and left, as it were, on the deserted shore in a putrescent state. The man who is introduced into a grave office through a parade of unreal

forms, is prone to sink his responsibilities to the level of the worthless ceremonial by which he was inducted ; and to transfer to the one something of that levity without which it is impossible to regard the other. But the case is worse when divines and legislators, who should be the guardians of national veracity and honour, insist upon retaining forms which are not only obsolete, but false ; and still worse, again, if they force men, in the most solemn actions of their lives, to prevaricate with their own consciences. And from such transgression it is not easy to clear the Moderate party of this period.

The question of patronage, after the slumbers of half a century, once more started into life in 1834 ; but now it appeared no longer as a question purely ecclesiastical. It was the watchword of a great party which had lately sprung into existence, and of whom the ancient champions for the purity of the discipline of the Church, though still the leaders, were in respect of numbers a small proportion. The Reform Bill of 1831 had placed in the hands of the Scotch people those rights which had previously been vested in a few hundred individuals. The possession of power so vast, acquired upon a sudden, could not fail to suggest both a consciousness of strength and a disposition to make use of it. There had never been wanting a succession of men, in the General Assembly, to remind the nation that it was defrauded of its spiritual rights. And at this crisis the men who maintained this position were second in eloquence, and power, and popularity to none of the Presbyterian clergy when the Church was in her palmyest days. It is enough to repeat the names of Chalmers, Candlish, Gordon, Welsh, and MacFarlane, as the leaders of the party ; though many others might be added of scarcely inferior note. It was natural and indeed inevitable, that the acquisition of political power should make the people more impatient than before, of what they at least considered a disgraceful thralldom in matters spiritual. The patronage question grew at once into a national grievance. Anti-patronage societies were banded together, on the ground of putting an end to the present system, and restoring to the people their long-lost rights, in the great towns of Scotland and even in villages and rural parishes. At the hustings the abolition of patronage was made the test. A committee of the House of Commons was appointed, as early as the spring of 1834, to consider the whole question of patronage

in Scotland, and to inquire how far it was in accordance with the constitution and principles of the Church of Scotland. The committee was satisfied with merely reporting the evidence which had been laid before it; probably because the General Assembly had undertaken the discussion of the question about the same time.

The great movement, which terminated in the disruption of the Church, was in fact begun in the General Assembly in the year 1832, when overtures or petitions were presented from three provincial synods and eight presbyteries, recommending that measures should be taken to restore the parochial call to its proper efficiency. The motion that these overtures should be remitted to a committee was lost on a division by a majority of forty-two. But the gathering strength of the non-intrusionists may be seen in the fact, that when the Assembly met again, instead of eleven there were forty-two overtures, with the same prayer, from the inferior ecclesiastical courts. It was no longer doubtful that a crisis was at hand. The leaders of the non-intrusionists now resolved upon their mode of action; and in 1833 the question of the veto, introduced by Dr. Chalmers and supported by Lord Moncrieff, one of the leaders of the Scottish bar, was debated in the General Assembly. Dr. Chalmers spoke with great moderation and, in our judgment, with equal wisdom. "He had no great faith," he said, "in the efficacy of a renovated constitution, to bring about a renovated spirit either amongst ministers or people. It seemed to him like the problem of the best construction for a house, with the misfortune of having nothing but frail materials to build it with; in which case the study of the fittest proportions for durability and strength were of little avail to them. It should be remembered after all that we have nothing but human nature to piece and build with; and that with such materials we expect in vain to make good our escape from corruption, by passing from one form to another. It is for this reason," he said, "that however much I may sympathize with many of my friends in my wishes for a pure and efficient Church, I do not sympathize with them in the extravagance of their hopes. I will not be a party to the delusion, that our Church is necessarily to become more Christian, by the constitution of it becoming more popular, or by the transference of its authority from the hands of the few to the hands of the

many." Yet he blamed with great severity "the enormity, the unfeeling outrage, which, in the exercise of a reckless and unprincipled patronage, had often forced an ungodly pastor on a sorely-aggrieved people." He concluded with a motion declaratory of the law as, according to his interpretation, it then existed. The Assembly was called upon "to declare that it was, and had been ever since the Reformation, a fixed principle in the law of the Church, that no minister shall be intruded into any pastoral charge contrary to the will of the congregation. That inasmuch as doubts and misapprehensions had existed, it further declared it to be their opinion, that the dissent of a majority of the male heads of families resident within the parish, being members of the congregation, and in communion with the Church for a period of at least two years, and *whether such dissent should be expressed with or without reasons assigned*, ought to set aside the patron's nominee. Except, indeed, it could be clearly shown that the dissent was corrupt and malicious in its character, or that it had no reference to his ministerial gifts and qualifications, either in general or with reference to that particular parish." After a long and eloquent discussion the motion was lost by a small majority. For the motion of Dr. Chalmers there were 137, for the amendment of Dr. Cook 149. Dr. Cook admitted that, for many years, the power of the Church in this matter had been "practically narrowed," but he objected to the project of giving effect to the dissent of the congregation *without compelling them to assign their reasons*. So nearly it seems were the two parties of one mind that a single point of difference now parted them asunder. There are few Christian men we hope, and certainly those few will not be found amongst the number who, deeply versed in the Church's history, have come to the conclusion that, of all the injuries she has received, the most deeply wounding are those which, in intestine broils, she has inflicted on herself, who will not join with us in an expression of the deepest sorrow that, if this indeed were the only point at issue, no compromise was effected. But from this day forward the breach became wider on both sides, and the disposition to conciliate never seems to have returned on either.

The next year the non-intrusionists still gaining strength, a measure similar to that which Chalmers had proposed was introduced in the General Assembly by Lord Moncrieff, and carried,

It was called the veto law ; and asserts, as a fundamental law of the Church of Scotland, that no pastor shall be intruded on any congregation contrary to the will of the people. The veto of the major part of the male heads of families, members of the vacant congregation, was a sufficient ground for the rejection of the patron's nominee. It differed from Chalmers' motion only in this, that the dissatisfied party was, if required, solemnly to declare, in the presence of the presbytery, that he was actuated by no factious or malicious motive, but solely by a conscientious regard for his own spiritual interests, or those of the congregation. During the five years in which this law was in force (for it was set aside by subsequent decisions in the civil courts, confirmed by the House of Lords), two hundred vacancies occurred, and in eight or ten cases only the veto was exercised ; but it is affirmed by the non-intrusionists, that in no instance was the opposition factious ; a fact no doubt greatly to the honour of the Scotch character, but hardly decisive as to the manner in which the veto might have worked after the lapse of time. It was the interest of every congregation, if they wished to retain the veto, to use it only at first with exemplary caution, and this they were the more likely to do since, as the result soon showed, they were hardly safe in their possession of the boon. In England we should conceive the concession of such a measure in the highest degree injurious to the true interests of the national Church. But it does not follow, we admit, that the same evils which would attend it here must arise in Scotland. It is a question upon which only those who have a deep acquaintance with the institutions, the history, and the national character of the Scotch are competent to form a very decided opinion. Dr. Chalmers, in later years, while he utterly rejected the claim to a veto without reasons given, as *an inherent Church right* belonging to a Christian congregation, (which was the ground assumed by some of his coadjutors,) still thought that it might safely be, and ought to be, conceded.

Passing by some events of importance, we arrive at the famous Auchterarder case, which finally brought this great dissension to a crisis. The Earl of Kinnoul presented a licentiate, Mr. Young, to the vacant living of Auchterarder, of which he was the patron. A licentiate is still a layman ; his license merely implies, that the Church is so far satisfied with his capacity, learning, and other

qualifications, as to sanction his preaching on probation. Mr. Young having preached on trial at Auchterarder, the congregation was dissatisfied, and the call was signed by three persons only, out of a parish of three thousand. Thus the presentation bore the signature of the patron ; but the call could scarcely be said to bear the signatures of the congregation. The veto was now interposed, and out of three hundred and thirty persons entitled to vote, two hundred and eighty-seven dissented from the call. The question being carried to the presbytery was by them referred to the superior court, the synod of Perth and Stirling, and by them again to the General Assembly. The decision here was against the patron's nominee, on the ground that the call was not a good or sufficient call. Against this sentence Mr. Young attempted to appeal to the synod of Perth at first ; but soon afterwards this appeal was dropped, and he announced his intention of carrying the case before the civil courts. It was accordingly tried before the Court of Session, the highest of the civil courts in Scotland. The highest legal talent was employed on both sides, and the pleadings, which began on the 21st of November 1837, closed on the 12th of the succeeding month ; and, on six subsequent days, the judges in succession delivered their opinions ; deciding, by a majority of eight to five, in favour of the patron, and of Mr. Young, his nominee. This decision, in fact, declared the veto law a nullity ; and the act of the presbytery who had carried out the veto, an illegal act. In May 1838, the General Assembly warmly took up the question, which had now become that of its own spiritual supremacy, and instructed its law officer to lodge an appeal before the House of Lords. According to its own view of the subject, the Church's spiritual jurisdiction was seriously menaced. If the blow had not yet been struck which should lay her prostrate beneath the secular power, the arm, it was said, was lifted, and there was no want of will to strike. By a majority of one hundred and eighty-three to one hundred and forty-two, the Assembly at the same time passed a resolution, thus :—

“That the General Assembly of this Church, while they unqualifiedly acknowledge the exclusive jurisdiction of the civil courts in regard to the civil rights, and emoluments secured by law, to the Church, and the ministers thereof ; and will ever give and inculcate implicit obedience to the decisions there-

ament, do resolve—that as it is declared in the Confession of Faith of this national established Church, that the Lord Jesus Christ is King and Head of the Church, and hath therein appointed a government in the hands of Church officers distinct from the civil magistrate, and that in all matters touching the doctrine, government, and discipline of the Church, her judicatories possess an exclusive jurisdiction, founded on the word of God, which power ecclesiastical (in the words of the Second Book of Discipline) flows from God and the Mediator Jesus Christ, and is spiritual, not having a temporal head on earth, but only Christ, the only spiritual King and Governor of his Kirk ; and they do further resolve, that this spiritual jurisdiction, and supremacy, and sole headship of the Lord Jesus Christ, on which it depends, they will assert, and at all hazards defend, by the help and blessing of that great God, who, in the days of old, enabled their fathers, amid manifold persecutions, to maintain a testimony even to the death for Christ's kingdom and crown ; and finally, that they will firmly enforce obedience to the same upon all office-bearers and members of this Church, by the execution of her laws, in the exercise of the ecclesiastical authority wherewith they are invested.”

Nearly a year elapsed before the case was heard in the House of Lords. The judgment confirmed the decision of the Court of Session. Lords Brougham, and Cottenham, then Lord Chancellor, were the law lords by whom the House was guided ; and neither of those high authorities “ could see any difficulty in the question.” Both of them holding, that the Church, in the matter of the fitness of a presentee, “ must strictly limit herself to judge of his personal qualifications, that is, his life, literature, and manners.” The decision gave, as may be supposed, great dissatisfaction to the non-intrusion party in Scotland. It deprived, they said, the congregation of all standing or influence in the settlement of their minister : if he were not grossly ignorant or notoriously immoral, they had no ground left on which they could object to his intrusion. The interpretation of the law lords, they maintained, was altogether new—new to every party of churchmen in Scotland. But the mere novelty of this interpretation was even less alarming than those general views as to the constitution of the Church, and her subjection to the State,

upon which it was obviously based. It was in vain she boasted of a constitution and polity possessed, not by virtue of any donation of the State, but by virtue of her Divine institution by Christ. It was in vain her advocates pointed to the many statutory recognitions of her government and discipline as flowing to her from her great spiritual head. She found, after all, that she had no freedom except that which was expressly granted by statute law. "If this were conceded," said Rutherford, the solicitor-general of Scotland, "one-half and more than one-half of the privileges of the Church would be disallowed, and she would be rendered more bare of honour and prerogative, than even any ordinary co-operation whose privileges may be asserted and ascertained by an appeal to the general practice of the constitution."

The unfortunate cases of Lethendy, and Marnoch, now took place. In the former of these the civil courts opposed and crushed the Assembly. In the latter the Assembly insulted and defied the courts of law. The cases though complicated as to their details, and sufficiently tedious in their process, may, as to their general bearings, be briefly stated. The Crown as patron nominated Mr. Clark to the living of Lethendy; he was vetoed by the people and rejected by the presbytery of Dunkeld. An appeal was made to the General Assembly on behalf of Mr. Clark, but they confirmed the sentence of the presbytery. We must here state that, as Mr. Clark was some time after degraded from the ministry on account of drunkenness, it may fairly be supposed that, in this instance, the veto was not exercised without a sufficient cause. A year afterwards, however, that is in November 1837, Mr. Clark brought an action against the presbytery before the Court of Session. But the Crown, lending, in this instance, its sanction to the decision of the Church, and regarding the parish as vacant in consequence of the veto, issued another presentation in favour of Mr. Kassen whom the people of Lethendy willingly received. The Court of Session interfered, and by their interdict forbade his ordination by the presbytery. The presbytery appealed for protection to the General Assembly, and the General Assembly threw its shield over them, and commanded the presbytery of Dunkeld to proceed with the ordination of Mr. Kassen to be the minister of Lethendy. They did so, and were at once summoned to appear at the bar of the

Court of Session, at Edinburgh, on the 14th of June 1839. And now the civil powers and the Church of Scotland were in direct collision ; and one of those scenes occurred which, however graphic on the page of history, seldom fails to end in the destruction of one or other of the parties concerned in them.

‘ Since the days,’ says a Scotch writer, “when ministers and people were in use to be brought up for fine and imprisonment, for refusing to acknowledge the supremacy (in matters spiritual) when claimed for the king, no such scene had been witnessed in our supreme courts.”

“ In front, elevated on their bench, clothed in their robes of human authority, and invested with the stern insignia of secular power, sat the judges, twelve in number. Opposite stood another court, a court of Christ—called to their bar for executing the spiritual functions conferred by the Lord Jesus on his Church, in ordaining a brother to the holy ministry, and intrusting him with the spiritual charge of a portion of Christ’s flock, in disregard of the mandate of the judges of a secular tribunal, who had no commission to exercise rule in the house of God. The members of this court of Christ, eight in number, knew well that the judges before whom they stood had the power to consign them, during pleasure, to a jail ; leaving their homes desolate—and more painful still, their people without the ordinances of religion. They also knew that a single word of acknowledgment of the court’s power, and of regret at having disregarded it, would have secured them at once from any hazard. Otherwise the temper of the court afforded apparently but little hope.”—*Buchanan’s Ten Years’ Conflict*.

“ A very few of the most respected ministers of Edinburgh and its neighbourhood, sufficient to countenance their brethren, but not to have the appearance of a bravado, attended them to the bar. First one, and then another, and then a third followed them. A frown darkened the brow of the court ; but the crowd closing, as if all had come in, nothing was said. After a moment’s pause the crowd opened again, and another entered. It was Dr. Gordon. No sooner was his venerable and noble head seen emerging from the crowd at the end of the bar, than the smothered feeling burst from the bench in a command ‘to turn out those clergymen from the bar ;’ but an indignant and solemn remonstrance from lord Moncrieff checked this attempt. ‘ Gen-

tlements,' said the lord president, after their names had been read over, and the citation read, 'I have to ask you, one and all, whether by yourselves, or counsel, you have anything to say in explanation or vindication of your conduct?' "

The presbytery made their defence, simply disclaiming any intention of disrespect to the court, and declaring, that in ordaining Mr. Kassen to the office of the ministry, and admitting him to the pastoral charge, they had only acted in obedience to the superior judicatories of the Church, to which, said they, in matters spiritual, we are subordinate, and to which, at ordination, we vowed obedience. By a narrow majority of the judges present the clergy escaped imprisonment, and were subjected only to the solemn censure of the court. In pronouncing the censure, the lord president took occasion to say that the ordinary punishment for disobedience to the law by a breach of interdict was imprisonment. "I am directed by the court," he said, "to signify, that it was not without considerable difficulty their lordships brought themselves to adopt this lenient measure; but they desired me to state, that if you, or any other presbytery of the Church, were ever brought before them again under similar circumstances, you and they will be dealt with in a very different manner." Whether such threats were wise, and whether they became the dignity of the Court of Session, are points which need not be discussed. Taken in connection with the censure, which was the only sentence the court actually passed, they excited no other feeling in Scotland among the non-intrusionists than indignation, mingled with that disrespect which never reaches courts of justice until nations are on the verge of some violent catastrophe. The presbyters of Dunkeld were revered as confessors; and the enthusiasm of Scotland in their behalf rose still higher when it was known that they were amerced in enormous expenses for this judicial process; and higher still when Mr. Clark, having subsequently raised against them an action on the plea of their having illegally excluded him from the parish of Lethendy, obtained a decree for damages to the extent of several thousand pounds.

The case of Marnoch, in the presbytery of Strathbogie, proved to be of still greater moment than that which we have just related: it brings before us the Church of Scotland in successful hostility to the civil powers. The parish became vacant in 1837, and was presented by the trustees of the patron, the earl of Fife, to a

nominee who was exceedingly distasteful to the parishioners; only one of whom, a publican, could be prevailed upon to sign the call. Under the direction of the Assembly, in 1838, he was accordingly rejected. Mr. Edwards, the nominee, appealed to the Court of Session, and obtained a decree, "commanding the presbytery to proceed with the examination of Mr. Edwards, with a view to his induction." The presbytery, by a majority of seven to three, in great alarm immediately complied; and so doing placed itself in contumacious opposition to the General Assembly. The subject was brought before a commission of this, the superior court, in December, 1839. The refractory seven were requested to retrace their steps; or, at least, to desist from further proceedings until the General Assembly should meet in May. They refused, however, either to express contrition for the past, or to make any promise for the future. The commission immediately adopted the severe measure of suspending them altogether from the functions of the holy ministry. This resolution was moved by Dr. Candlish, and seconded by Dr. Chalmers—a circumstance in which we mark the stern determination with which this unhappy contest had now infected some of the wisest and gentlest natures. The seven presbyters sought the protection of the civil court, to suspend the sentence; and it interdicted their opponents in consequence, forbidding them to preach in the churches, churchyards, or schoolrooms of the seven silenced ministers. Still the Assembly refused to submit. The seven parish churches were now closed upon the sabbath, against the incumbents by the sentence of the commission, against the ministers appointed by the General Assembly to supply their place by the interdict of the Court of Session. Dr. Chalmers, Dr. Gordon, and others of high standing in the Church, went forth however, in the face of interdicts served personally on each of them, and preached in fields and barns through the district of Strathbogie. It was now evident that the supreme civil court had lost its power, for its interdicts were treated with contempt, and it made no further effort to vindicate its authority. It was a state of things too full of peril to be suffered to continue on either hand. The call for legislative interference grew loud and urgent from both sides, and it was fondly hoped that the government of the day would speedily apply some effective remedy for these disorders.

In the year 1840, Lord Aberdeen at length introduced the bill which ever since has borne his name,—the government, of which he was a member, having declined to legislate. It utterly failed to give satisfaction to the non-intrusionists, and was at once denounced as unsatisfactory by a large majority in the General Assembly. It was in consequence abandoned in the House of Lords. The reasons of their dissatisfaction are stated thus by Dr. Chalmers:—"The three things which are fatal to the bill are, first, the obligation laid on the presbytery to give its judgment exclusively on the reasons, instead of leaving a *liberum arbitrium* in all the circumstances of the case. Secondly, because the bill, in its whole tone and structure, subordinates the Church to the civil power in things spiritual. Thirdly, it is substantially the same measure with that which was moved for by Dr. Cook and rejected by the Church." In short, the bill left untouched the decision of the House of Lords in the Auchterarder case, and disallowed the veto law of the General Assembly; it did not permit the congregation or the presbytery to exclude a nominee without assigning reasons for so doing.

The rejection of this measure was the signal for a burst of deep and bitter feeling on both sides. Lord Aberdeen, in the House of Lords, and Sir Robert Peel, in the House of Commons, condemned in the strongest terms the conduct of the General Assembly. The latter said, "he was exceedingly sorry that the bill was not to receive the sanction of the legislature. If it had come to that house of Parliament, it should have had his cordial support. He could conceive that a bill might pass the house introducing more of the principle of popular election into the choice of ministers—he could conceive that to be possible—but he was quite certain that no bill containing terms more favourable to ecclesiastical authority would ever pass. The spiritual authority now claimed by the Church of Scotland he believed to be unjust and illegal; and he would not, for the purpose of conciliation, give his support to it."

Another unsuccessful attempt to heal the breach, by the intervention of an Act of Parliament, was made, in the House of Lords, by the Duke of Argyll, on the 6th of May, 1841. The bill which he introduced was substantially a repetition of the Assembly's veto law. The veto might be exercised by all male communicants above twenty-one years of age without assigning

a reason ; but the veto might be set aside if it could be proved to be factious. The House of Lords having read the bill a first time, agreed that it should stand over until it had been discussed in the House of Assembly. In that house, after a long discussion, it was declared to meet the wants of the Scotch Church by a majority of more than two to one. But the Parliament was suddenly dissolved, and the administration broken up. The bill, of course, perished ; and as Sir Robert Peel was at the head of the new administration, it was evident that the non-intrusionists had nothing to expect from the new Parliament.

The year following was full of important incidents. Other ministers, following the example of the presbytery of Strathbogie, were silenced and deposed. The friends of the non-intrusionists attempted to introduce the Duke of Argyll's bill into the House of Commons, and were defeated. The General Assembly met on Thursday, the 19th of May, 1842, before the Marquis of Bute, as lord high commissioner. The ancient pomp and martial cavalcade were viewed by Scotchmen with strange feelings, in which enthusiasm was not unmixed with apprehension and deep disquietude. The whole kingdom of Scotland was rent into two parties, nearly equal in point of numbers ; or if the non-intrusionists were the minority, or if they wanted the support of the nobility and the ancient lairds, the loss was more than counterbalanced by the perfect union of the party, its concentrated aim, by the eloquence of its leaders, and the resolution and determination of purpose felt by every member of it. Since the Reformation, no European state had been so profoundly agitated on religious subjects. And the future seemed all uncertain, so nicely were parties balanced, even to the leaders on both sides.

Two great discussions took place in the Assembly, the one on patronage, and the other on the claim of right, which at once disclosed the firmness of purpose which now prevailed in that venerable house. And these, it was observed, were the only two questions on which Dr. Chalmers spoke, for he now threw himself entirely into the cause of the non-intrusionists, and had indeed become their leader. It was moved and carried by a large majority, and the motion was supported by Dr. Chalmers, that patronage, as both in itself a grievance and the main cause of the difficulties in which the Church had been involved, ought to

be abolished. The claim of right was moved the very next day by Chalmers himself. It is a document of great length, and was carried by a large majority. It is considered as a declaration of high importance; the solemn league and covenant of the free Church of the nineteenth century. Dr. Buchanan thus speaks of it: "The drawing up of this memorable document had been intrusted to Mr. Dunlop, and seldom, if ever, was a task so weighty and responsible more admirably performed. Its style grave and perspicuous, its tone calm and solemn, its facts well chosen, accurately stated and lucidly arranged, its argument direct and powerful, its conclusion clear and resolute; it must ever be regarded, by all intelligent and candid readers, as every way worthy of the great occasion on which it was to be employed, and of the remarkable event with which it is destined to be inseparably associated in the ecclesiastical history of Scotland." Of this "claim, declaration, and protest anent the incroachments of the Court of Session," for thus it is entitled, it is difficult, within the limits to which we are confined, to give a summary. It sets out with asserting the sole headship of Christ over the Church. To the civil magistrate is committed the power of the sword, or civil rule, as distinct from the power of the keys, or spiritual authority, expressly denied to him. It cites the various statutes by which the independence of the Church and its civil rights and privileges have been sanctioned or secured; it asserts that these rights were acknowledged at the union of the two kingdoms, though grossly infringed by the act of queen Anne in restoring patronage. It then goes on to notice the Auchterarder decision, of which it complains that it violated the decisions of the civil courts ever since the union, and a long enumeration follows of the facts on which this assertion rests, and it charges the civil courts in conclusion with exercising powers which they did not legally possess, invading the jurisdiction of the Church, subverting its government, and oppressing its ministers, in usurping the power of the keys and claiming jurisdiction in matters wholly spiritual. Inasmuch as they had regulated by their decrees the ordination of laymen to the office of the holy ministry, admission to the cure of souls, Church censures, the preaching of the word and the administration of the sacraments. All this was done, it affirms, in opposition to the doctrine of God's word as set forth in the Confession of Faith, which was confirmed by statute in

violation of the constitution, in disregard of the treaty of union, and of express enactments of the legislature.

And upon these grounds the General Assembly claims, in the name of the Church, and on behalf of the nation and people of Scotland, as of right freely to possess her liberties and to be protected against the encroachments of the Court of Session; and they declare that they cannot carry on the government of Christ's Church subject to the coercion attempted by the secular court, nor can they assist to intrude ministers on reclaiming congregations. A protest follows to this effect—that all acts of the parliament of Great Britain in alteration of or derogative to the government, rights, discipline, and privileges of the Church, being by the terms of the Union antecedently secured, and so reserved from the cognizance and power of the imperial parliament, are and shall be in themselves null and void, and of no legal force or effect, as also all sentences of courts of civil law. And finally, the General Assembly appeals to the Christian people of this kingdom, and of all the Churches of the Reformation throughout the world, who hold the great doctrine of the sole headship of the Lord Jesus over his Church, to witness that it is for their adherence to that doctrine that the Church is subjected to hardship, and the rights so sacredly pledged and secured to her are put in peril. It concludes with a solemn appeal to Almighty God; “and they especially invite all the office-bearers and members of this Church, who are willing to suffer for their allegiance to their adorable King and Head, to stand by the Church and by each other in defence of the doctrines aforesaid, and of the liberties and privileges, whether of office-bearers or people, which rest upon it; and to unite in supplication to Almighty God that he would be pleased to turn the hearts of the rulers of this kingdom to keep unbroken the faith pledged to this Church in former days, by statutes and solemn treaty, and the obligations come under to God himself to maintain and preserve the government and discipline of this Church in accordance with his word; or otherwise that he would give strength to this Church, office-bearers and people, to endure resignedly the loss of the temporal benefits of an establishment, and the personal sufferings and sacrifices to which they may be called, and would inspire them with zeal and energy to promote the advancement of his Son's kingdom, in whatever condition it may be his will

to place them ; and that, in his own good time, he would restore to them these benefits, the fruits of the struggles and sufferings of their fathers, in times past, in the same cause ; and thereafter give them grace to employ them, more effectually than hitherto they have done, for the manifestation of his glory."

The claim of right, moved by Dr. Chalmers and seconded by Dr. Gordon, was carried by a large majority, namely 241 to 110. But it must not be forgotten that the minority was powerful both in numbers and in force of argument, and that the measure was regarded by them as one of extreme violence. The great subject at issue was the meaning of the doctrine of the headship of Christ. Dr. Cook, the leader of the Moderate party, said, "What I maintain is this ; that when the general doctrine that Christ is the head of the Church is conscientiously held, there is nothing wrong in believing that there may be ground for diversity of sentiment as to what is comprehended under that headship in all cases, particularly where there are not express and unambiguous declarations of Scripture upon the subject. Much as we have heard of spiritual independence, and much as has been written or spoken about it, it is still of moment to define it, or to endeavour to form clear notions of what is included in it."

The Marquis of Bute was requested, as Lord High Commissioner, to lay it before the Queen, as supreme head of the State. It was presented through the Minister, but, beyond a courteous acknowledgment, it had no results. Sir James Graham addressed a letter in reply to the General Assembly, in which the claim of right was pronounced to be unreasonable, and the intimation was conveyed that the Government "could not advise her Majesty to acquiesce in these demands." A second decision on the Auchterarder case, in the House of Lords, confirming a decision of the Court of Session, by which Lord Kinnoul and Mr. Young, who had raised a second action against the presbytery of Auchterarder, were entitled to damages (laid at sixteen thousand pounds) for compensation, in consequence of Mr. Young's rejection, reduced the non intrusionists to despair. If the first decision put a new interpretation on the law of patronage, this second decision gave, as they believed, a new interpretation to the relationship in which the Church stood in reference to the State. The determination of the supreme civil court of the United

Kingdoms was, in short, that the Court of Session controlled the decisions of the General Assembly, and so imposed upon the Church an obligation to obedience which she could not disregard without exposing herself to civil penalties. To them this appeared to amount not simply to a change in the constitution of the Scottish establishment, but to its entire reversal. The question of non-intrusion was no longer in the foreground, it had become subordinate to discussions of much higher moment; and the conviction was evidently forcing itself upon the mind of Chalmers and his friends that no other course was left for them but to withdraw from the Church of Scotland. "I have no idea," wrote Dr. Chalmers, on hearing of the second Auchterarder decision, "of an instant resignation; we must not go out in dribblets, but in a compact and entire body. * * * I apprehend the final step should not be taken till the next session of Parliament, but meanwhile a manifesto, setting forth both our principles and our determination, should be put forth as soon as may be, and subscribed by all our friends in the Church."

It was resolved by the leaders of the non-intrusionists to invite their clerical brethren to a convocation, in order to discuss the duties of the crisis, and calmly to survey the perils by which they were surrounded. It was attended by four hundred and sixty-five ministers, of whom four hundred and twenty-three concurred in a series of resolutions to the effect that the supremacy of the civil courts over those of the Established Church was an usurpation of the power of the keys to which they could not in conscience submit; and, consequently, that no measure professing to bring relief could be satisfactory to them which did not effectually protect the Church against the exercise of the civil powers in time to come. It was followed by a second series, which concluded with a solemn declaration that it must be the duty of the Church, and consequently, in dependence on the grace of God, it was the determination of the brethren, then assembled, if no such measure were granted, to tender the resignation of their civil advantages, which they could then no longer hold in consistency with the full and free exercise of their spiritual functions. They would cast themselves on such provision as God in his providence might afford; and they would still maintain uncompromised the principle of a right scriptural connection between the Church and State; and they entered their solemn protest against

the decision of the civil courts and the House of Lords, as contrary to the law and constitution of the country as hitherto it had always been understood. Many of the clergy who had signed the first resolutions hesitated for a time. They were adopted at first by two hundred and seventy voices, but the number swelled, before the convocation closed, to three hundred and fifty-four. Means were taken to lay before the public the sentiments of the assembled pastors. To convey to the community at large early and authentic information of what had taken place, the convocation closed its sittings in public, and three of its members were appointed to address the meeting. An address to the people of Scotland was prepared and widely circulated over the whole kingdom; and, lastly, a memorial was drawn up, embodying the two series of resolutions, and distinctly proclaiming their intentions for the future. It was addressed to Sir Robert Peel and the other members of the administration, and this was the last effort of the non-intrusionists ere they quitted the Church. With this remonstrance the ten years' conflict closed.

A feeble attempt was made by their friends in the House of Commons. On the 7th of March, Mr. Fox Maule moved that the House should resolve itself into a committee to take into consideration the grievances of which the Church of Scotland complained. He was ably followed by Mr. Campbell, Sir George Grey, Mr. Rutherford, and Mr. Stewart; but the grievances which distracted Scotland, and at least absorbed the attention, and oppressed the consciences of some men of rare endowments, moral and intellectual, found little favour in a British House of Commons. As in the House of Lords, so here again, our great statesmen saw no difficulty whatever in the case—none but such as arose from the perverse understanding and rebellious temper of the non-intrusionists. Sir James Graham “thought that the sooner the House extinguished the expectation of the Church the better, because he was satisfied that any such expectation never could be realized in any country in which law or equity, or order, or common sense prevailed.” Lord John Russell, “greatly regretting a calamity which he saw impending,” in answer to the argument that the Church claims supreme power only in spiritual, and not in civil matters, said, “he could not conceive the connection between Church and State carried on under such conditions.” Sir Robert Peel thought “that it was impossible

that civil and ecclesiastical courts, having a co-ordinate jurisdiction, could exist together; this would amount," he said, "to something very like a separation of Church and State. If a Church chooses to participate in the advantages appertaining to an establishment, that Church, whether it be the Church of England, the Church of Rome, or the Church of Scotland, that Church must conform itself to the law. It would be an anomaly—it would be an absurdity, that a Church should possess the privilege, and enjoy the advantages of connection with the State, and, nevertheless, claim exemption from the obligations, which, wherever there is authority, must, of necessity, exist; and this House and the country could never lay it down, that if a dispute should arise in respect of the statute law of the land, such dispute should be referred to a tribunal not subject to an appeal to the House of Lords. I consider," said he, "that a great principle is involved in this matter. If peace could be secured—if the rights of the subject could be maintained, consistently with the demands of the Church, then, indeed, such is my opinion of the pressing evils of this protracted disputation, that I should almost be induced to make any concession in order to obtain tranquillity. But my belief is, that such claims, were you to concede them, would be unlimited in their extent. They could not be limited to the Church of Scotland. A principle, then, is involved, and if the principle be conceded by the House of Commons, why, the House of Commons must be prepared to carry it out."

Without affecting to pronounce a decision upon the great question at issue between the two parties, we must remark that the real difficulty of the case is that which is stated by Sir Robert Peel. Shall a national Church, endowed and protected by the State, assert any rights or privileges, by whatever name they be termed, over which the highest of the civil Courts, nay, the sovereign himself, shall have no control? In this the whole question lies. If we concede such rights to the national Church, then it is not too much to ask, on the part of the State, first, that they shall be accurately defined; and, secondly, that they shall not interfere with the civil rights of the community, whether members of the Church or dissenters from it. To assert, when an injury is done to a refractory churchman by an ecclesiastical sentence, say, of excommunication, or, in the case of a clergyman,

by suspension from his functions, that he is punished only in spiritual things, is simply to trifle with words. The man is injured in his reputation in the one case—in both property and reputation in the other. For although it be true, that in the Scotch Church, the suspended minister retains the profits of his living, still no man of honour and right feeling could be satisfied to receive emoluments in return for which certain services ought to be performed, conscious, all the while, that, in the opinion of his parishioners, he is little better than a knave. Words and technicalities apart, there is inflicted by the Church a civil punishment; and, unless the Church be infallible in her councils, there may sometimes be inflicted a civil wrong. For this, however, there is to be no redress.

On the other hand, the non-intrusionists had good reasons for complaint, both against the decisions in the House of Lords and the majority in the House of Commons. By neither House were their arguments fairly met, nor do we think their claims were even discussed with candour. The strength of the non-intrusionists lay in the fact (a fact, at least, they affirmed it to be) that the Church of Scotland, from the Reformation to the Union, and the Act of Queen Anne, had always claimed, and always exercised, this supreme jurisdiction; and that, in truth, it had never been disputed during that whole period; and that, by the very conditions of the Union, the Imperial Parliament was deprived of the power, even if she had the will, of imposing new restraints. This legal argument, flanked by proofs from history, was met in Parliament by the assertion that "it was inconsistent with common sense," from Sir James Graham; and, by Lord Brougham and Sir Robert Peel, that it was inconsistent with the principles of the British Constitution,—arguments, which, if true, might prove the Church of Scotland a dangerous neighbour, and the Act of Union a foolish compact, but which could hardly be expected to give satisfaction to Dr. Chalmers and his friends,—that is, by this time, to at least one-third of Scotland.

Under the influence of these wounded feelings the General Assembly met, and the final disruption immediately took place. The historians of the Free Church of Scotland relate, in words fraught with eloquence and passion, the memorable scene which Edinburgh witnessed on the 18th day of May, 1843. The morning had scarcely broken before St. Andrew's church, in

which the General Assembly was to meet, was crowded in its galleries by an anxious multitude. As the day advanced the leading streets were filled with a silent, thoughtful crowd. Towards midday the Lord High Commissioner held his levee at the ancient palace of Holyrood; soldiers and civilians, clergy and laity, in numbers unwonted, once more crowded its venerable halls. A large picture of William III., by the pressure of the crowd against the panel, was loosened from the wall, and fell heavily on the floor: "and there," exclaimed Crawford, of Crawfordlands, the representative of one of Scotland's oldest families, "there goes the revolution settlement!" When the levee closed, the customary procession formed, with something more than customary pomp, and proceeded to the high church. Dr. Welsh, the Moderator, preached, and his sermon solemnly foreshadowed the approaching storm. "The eyes of all Christendom are attracted to our struggle; the part which each one of us may this day take must send an influence, for good or evil, throughout succeeding generations. It now becomes my duty, before we go forth to proclaim to the world what our sentiments are, and to seal them by an irrevocable act, to take a calm review of those scriptural views by which we should be guided in this great crisis." The preacher dwelt on the severity of the trial, the scorn, the poverty, the charge of faction to which they would be exposed. "None," said he, "but those who have been tried can know the torture of coming to a resolution in the face of such objections. The frowns of tyrant power, the violence of popular tumult, the fragments of a falling world are but vulgar elements for shaking the fixed purpose, in comparison with the appeal to the modesty, and ingenuous candour, and self-denying respect for others of the humble Christian; and so it often is the sensibility of the soul is lost, and the principles which should form the nourishment of constant virtue are employed in administering to its destruction." Wise words, to whatever cause they may be applied!

About half-past two o'clock the sounds of martial music announced the approach of the Queen's Commissioner to St. Andrew's church, where the Assembly met. Dr. Welsh entered, and took the moderator's chair. Soon afterwards the Lord High Commissioner was announced, and the whole audience rose and received him standing. The area of the church was densely

crowded with the clergy and the lay members of the General Assembly, mingled with whom might be seen the representatives of other Churches, and from other lands, who had come to witness the transactions of this memorable day. The rest of the building presented a living mass of spectators. Dr. Welsh rose up and offered solemn prayer; the members resumed their seats. "Fathers and brethren," said Dr. Welsh, amidst breathless silence, "according to the usual form of procedure, this is the time for making up the roll; but in consequence of certain proceedings affecting our rights and privileges, proceedings which have been sanctioned by her Majesty's Government, and by the legislature of the country, and more especially in respect that there has been an infringement on the liberties of our constitution, so that we could not now constitute this court without a violation of the terms of the union between Church and State in this land, as now authoritatively declared, I must protest against our proceeding further. The reasons which have led me to come to this conclusion are fully set forth in the document which I hold in my hand; and which, with the permission of the house, I shall now proceed to read." This document, which was of great length, contained a solemn protest against the repeated encroachments of the civil power upon the Church, and concluded with a declaration that, since they could not longer remain with a clear conscience within the Church, it was lawful for them, and others who might concur with them, to separate themselves from the establishment, and to adopt such measures as might seem proper, in humble dependence on God's grace, and the aid of the Holy Spirit, for the advancement of his glory, the extension of the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour, and the administration of the affairs of Christ's house, according to his holy word. "And we now," he said, in conclusion, "withdraw accordingly, humbly and solemnly acknowledging the hand of the Lord in the things which have come upon us, because of our manifold sins, and the sins of the Church and nation; but, at the same time, with assured conviction that we are not responsible for any consequences that may follow from this, our enforced separation, from an establishment which we loved and prized, through interference with conscience, the dishonour done to Christ's crown, and the rejection of his sole and supreme authority as king in his Church." Having read the protest, he turned towards the Commissioner,

and, bowing respectfully, slowly retired. He was followed after a moment's pause, by Dr. Chalmers, Dr. Gordon, Dr. Macfarlane, Dr. Thomas Brown, Dr. Macdonald, and Mr. Campbell, of Monzie. It is described as a moment of intense and overpowering interest; a cheer broke forth from the galleries, but it was immediately restrained, and a deeper emotion instantly succeeded, expressed in sad and silent tears. It had been confidently predicted by their opponents, and the Government was said, as we remember, at the time to have been deeply influenced by the representation, that, except a few of the leaders, who might be prevented by shame or wounded pride from retracing their steps, few, or perhaps none, would actually secede. A large secession had certainly never entered into the calculation of their opponents. In London, it was confidently believed, that, at the utmost, not more than ten or twelve would forsake the establishment. It was even insinuated, somewhat insultingly, that, after all, not one of them would go, and the ministry, it was well known, were strongly impressed with these convictions. The whole audience now stood gazing on the scene. "There was no hurry," says a witness; "no rush, no confusion. Bench after bench was vacant -- man after man the protestors withdrew in silence, till one entire side of the Assembly, lately so crowded, was left with scarcely an occupant. More than four hundred ministers had left the Church of their fathers, and in that act had abandoned for ever their homes and their means of support, and now cast themselves, without reserve, upon the sympathies of the people and the good providence of God." Wherever lay the merits of the question the spectacle was sublime.

Through streets, along which they could with difficulty force their way, and escorted by a vast and enthusiastic crowd, the four hundred confessors proceeded to Canon-mills, where a large hall, capable of holding three thousand persons, had been hastily prepared. Their proceedings on the first day wore a popular character, not out of keeping with the enthusiasm of the moment. Prayer was offered up, and a psalm was sung with fervour, such as since the days of the Covenanters had been perhaps unknown, and by a multitude, such as since the days of Knox has seldom been assembled for the worship of God in Scotland. Dr. Chalmers, with a burst of acclamation was chosen moderator; clerks were appointed; and the meeting proceeded

at once to constitute itself the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland. First, a copy of the protest was signed by each of the seceding ministers and by a number of laymen; and it was resolved that all the ministers who signed the document, together with one elder from each kirk session, should constitute the new Assembly. A solemn deed was executed, by which the ministers renounced their benefices; and an address was prepared to the queen, formally and respectfully announcing to the head of the State the fact of the disruption, and the grounds on which the seceders had left the Established Church. The Free Assembly then proceeded with their ordinary business; for in fact there were no questions of doctrine, no difficulties such as occur when a new mode of discipline is to be debated, to divide its councils or to divert its strength. The temporary jar occasioned by the act of separation had passed over; and the Free Church, unchanged in any point of ecclesiastical constitution or internal economy, with her standards of faith, her laws, her presbyterian polity, entire, had but to prosecute the course on which at length she had dared to venture.

At first the prospect on all sides was brilliant. Two things, Dr. Hanna, the son-in-law and biographer of Chalmers, says, especially characterised the first General Assembly of the Free Church—the marvellous popular enthusiasm which it kindled without, and the equally marvellous and unbroken harmony which prevailed within. The sittings were continued from Thursday the 18th till Tuesday the 30th May; and yet from the beginning to the close of each daily sitting, the hall at Canon-mills saw a compact crowd of three thousand auditors listening with intense attention to every part of the proceedings, and breaking out, whenever the occasion permitted, or at all encouraged it, into extraordinary demonstrations of sympathy and approval. Chalmers and his friends, with a clear foresight of the emergency, had prepared measures for a wide canvass of Scotland with a view of raising funds. Before the new Assembly rose Dr. Chalmers announced an aggregate sum of 232,347*l* for the support of the Free Church of Scotland. In fact, the first year's income amounted to 366,719*l*. 14*s*. 3*d*.

But the excitement of enthusiastic assemblies gave place to sterner realities, when the seceding clergy of four hundred and seventy parishes returned home, each to take leave of his parish

church and his much-loved home, the manse; to find his parishioners dejected and his house dismantled. Their sufferings were often severe. It falls to our task to describe the energetic movements of the Free Church party, the warmth and liberality of its friends. But it must not be forgotten that the strong determination of the national character was displayed, with scarcely less force, on the other side. With hardly an exception, the great landlords and the nobility regarded the Free Church with little favour; and acts of severity occurred little creditable to those concerned in them.

Excluded from his manse, one of the seceding ministers was invited by his widowed daughter to share her house, which was situated within the parish. She was rudely warned by the noble proprietor that "no house on his estate should be a lodging for dissenters;" and her parent was driven to seek a shelter elsewhere. Another, who had forsaken one of the loveliest homes, was compelled to sleep and study in a wretched garret, with no other covering than a slated roof, and died of cold. From the manse of Tongue, the patriarchal clergyman and his son, who was his assistant in the ministry, retired to a humble abode; and both died of fever in consequence of cold and privation. These were the martyrs of the Free Church. "This is hard enough," exclaimed the son to a friend who visited him, as he heard the dying groans of his father, "but I thank God I do not lie here a renegade. My father's conscience and mine are at peace." These, it is said, are but a few leaves of a record which if fully written would be a book of many and strangely coloured pages.

The sufferings of the infant Church were not limited to its clergy. Excluded from the parish church, its assemblies were often forbidden in the parish. Till comparatively recent times a Highland chieftain was despotic; his heritable jurisdiction gave him the power of life and death. It was never the Scottish character to be over-tolerant of strange religions, and its intolerance was now directed against itself; and Scotchmen suffered from their countrymen indignities, of which it may safely be said, that they would have received them from no other hands without stern resistance. On many vast properties in the north, where whole parishes had followed their seceding pastors, the noble landlords refused them the accommodation of a shed, or

the purchase of an inch of ground. These trials, though hard to bear, were the greatest boon to the Free Church that wealth and rank could have possibly bestowed. Its assemblies were gathered in lonely dells, on the mountain sides, under the shade of the dark and solemn pine, or under the shelter of overhanging rocks, the haunts of Cameronian saints of old. With the habits of the ancient Covenanters their spirit was revived. Had there been in the minds of its leaders any apprehension lest the enthusiasm of their party should prematurely flag, such scenes as these must have cheered them with the assurance that all would be well; for nothing could have been better calculated to keep alive the fervour, throughout the country, which had been kindled in the House of Assembly. The scenes of their mountain worship were highly picturesque. They caught the fancy of the London illustrated press; and in thousands of English drawing-rooms, where the merits of the Free Church question were utterly unknown, the sufferings of conscientious Scotchmen became at once a matter of the readiest sympathy. At length the hardship gained the ear of the House of Commons; and a bill was even threatened to compel the landlords to sell their land, under certain circumstances, for the erection of Free churches. But a nobler spirit soon appeared, and it was withdrawn.

When the General Assembly of the Free Church met in Edinburgh in May 1844, it was found that the affairs of the infant community were in a state of great prosperity. Without exception all the missionaries in foreign stations had signified their adherence to the Free Church. And on the other hand, to provide for their support, together with other schemes of Christian philanthropy, there had been raised at home no less than thirty-two thousand pounds—a sum greater, by twelve thousand pounds, than had been raised by the whole Church of Scotland the year before the disruption. Within a single year, nearly five hundred churches had been built; a number equaling that of the parishes of Scotland: and yet the work of church building was far from finished; for, contrary to all expectations, the people had forsaken the establishment in a much higher ratio, as to numbers, than the ministers; and it would have required more than seven hundred churches to accommodate the congregations, who were ready to attach themselves to the Free Church. To meet the spiritual wants of more than two

hundred unprovided congregations the Church had only one hundred and thirty licentiates at command—some of whom, it might be presumed, were unlikely to be elected as ministers; of these so many as one hundred and fourteen were ordained in the course of the year which saw the original Church of the disruption; making an addition of about one-fourth to the number of her ministers.

The Free Church seems to have risen almost to her full strength at once. Her first year's income has, we believe, never been exceeded. It amounted, as we have mentioned, to 366,179*l.* At the close of the fifth year of her existence, the average was 304,788*l.* 17*s.* 3½*d.* per annum; since which period it has, we believe, remained almost stationary. The four hundred and seventy-four ministers who left the establishment in 1843 had increased, ten years afterwards, to about eight hundred. In the year 1853 the Free Church had in Scotland about eight hundred and fifty congregations, of which seven hundred and sixty are pastoral charges. These ministers, therefore, are distributed over a nearly equal number of settled pastoral charges,—besides which there are upwards of a hundred other congregations, served by licentiates of the Church, and by such other suitable Christian agencies as the Church can supply. Her ministrations extend to every district, and nearly to every parish in the land, from the Solway to the Shetland Isles, and to the furthest Hebrides; and there are whole islands, and even large counties in Scotland, where hardly any other Church is named or known. From seven to eight hundred churches have sprung up to accommodate her congregations. Manses, or parsonages for her ministers, are fast multiplying beside them. In 1845 it was resolved to make an effort for the erection of manses, and an appeal was made to the public which produced within a year 100,000*l.* Upwards of five hundred manses have been built at an average cost of at least 500*l.*; so that the total sum expended on parsonage-houses is not less than 250,000*l.*

In other directions the Free Church of Scotland, at her first starting into life, has displayed equal energy. At the time of the disruption all the missionaries and catechists in India, fourteen in number, claimed her care; and she has not only found herself able to support these but greatly to extend her missions, both among Jews and Gentiles. In 1847 the Free Church had

already raised annually for educational and missionary objects three times as much as the united Church of Scotland did in 1843. Never had the voluntary principle in religion been carried out with more success. At Pesth, at Jassy, at Berlin, at Constantinople, seventeen missionaries and assistants were endeavouring to promote the conversion of the Jews. At Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Poona, and Nagphur, it supported fifteen European clergymen ordained as missionaries, nine converted natives, engaged in the work of the Christian ministry, and a large band of teachers and assistants, both native and European; from whom 4,000 Indian children were receiving a complete Christian education. In Nova Scotia, the Canadas, the West Indies, the Cape, Australia, Madeira, Malta, Leghorn, and Gibraltar, there were ministers supported in whole or in part by the bounty of the Free Church, while 1,000*l.* annually had been entrusted to the evangelical societies of France and of Geneva, to aid in circulating the gospel over the continent of Europe.

One of her first efforts was to complete a scheme for home education, and thus in fact to make the organization of the Free Church, except in the matter of endowments, parochial and complete. There are now upwards of 600 schools, and an attendance of about 70,000 scholars. It has two normal schools, one in Edinburgh and one in Glasgow, for the training of schoolmasters. The teachers receive a salary from a general fund, which is raised by monthly contributions in all the congregations, and which is divided at the end of the year, according to a certain scale proportioned to the qualifications of the respective teachers. This fund amounts to upwards of 12,000*l.* annually. About 80,000*l.* has been expended in the building of schools, and nearly 20,000*l.* in the purchase or erection of normal schools.

The magnificent project of erecting a college which might vie with the ancient institutions of Scotland has been carried out with the utmost vigour, and apparently with great success. Chalmers was the chief promoter of the scheme, and he was placed at the head of the new institution. The first stone of the college was laid in 1846. In 1847 Dr. Chalmers died, but he had lived to see the institution of a seminary with nine professorships, to each of which a salary of three to four hundred pounds was attached. It had already three hundred and forty students for the sacred office; amongst whom bursaries and

scholarships had been distributed, in a single year, to the amount of 700*l*. The college has since been completed at a cost of nearly 40,000*l*. Mr. Wilson, in his sketch of the Free Church of Scotland, asserts, perhaps with a little exaggeration, that it is provided with a more complete staff of professors than any similar institution in Scotland, and with more effectual means of training an educated ministry than elsewhere is to be found in Britain. It has attached to it a Hebrew tutor, for initiating the students in the knowledge of the Oriental languages. A professor of logic, and a professor of moral philosophy, to secure efficient mental training in those branches of knowledge which are related more immediately to theological science. A professor whose function it is to instruct the students in natural theology, and the evidences of Christianity, and also in homiletics and pastoral theology, in two distinct classes. A professor of dogmatic theology, who has also a senior and junior class, suited to the progress of the students, who attend his prelections during two successive years. A professor of exegetic theology, who has also two classes, and a professor of natural science. This institution, so richly provided with living teachers, has already accumulated a library, which contains upwards of 25,000 volumes, and is believed to be the most valuable theological library in Scotland. A divinity hall has also been built at Aberdeen, and is already partially endowed. It has two professors of divinity and a Hebrew tutor, and embraces the same provision for the training of theological students which the universities of Scotland had previous to the disruption. These two institutions are attended by about two hundred and fifty students.

What may be the issue of the vast movement which brought the Free Church into existence, and to what extent the interests of religion will be affected by it for good and evil, is a question upon which thoughtful men who look upon the scene from a distance feel some anxiety. It must be admitted, after making every abatement for the enthusiasm of a party, that the seceding clergy made an heroic sacrifice. Such examples are of inestimable benefit to mankind. We confess that the question between the four hundred confessors and the General Assembly sinks into insignificance in our minds, compared with the illustrious example the suffering party have given to the Church of Christ in these later ages of the fidelity and disinterestedness, the indiffer-

ence to consequences, and the cheerful determination to abide by their principles whatever might betide them—which it is the glory of Christian men to show. The immense sums of money, so easily subscribed by a body comparatively poor, for objects purely spiritual, deserves high praise. It is impossible to contemplate a nation capable of such things without a feeling of great respect.

The wisdom of the secession, however, is to be argued upon different grounds. Taking for granted that the lay patronage was a great evil, was it such an one as to compel the seceders to the course they took? Some concessions they had already gained. Was the right, supposing it to exist, of a congregation to exclude a minister without assigning a reason, a point of so much consequence as to demand a remedy so violent? There are times, it is true, when the purity of the Church must be maintained at every hazard, and in the judgment of Dr. Chalmers and his friends that period had arrived. On this decision the Free Church stands.

The voluntary question, or in other words the problem whether the Christian instruction of a nation can safely be entrusted to the spontaneous liberality of individuals, has received some fresh light from the proceedings of 1843. It has been proved that the voluntary principle is sufficient, under certain conditions, to originate a vast movement; one which shall cover a whole nation, within a few years, with schools and churches in every parish. It has proved what indeed it would be an insult to Christianity itself to doubt, that there is sufficient energy in Christian men, and sufficient self-denial, to make an effort for the welfare of others, at the cost of every sacrifice, of every comfort and convenience, to themselves. But still we are to bear in mind, that men of earnest piety are few; that times of intense conflict between religious parties are never free, and never can be free, from some admixture of sordid influences; that party spirit will sometimes prompt us to part with wealth or station, when piety would in vain have asked us for the same surrender; and that a sudden burst of generosity is no sure pledge of its long continuance. Many years must elapse before either the friends or the opponents of the voluntary system, as applied to religion, will be safe in trusting much to the experiment of the Free Church of Scotland. The annals of voluntary churches pre-

sent no instance, it is true, of similar success ; yet Dr. Chalmers' final verdict was, upon the whole, unfavourable. "It seems very clear," he says, in the last tract he wrote, "that internal voluntaryism will not of itself do all ; and with all the vaunted prosperity of the Free Church, we do not find that external voluntaryism will either make up the deficiencies of the former, or still less of itself do all either. We rejoice in the testimony of the Free Church for the principle of a national establishment, and most sincerely do we hope she may never fall away from it. I can afford to say no more than that my hopes of an extended Christianity, from the efforts of voluntaryism alone, have not been brightened by my experience since the disruption. . . . And ere I am satisfied that voluntaryism will repair the mischief, I must first see the evidences of its success in making head against the fearfully-increased heathenism, and increasing still, that accumulates at so fast a rate throughout the great bulk and body of the common people. We had better not say too much on the pretensions or the powers of voluntaryism, till we have made some progress in reclaiming the wastes of ignorance and irreligion, and profligacy, which so overspread our land ; or till we see whether the congregational selfishness, which so predominates everywhere, can be prevailed upon to make larger sacrifices for the Christian good of our general population. Should their degeneracy increase to the demolition, at length, of the present framework of society, and this in spite of all that the most zealous voluntaryism can do to withstand it, it will form a most striking experimental demonstration of the vast importance of Christian governments for the Christian good of the world."—*Earnest Appeal*, page 52, &c. See also for the whole subject of the secession—*Hanna's Memoirs of Dr. Chalmers*, volume 4. *The Ten Years' Conflict*, by Robert Buchanan, D.D., two vols., 1852. *North British Review*. *Record Newspaper*, 1840-44. *Hansard's Debates in Parliament* ; and innumerable pamphlets on both sides.

FRENCH PROTESTANT CHURCH.—The history of the Protestants of France is dark and tragical. No Christian population, in any land, has suffered so long and so bitterly. From the Reformation to the nineteenth century the history

of the Reformed Church in France is an unbroken succession of frightful injustice and appalling cruelties. And it has suffered, too, the fate which attends a vanquished minority; ceasing to be feared it ceased to be known, and under the favour of indifference, calumny and prejudice have been received and credited, and even in Protestant nations, the Huguenots have been everywhere despised.

The first Protestant congregation in France was established at Meaux in 1521. Bucer and Melancthon had visited the neighbourhood just before, and created a thirst for reformation. Calvin's translation of the Bible into French had just appeared; and it was the year of Luther's appearance before the diet of Worms to plead the cause of religious truth and liberty against the pretensions of the Court of Rome. Two remarkable men, Lefevre and Farel, were the first preachers of the reformed faith; and two noble women, the duchess of Ferrara and the queen of Navarre, were its first patrons; but the infant cause was scarcely brought before the world when a fierce persecution seemed to have crushed it, and amidst the fires of persecution it has had its home almost to the present time. The epithet Huguenot was applied to the Protestants of France in a very early period of their history. The derivation and meaning of the word are unknown, nor is it a question of much importance. Merle D'Aubigné, and others, derive it from Hugon's tower at Tours, where the Protestants assembled to worship secretly; others again from hegenen or huguenen, an old German word equivalent to our puritan. Browning, in his history of the Huguenots, has collected no less than ten different etymologies: amongst them is one of great antiquity (taken from a work printed at Lyons in 1573) which says: "*Les Huguenots ont été ainsi appelés de Jean Huss duquel ils ont suivi la doctrine; comme qui disoit, les guenons-de-Huss!*" *Guenon* is a young ape.

Briçonnet, bishop of Meaux, was one of the converts of Lefevre and Farel. He joined with the former in giving a wide circulation to the four gospels in the native tongue, and placed a copy of the Bible in the hands of the king's sister Marguérite de Valois, queen of Navarre. She read it diligently, and avowed herself, if not a Protestant, a friend at least of the Reformation. She encouraged the reading of the Scriptures, afforded a refuge to the Protestant ministers at her court, appointed Roussel, one

of the reformed, to the bishopric of Oleron, and used her influence with her brother Francis I. to impress him favourably on behalf of the new religion. The duchess of Ferrara joined in these noble efforts, and Francis seemed, for a time, to lend a willing ear to the teachers of the Huguenots. He was induced to invite Melancthon to confer with the clergy of France upon the best means of restoring harmony to the Church. The Reformation spread rapidly; the reformed thought themselves safe under the protection of the king's favourite sister, whose influence with him, derived from her own lofty character and superior understanding, was known to be commanding. Through the whole of Picardy, "the heretics of Meaux," as the opponents of Rome were then termed, spread their doctrines abroad with great success; and the duchess of Ferrara, the daughter of the late sovereign Louis XII., afforded a shelter to their ministers, and a centre of influence to their operations, at her noble chateau of Montargis, not far from Paris. It seemed probable that France would become a Protestant nation.

But these bright hopes were soon cut down. The atmosphere was suddenly overcast, and furious tempests began to beat upon the Huguenots. Tournon was archbishop of Lyons, and soon afterwards, in 1530, Cardinal. He had great influence with Francis, and was his chief adviser in difficult affairs. Melancthon's intended visit filled the clergy with dismay, renowned as he was for learning and eloquence, and Tournon succeeded in preventing it by a scheme which a Roman Catholic writer (Maimbourg, *Hist. du Calvinisme*) describes as worthy of immortality. He entered the royal apartment, reading or pretending to read a work of St. Irenæus. Francis inquired what book engaged his attention. He directed the king to a page where the saint gives utterance to his feelings against heretics, showing that the apostles would not even frequent any public building to which they were admitted—probably the story of St. John, who fled from the bath when he found Cerinthus, the Gnostic, there—and he then expressed his grief that, with such examples before him, the eldest son of the Church should even have invited an heresiarch, and the most celebrated of Luther's disciples, into his kingdom. The stratagem was completely successful; for Francis was, like our own Charles II., generous, prodigal, and brave, but licentious and careless of religion, and

willing to commit any injustice rather than have his pleasures interrupted or his peace disturbed. He instantly revoked the invitation of Melancthon, protested upon oath he would never desert the Catholic faith, and issued commands to prosecute the heretics with vigour. The priests of the diocese of Meaux, at the same time suffering in character and influence from the success of the Reformation, complained to the Sorbonne. The doctors were already sufficiently enraged by a contest they had had with Luther in 1521, which they had concluded by demanding that he should make a public recantation of his doctrines; a summons which, as may be supposed, he treated with contempt. But now, Briçonnet, bishop of Meaux, being involved in the charge of heresy by the clergy of his diocese, the theologians of the Sorbonne were favoured with an admirable pretext for calling in the succours of the parliament of Paris, on the one hand, and the pope, upon the other. The parliament were easily roused against a poor sect denounced at court and misrepresented by the clergy. A recent French writer (M. de Felice, *Hist. des Protestants de France, &c.*) says, they held for a fundamental maxim of the state this motto of the olden times: Une foi, une loi, un roi—one faith, one law, one king;—and did not believe that there ought to be tolerated in the same country two religions, any more than two governments. The pope thundered from the Vatican. He wrote to the parliament at Paris, “In this great and marvellous disorder, which flows from the rage of Satan, and from the rage and wickedness of his imps, all the world should strive their utmost to guard the common safety, seeing that this abomination would not only embroil and destroy religion, but, moreover, all principality, nobility, laws, orders, and degrees.” The bishop was easily subdued, and paid a fine of two hundred livres for his misconduct. But the converts of Meaux were more resolute. A council was held at Paris, and it was resolved that the obstinate heretics should be exterminated. The zeal of the cardinal in the cause, soon made it apparent, that the threat, if possible, would be literally fulfilled. It was as dangerous to converse in secret as to discuss in public. Nothing escaped his vigilance: by means of spies and of a willing clergy he was everywhere; he seemed, as a contemporary writer tells us, to multiply himself in order to discover artifice or to punish temerity. Foreign princes

were accustomed to say that he alone was equal to an inquisition in France. In 1523, an edict against the heretics of Meaux was published, and the congregation was dispersed. Lefevre sought the protection of the queen of Navarre. Farel fled to Basle where he carried on his ministry, and continued to circulate the Scriptures, by means of pedlers, through France. But a vast multitude suffered martyrdom, and to strike terror the executions were dispersed over the kingdom: the consequence was that, everywhere, the doctrines of the reformers were canvassed, and that the patience of the sufferers won over thousands of converts. Pavannes was burnt alive in the Place de Grève, in 1524. At the stake he declaimed against the Romish doctrine of the real presence. "I wish," exclaimed a doctor of the Sorbonne who heard him, "the Church had lost a million of gold rather than that Pavannes had spoken!" Louis de Berguin, a young man of noble family, was another victim. The parliament had determined on his death, when an order from the king, who was absent from Paris, suspended the execution. He was anxious to save Berguin, and perhaps not unwilling to humble the clergy; and he wrote to the Sorbonne commanding them to disprove twelve propositions which Berguin had maintained. The matter began to wear a serious aspect, when, happily for the Sorbonne, an image of the Virgin was mutilated; they instantly raised the cry of a conspiracy against religion; the people were aroused, and the cry in Paris was "No quarter to the heretics." On the 10th of November 1529, Berguin, escorted by six hundred soldiers, was carried to the place of execution and there strangled and burnt: he was not allowed to speak, but his cheerful carriage could not fail to strike with the deepest amazement; and the Grand Penitentiary, overcome with the spectacle, is said to have exclaimed, that for a hundred years no Frenchman had died a better Christian. But "those of the religion," as they were called by a delicate periphrasis, still increased in numbers and in firmness. Calvin, in 1529, dedicated his Institutes to Francis, in a noble preface, the admiration, for fifty years, of all Protestant Europe, imploring his compassion for the Protestants. The book tended to increase, rather than to diminish the rage of persecution in the king's breast. Influenced by the cruel suggestions of the clergy, he gave fresh orders for punishing the Calvinists wherever they

could be found, and persons were employed to hunt after them : it was even declared a crime to pray in French. Numbers of pious men and women were burned alive ; and as the speeches delivered by the martyrs at the stake became a powerful means of conversion, measures were taken to prevent them from addressing the spectators.

A scene was enacted at Paris on the 29th of January, 1535, almost unmatched in cruelty. The Sorbonne resolved to embark the king beyond the possibility of retreat in the cause of the Church, and to whet the appetite of the mob for blood. Some violent placards affixed anonymously to the doors of the churches, and even of the palace, afforded an excuse. In them the mass was attacked in scurrilous language, and the vices of the clergy were exposed. Protestant writers have suggested that they were contrivances of the ecclesiastical party to excite the people ; and as the reformers had nothing to hope except from the favour of Francis, it seems unlikely that they should have thus wantonly provoked him. If it were so, the desired effect took place. The rumour was set abroad that the Huguenots had laid a plot to burn the city and massacre the Catholics. The dreadful cry, "Death to the heretics !" resounded in the streets. Orders were issued to seize the Protestants, dead or alive ; and in a few days the prisons of the capital were crowded with victims of both sexes, and of all ranks and ages. Their trials were soon over ; and it was resolved to strike terror into the heart of the Huguenots of the whole kingdom, by a procession such as, in other countries, has since obtained the name of an *auto-da-fé*. An innumerable concourse of people crowded the streets, covered the roofs, and hung upon the walls and balconies. Never had so many relics been paraded. The reliquary of the Saint Chapelle was then first brought out. Then followed the head of Saint Louis—a piece of the true cross—the true crown of thorns, a real nail, and the spear-head which had pierced our Lord. Then came St. Genevieve, the patron saint of Paris. The cardinals, archbishops, and bishops took their places in their robes. The king in person followed them, bareheaded, and carrying a lighted torch. The nobility, burgesses, and parliament closed the procession. The king, seated on the throne, at the palace of the archbishop, made an address to the court and clergy. He protested that he would not pardon the crime of heresy, even in his children. His reli-

gious frenzy had evidently been worked up to the highest point. If one of his own limbs was infected, his own hand, he said, should cut it off. On his return to the Louvre, he witnessed the horrible scene to which the procession was the prelude. Six of the Huguenots were executed. The boldest of them had their tongues cut out, to hinder their dying words, so contagious among the witnesses on previous occasions of the same kind. They were then put to death by the *estrapade*, a moveable gibbet, which, alternately rising and falling, plunged the victim into a fire or raised him aloft into the air. An ordinance was published which decreed the extermination of the heretics, and pain of death to those who should conceal them.

But cruel as the persecution was in other parts of France, it was quite thrown into the shade by the massacres of Merindole and Cabrières. The inhabitants, descendants of the ancient Vaudois, who had taken refuge amongst the mountains of Dauphiny, had no sooner heard of the reformation at Meaux, than they declared the Huguenots their brethren, and their faith the same. A decree, dated the 18th of November, 1540, ordered that they should be exterminated as rebels, their goods confiscated, their houses destroyed, and even their plantations dug up. Everything was horrible and cruel, says the historian De Thou, in the sentence pronounced against them, and everything was still more horrible and more cruel in the execution. Twenty-two towns or villages were burned or sacked, with an inhumanity of which the history of the most barbarous people hardly presents examples. The unfortunate inhabitants, surprised during the night, and pursued from rock to rock by the light of the fire which consumed their dwellings, escaped one snare only to fall into another. The pitiful cries of the old men, the women, and the children, far from softening the hearts of the soldiers, mad with rage, like their leaders, only served to point out the places whither to direct their fury. Voluntary surrender did not exempt the men from execution, nor the women from excesses of brutality which make nature blush. At Cabrières, one of the principal towns of the canton, they murdered more than seven hundred men in cold blood, and the women who had remained in their houses were shut up in a barn filled with straw, to which they set fire; those who made their escape were forced back at the point of the sword. Finally, according to the tenor of the

sentence, the houses were razed, the woods cut down, and the fruit-trees pulled up. In a short time the country, hitherto so populous and so fertile, became a desert without inhabitants. Maimbourg says, in describing the massacre, that above nine hundred houses were plundered and destroyed, above three thousand persons slaughtered. The executions were committed to the Baron d'Oppede, who was summoned before the parliament of Paris, when the murmurs of public indignation made it convenient to cast the odium upon the agents. D'Oppede defended himself with courage and eloquence; he admitted the accusation in full, and justified his conduct by the orders of the king and the instructions of the cardinal. At this crisis Francis I. died, and was succeeded by his son Henry II.

But Protestantism was by no means subdued. The court was distracted with violent and selfish factions. The party of Montmorency and that of the duke of Guise were both hostile to the reformed faith, and equally hostile to one another. The Huguenots had some countenance even from princes of the blood, and amongst the nobility. In the remote provinces a large proportion of the nobles entertained the new opinions. It was calculated that nearly a sixth of the whole population was infected with them; and this was the case, not only in the south, but in every part of France: in Normandy, Picardy, and Flanders, as well as Languedoc and Dauphiny. All the great towns, Rouen, Lyons, Bordeaux, Toulouse, Montpellier, abounded with them. Many of the ecclesiastics forsook the Church of Rome. The seculars engaged in business, the regular clergy taught the doctrines of the reformers. The Bible and religious books printed at Geneva were distributed in vast numbers by the colporteurs. One of these, in 1546, was taken at Paris, broken on the wheel, and burned. But his execution, far from deterring others, merely served to show them by what agency the reformation could be carried on most effectually. Père Chapot reasoned so well upon the scaffold in favour of his principles that the doctors of the Sorbonne made a formal complaint that, were the heretics allowed to speak, all would be lost. The parliament resolved that all the condemned, without exception, should for the future have their tongues cut out. Henry began his reign determined to carry out his father's resolution and exterminate the heretics; he even disputed with one of them, like our own Henry VIII.

with Lambert, and afterwards went to enjoy the spectacle of his opponent in the flames. In 1551 appeared the edict of Chateaubriant; it placed the Calvinists under the secular jurisdiction, and for a time stopped in some degree the violence of persecution. Whether it was intended to relieve or oppress them is disputed; it is certain that it was soon construed to their disadvantage. The ecclesiastical judges still took cognizance of heresy, now made a crime in the secular courts, so that the accused, though acquitted before one tribunal, were liable to be punished by another. The pope was anxious to establish the inquisition in France, and despatched a bull to that effect in 1557; the king even confirmed it by an edict. But the parliament of Paris, and the laity, resisted, and the scheme failed.

Hitherto the Protestants in France had not existed as a Church. They had no fixed pastors, no regular form of government. In deference to Calvin, they preferred rather to omit the sacraments than to receive them at the hands of laymen or an irregular ministry, and this state of things continued for nearly thirty years. At length, in 1558, it was resolved, in the face of imminent dangers, to convoke a general synod at Paris, as the most convenient town for a secret meeting of a large number of ministers and elders. The difficulty of effecting the project was great, but thirteen churches sent their deputies: Paris, St. Lô, Dieppe, Angers, Orleans, Tours, Poitiers, Saintés, Marennes, Châtellerault, St. Jean d'Angely. These delegates assembled under the presidency of the pastor François Morel, and the Lord of Colonges, the 25th of May, 1559. The French Protestant Church was then organized. The confession of faith adopted was that of Helvetia, and the form of Church government that of Geneva, with a few necessary alterations. Wherever there was a sufficient number of Protestants they constituted themselves a church, by naming a consistory, choosing a minister, and establishing discipline. The consistory was elected at first by the whole congregation, and afterwards completed by the suffrages of its own members; but the new elections were submitted to the whole congregation for its approval, and if any opposition arose the determination was finally left to the provincial synod. Every member of the congregation, or church, was eligible for the consistory. The pastors were elected by the colloquy, or parochial consistory. The newly-chosen minister preached during three

consecutive Sundays. The silence of the people was held to signify their consent. If any dissatisfaction was expressed, the fitness of the minister was decided by the synod, from which there was no further appeal. A certain number of churches formed a colloquy, each church being represented by a pastor and an elder. These colloquies assembled twice a year at least, and their office was to arrange any difficulties that arose; and, generally, to provide for the welfare of the flocks. The provincial synods were also composed of a pastor and elder from each church; they assembled at least once a year. They decided upon whatever had not been settled in the colloquies, and upon all other important matter within their province. Their number has varied, but in general was about sixteen. Lastly, there was the national synod, which was to assemble once every year, but owing to the calamities which the Church endured, it was scarcely ever possible to bring it into action. It has scarcely existed except in theory. It was composed of two pastors and two elders from each synod, and was the supreme ecclesiastical court. Its deliberations began by reading the confession of faith, which was regarded as unalterable; it then proceeded to take cognizance of all Church affairs which required its adjudication. The Church claimed the right of inflicting punishment on offenders, and of excommunicating the impenitent. Thus in its constitution it was Presbyterian, but it had some features in common with the Independents of the sixteenth century. Its spirit was fearless; it knew no distinctions except those of piety. Men of the highest rank were obliged to make public confession of their offences when they fell beneath its censure, or submit to excommunication; and Henry IV., when king of Navarre, submitted to it on more than one occasion.

The Protestant Church was thus completed. Its numbers increased, and now, indeed, embraced no inconsiderable part of France. Paris was resolute for the ancient faith, but in the provinces "those of the religion" were often the majority. Public worship was established in the great towns and in many of the country parishes. In some places the whole population passed over, and with them the churches were transformed into Protestant temples. There were occasional acts of violence, as in all great changes where the people act without wise leaders; and superstitious monuments were destroyed with probably but little regard

to the feelings of the priesthood and their party. The nation was divided. More than one-half the great families of the kingdom professed the new doctrines. The king of Navarre and his brother, the prince of Condé, were the Protestant leaders, joined, about this time, by a name more renowned than either, the illustrious Coligny. On the other side were Henry II., Francis II., successive kings of France; and, upon the premature death of the latter in 1560, Charles IX., who was urged on to the most severe measures by the queen-mother, Catherine de Medicis, the Guises, always the firm supporters of the Roman Catholic cause, and the ecclesiastics of high rank who thronged the court, and, prompted by Rome, were always clamouring for the suppression of heresy. The parliament of Paris had begun to show some signs of hesitation, for it was not of the nature of such bodies to wish the power of the court and clergy absolute, and they themselves were now no longer free from Calvinism. Ann-Dubourg distinguished himself by the courage with which he defended the new opinions. Henry II., in 1559, invited his counsellors, in an extraordinary court, termed a bed of justice, frankly to advise with him on the perils of the nation. Dubourg fell into the snare. Invited to speak openly, he urged a national council for the settlement of their religious differences, and declaimed upon the sins of the court. The king was attended by the constable, the duke of Guise, the Cardinals of Lorraine and Bourbon, and a crowd of the nobility. "While men are conducted to the stake for the sole crime of praying for their prince, a shameful license encourages blasphemy and perjury, adultery and debaucheries." The remark was felt to apply to the king himself, and he resolved to have his revenge. He arose in a violent passion, and uttered a torrent of reproaches against those who had called for lenient measures. On leaving the place, he was observed to make a sign to one of his officers, and to direct a fierce look towards Dubourg and four others. They were immediately arrested in the parliament and conducted to prison. The destruction of the reformed religion was resolved upon; the prisons were crowded; the king gave orders that Dubourg and the rest should be tried for heresy—he wished to see him burnt with his own eyes, but his own death, which happened in a tournament, prevented the fulfilment of his thirst for blood, and gave Dubourg a respite. It was but a short one. Five months

afterwards the young king, Francis II., a mere child of six years of age, was put forward by the court party to accomplish the destruction of its enemies. A military procession was formed; the enthusiasm of the citizens was raised to the highest pitch against the heretics, and, amidst their execrations, calm and cheerful, Dubourg was strangled and burnt on the Place du Grève, on Christmas eve, 1559. Frightful executions (from their number deserving of the name of *massacres*, as the reformers termed them) took place all over France; but the Reformation gained strength, and the reformers, despairing of justice, became desperate. It was evident that, unless a compromise could be effected, the question of the future religion of France would be submitted to the arbitration of the sword. The Protestants were too many, and too united, to allow their ranks to be thinned by the hand of the executioner.

At this crisis the States-general were called together, in 1560, immediately on the accession of Charles IX. The new king was only ten years old. The two factions of the court were about equal in force; but as the king of Navarre was appointed Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, the balance seemed to incline in favour of the Huguenots. The queen-mother was ambitious to govern both parties, and therefore to side with neither; and by her the king was absolutely governed. The States-general were in favour of a tolerant legislation in matters of religion; and the Roman Catholic writers of the time express great apprehensions that Calvinism would prevail. "Heresy," says the Jesuit Fleury, "was seen to enter triumphantly into the palace of the most Christian king; and it may be said that there it exercised complete sway. The queen permitted ministers to preach in the royal apartments, which were thronged; while a poor Jacobin, who preached the Lent sermons at Fontainebleau, had no audience. The whole court seemed Calvinist; and meat was served at all the tables during Lent. No one talked of hearing mass; and the young king, who was taken to church for the sake of appearances, went almost alone. The pope's authority was ridiculed, the worship of saints, images, &c., was treated as superstition; and, to sum up, the edict in favour of the Huguenots prevented any one from being troubled on account of religion." The edict in question, generally called the edict of July, relieved the Protestants from the punishment of death, but forbade them to

assemble for public worship. The States-general, even when disinclined to the new opinions, were anxious for a reformation of the abuses of the Church. Their measures very soon aroused the suspicion of the clergy and the opposition of the pope. They determined upon summoning a conference of the divines on both sides, where the great questions at issue might be calmly discussed. This the papal faction could not prevent: they used their influence successfully to make it nugatory. Theodore Beza, assisted by Marloratus and Peter Martyr, was the leader of the Protestants. Tournon, cardinal of Lorraine, with four cardinals and forty bishops, appeared on behalf of the Church of Rome. The eucharist, as usual, was the grand point in debate. It was argued on the one side by the Cardinal of Lorraine and on the other by Beza. The cardinal was an expert controversialist; he was aware of the radical distinction between the Lutheran and the Calvinist Churches, and hoped to embarrass his opponent by obliging him to admit the real presence or to condemn the Lutheran Churches; and he concluded by demanding, "Do you, like the Lutherans, admit consubstantiation?" "And do you," answered Beza, "like them, reject transubstantiation?" The reformers complained that they were treated unfairly at the conference of Poissy; and certainly the signs of respect freely accorded to the Roman Catholic clergy were withheld from them. They were obliged to kneel and ask permission to speak, and to remain standing. Their opponents sat on chairs of state, and were permitted to interrupt and browbeat the speakers on the other side. Still, they made a great impression: some of the opposing bishops were shaken by Beza's arguments. The queen-mother wrote to the pope on behalf of the Huguenots. "Those of the reformed," she said, "are neither anabaptists or libertines; they believe the twelve articles of the apostles' creed; therefore many people think that they ought not to be cut off from communion with the Church. What danger could there be in taking away the images from the churches, and retrenching some useless forms in the administration of the sacraments? It would be, further, very beneficial to allow to all the communion in both kinds; and to permit divine service to be performed in the vulgar tongue. For other matters, they are agreed that there shall be no innovation in the doctrine or discipline; and that they constantly preserve for the sovereign

pontiff the respect and obedience that is due to him." The pope answered by writing to his legate in Paris to spare no efforts to strengthen the Catholic party. He offered the kingdom of Sardinia to the king of Navarre as the price of his desertion of the Huguenots. The bribe was irresistible: he forsook the Huguenots, compelled his consort to discontinue the preaching which had been held at his residence, and in a short time, by his cruelty, compelled her to withdraw from his palace. He became, in a short time, a bitter persecutor. The Protestants were irritated, and in several places blood was shed. They broke into the church of Saint Metard in consequence of some insult offered to their worship, and committed great outrages. Images were destroyed, and several were killed in the fray. An edict, however, was obtained in 1562 permitting the exercise of public worship under certain limitations; they were commanded, at the same time, to restore the churches they had seized upon, as well as the relics and images of which they had deprived them. The parliament of Paris refused to register the edict, and the Catholic party received it with gloomy silence. Coligny perceived that a civil war was inevitable, and, as a measure of precaution, allied himself more closely with the prince of Condé, and induced him to make a public profession of the Protestant religion at Paris. Under the two leaders the Huguenots took fresh courage, and even in the capital their congregations at this time amounted to fifty thousand souls. The Roman Catholic party wrote to the duke of Guise to come to their assistance. The queen herself, they said, was favouring the Huguenots. He obeyed their summons with alacrity, and on the first of March, 1562, arrived at Vassy, a small town in the Haute Marne, about sixty miles east of Paris, just as the Huguenots were performing divine service. He expressed great indignation; and his followers hastening to the spot where they were assembled, assailed them with insults and abuse. Both parties soon came to blows, and Guise's soldiers rushed into the building where the meeting was held, sword in hand, killing the women, children, and old men. The duke hearing of the tumult went to appease it, and received a blow upon his face with a stone; he retired to have it dressed, leaving his soldiers to pursue the massacre. They spared neither age nor sex; the carnage ceased, says the Abbé D'Anquetil, only on account of the multitude killed and wounded. (*Esprit de la*

Ligue.) Similar excesses were committed at Toulouse, Sens, Amiens, and Tours. At the latter place three hundred Protestants were shut up without food during three days; then tied together two by two, and led to a slaughter-house, where they were murdered in different ways. At Sens, during three successive days, the bells of the cathedral called the inhabitants to the slaughter of the Huguenots. The fanaticism was intense. Even the vines which belonged to Protestants were rooted up. The duke of Guise entered Paris with the splendour of a sovereign; he had a brilliant escort of two thousand gentlemen; the different trades interrupted his progress with complimentary harangues, which were drowned in the shouts of thronging multitudes. The prince of Condé also returned to Paris, but the people were against him. Paris was not safe; he quitted the city and retired to Meaux; and here he assembled forces. The queen had written to him and Coligny for assistance, and they marched with a vast number of the Huguenots to Fontainebleau, whither she had retired with the young king. But Guise was beforehand with them; he seized the queen-mother and the king; conveyed them to Vincennes, and thence to Paris. The Protestant places of worship in the capital were immediately destroyed, and every kind of insult heaped upon the Huguenots. In fact, the religious wars had now begun, which devastated France for forty years, and terminated only when the Huguenots were crushed.

It is difficult to compress the history of the religious wars; and still more difficult to relate the history of the French Protestants without making the reader acquainted with their various turns of fortune. Each of the contending parties sought foreign succour. The Spaniards and the pope came to the assistance of the court and the Catholics; while Queen Elizabeth of England sent over six thousand men to aid the Protestants, who also obtained further succours from the Low Countries. The queen-mother seized the pretext which the introduction of foreign troops afforded her, deserted the Huguenots, and became their most vindictive enemy. At first Condé, whom the Huguenots appointed commander-in-chief, was successful: a number of large towns and the whole of Normandy fell into his hands. Charles, by the treaty of Chateau-Cambresis, engaged himself with Philip of Spain to the extirpation of heresy; and, under the duke of Alva, the Spanish army

entered France to crush the Huguenots on their way, but with a view to ulterior operations in the Low Countries. Rouen was taken by storm, though defended by an English reinforcement of two thousand men ; but the victory cost the king of Navarre his life. He died deploring his apostacy, and expressing his determination if he lived to assist the Protestants. The battle of Dreux followed under the walls of Paris. It was fought for seven hours with terrible ferocity. There were twenty-one thousand royalists and ten thousand Huguenots ; at night, eight thousand lay dead on the field. The prince of Condé was taken prisoner by the royalists ; whose loss was compensated by the capture of the constable of France and the death of Marshal Saint André. Soon after, in February 1563, the duke of Guise was assassinated by Poltro, a Protestant, who thus avenged the massacre of Vassy. He defended the action as a legitimate reprisal. When under the torture he implicated Coligny, who immediately wrote to the queen demanding a safe-conduct, that he might confront his accuser. It was clear that the charge was false, for the court hastened the execution of the assassin. He was mangled with hot pincers, and torn to pieces by four horses. The war on both sides became ferocious. After a brief suspense, when a compromise had been in vain attempted, in 1567, the battle of Saint Denis was fought ; and here the constable Montmorency fell. The royal army outnumbered their opponents, and the field and the spoil were theirs. A few days after the battle the Huguenots took dreadful reprisals for the cruelties they had so long endured. At first they observed a rigid discipline. In their camps there was no gaming, no profaneness, no pillage. Beza relates that, besides ordinary sermons and prayers, there were extraordinary general prayers at six in the morning, and again at four in the evening ; but this discipline did not last. Coligny was an old commander. "This discipline," he said, "is a noble thing as long as it lasts, but I fear they will throw down all their piety at once. I have commanded soldiers, and I know them ; they often fulfil the proverb, out of a young hermit grows an old devil." At Nismes a number of Roman Catholics were inhumanly butchered ; according to their writers the Protestants were the aggressors, and their crime was altogether unprovoked. But the Protestant writers have not attempted to extenuate the charge. Calvin wrote to express his abhorrence of such conduct ; and the leader

was disgraced and died a Roman Catholic. It is worthy of remark, that a Roman Catholic historian (Menard, *Hist. de Nismes*) has in some degree mitigated the accusations of his co-religionists. "They did no harm to the wives of the Catholics; their animosity was directed against priests, monks, heads of families; and they selected as victims only those who had molested them." But the piety of the reformers no doubt had suffered much. Contrasted with the profligacy of the court, or even the irregularities of the Romish clergy, they were still comparatively pure. But the fervour and piety of the reformation had declined. Many were mere soldiers, making religion a pretext. Others, once religious men, were full of the schemes of avarice and ambition. In 1568, a peace was made at Longjumeau; it lasted but six months, and was unsatisfactory to both parties. Arms were taken up, and the battle of Garnac was fought, where the Huguenots were beaten and Condé fell. Coligny was beaten at Moncontour; the parliament of Paris declared him a traitor and a felon, and offered fifty thousand crowns for his body either dead or living. Pope Pius V. wrote to Charles IX., imploring him "to stifle every tie of blood or affection, and extirpate the roots of heresy to the last fibres." Coligny he described as a detestable, infamous and execrable man, if indeed he deserved the name of man. The Huguenot cause seemed to be on the eve of destruction, if not already lost. But suddenly they were in the field, with Coligny, scarcely recovered from wounds which he had received at the battle of Garnac, at their head. He met the royal army at Arnay-le-Duc. Here he was victorious; he was even in a condition to march on Paris. The court was overwhelmed with astonishment, and both parties were anxious for peace. A treaty was completed at St. Germain on the 15th of August 1576. It included a general amnesty, the free exercise of the reformed religion in the suburbs of two towns in each province, and some concessions of inferior note. In addition to these advantageous terms, the Protestants were allowed to hold four towns as security for the full observance of the treaty; viz. Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac, and la Charité. The Protestants on their side were bound by oath to surrender them at the end of two years. Coligny signed the peace with the highest satisfaction; "rather than fall back again into these disorders," he exclaimed, "I would die a thousand deaths and be dragged through

the streets of Paris." But the Roman Catholics complained that it was unjust and shameful to make peace with rebels. And the pope wrote to the cardinals of Bourbon and Lorraine, calling upon them to do their duty, and defend the Church: "it is especially to be feared," said he, "that God may inflict a judgment on the king himself, and on all those who have taken part in this negotiation." There is every reason to believe that, in connexion with the king and queen of France, he was already preparing the events which followed.

The Protestant leaders had retired from the capital, and were now dispersed through the country, living quietly upon their estates. The queen of Navarre was at Rochelle and Coligny at his chateau. Every stratagem was used to draw them to Paris, and the greatest anxiety was shown, by loading them with courtesies, to win the confidence of those at court. The king was profuse in his professions of warm attachment, and seemed beside himself with joy on account of the peace. Some excesses were committed at Rouen against the Huguenots, and the constable himself was sent to chastise the offenders; and every infraction of the treaty was severely punished. A marriage was proposed between the son of the queen of Navarre and the king's sister; and (probably with a view to amuse the Protestants, or, if it should succeed, to break up the English alliance,) a marriage was projected between the duke of Anjou, the king's brother, and Queen Elizabeth. Coligny, the queen of Navarre, and other leaders were thus drawn to Paris. The queen of Navarre gave an unwilling consent to her son's marriage, and died a few weeks afterwards: the general opinion throughout France was that she had been poisoned. The historian Davila says, that poisoned gloves were the means used for her destruction. The marriage however took place, chiefly through the urgency of Coligny, who seemed to his own friends to have become all at once infatuated. His wife had in vain remonstrated against his return to Paris, dreading as she did the duplicity of the queen. The baron de Rosny, father of the great Sully, entertained the most unfavourable presentiments after the death of the queen of Navarre. "If it takes place at Paris, the wedding favours will be crimson," he said.

In short, a frightful resolution had been taken to extirpate the Protestants by one general massacre. To whom the guilt of

this atrocious act belongs, and in what proportions it is to be distributed amongst the several guilty parties, has long been a subject of keen discussion. A recent French writer resolves it into a sudden burst of fanaticism, originating with the mob of Paris. Dr. Lingard, on behalf of the Church of Rome, endeavours to show that the pope was not privy to it. Charles IX. has met with apologists on the score of youth, and a too confiding temper, which allowed him to be governed by the queen-mother; and, from the first, some writers have been found to represent it as a mere act of self-defence against a murderous and treasonable plot of the Huguenots, which was unexpectedly betrayed. Into the discussion of this preliminary question we can enter no further than to remark that the premeditation of the massacre cannot be seriously denied; indeed, it is admitted by the French Roman Catholic writers of that age, Maimbourg, De Thou (Thuanus), Mezeray, and others; and that the Italian historians, Davila and others, not only admit that the plan was laid before hand, but extol the secrecy of the measure as well as its success. The chief movers were, unquestionably, Catherine de Medicis, the Cardinal de Lorraine, and the duke de Guise, all of whom were Italians. The Marshal de Tavannes was the only Frenchman who took a part in originating the measure, the king and the duke of Anjon being mere puppets in the hands of Catherine and the cardinal. Montmorency refused to participate in a measure so abhorrent to the nature of a gallant soldier. He left Paris in horror, on the first intimation of the intended massacre, and his name was placed among the proscribed in consequence. Many of the nobility in the provinces refused to embrue their hands in the blood of their countrymen. It is not without reason that a recent French historian represents his countrymen as the mere instruments, fanatically excited to the commission of what he terms "the Italian crime."

The marriage of the king of Navarre was celebrated on the 18th of August 1572. On the 22nd Coligny was fired at by an assassin who escaped on one of the king's horses, and, though well known, was never brought to justice. Coligny was infatuated still. He would not allow himself to be removed from Paris; he would not listen to the fears expressed by his friends that the king was false, and that mischief was designed against the Protestants. Charles carried his dissimulation so far as to visit

the admiral and affect the deepest abhorrence of the crime. The Court was disconcerted; it had reckoned on the certain death of Coligny which was to have been the signal for the massacre, and an assassin had been employed whose hand was seldom known to fail. But Coligny still lived and the Huguenots had taken the alarm. It was feared they might escape the toils. The king too had moments of remorse, and it was with difficulty he could be forced on to sanction a proceeding so atrocious. He was at length worked up to a pitch of fury. The queen implored him to preserve her and the duke of Anjou from the vengeance of the Huguenots; who accused them, and with too much truth, of the attempt upon Coligny. The Cardinal De Retz assured him that the duke of Guise, nay, that he himself, was denounced for slaughter. Couriers, he was told, were already on their way to demand assistance for his rebellious subjects from the Protestant States of Germany. Another civil war was at hand, and his crown would be lost. Thus he was goaded forwards, and became the most ferocious of the party which he led.

At midnight on Saturday the 23rd of August the work of death began. An hour earlier than the time appointed the great bell of St. Germain l'Auxerrois tolled; for the queen, distrusting the resolution of her son, had sent to hurry on the signal. Armed bands of citizens and troops of soldiers, each wearing a strip of white linen on the arm, or a white cross in the hat, rushed into the streets and fell upon the slaughter. Coligny was the first victim, he was stabbed repeatedly in his bed, calmly remonstrating, and thrown through the window before life was extinguished. His head was severed by the order of the duke of Guise, who first wiped the face with his handkerchief to assure himself that he was not mistaken in his victim; it was dragged through the streets by a rope and then hung upon a gallows. The horrors of the night, and of the following three days, we make no attempt to picture. Paris exhibited an appalling spectacle. The streets resounded with the crash of musketry, the shrieks of the dying and the shouts and blasphemies of the murderers. To escape was impossible. The gates of the city were shut; bands of assassins patrolled every street, and broke into every house and every chamber. The ways were literally impassable from the number of the dead.

The Huguenots rushed wildly to the Louvre for safety, still hoping to find protection near the king. The guards put all to death with their halberts, one by one, in the most deliberate manner. Even in the palace they were hunted from room to room and killed in the passages. The young queen of Navarre had retired to rest ignorant of the intended slaughter. She was awoken by a loud knocking at the door of her chamber. Her maid opened it, and a man rushed in and flung himself upon her bed, covered with blood, and pursued by four soldiers. It was with difficulty she obtained his life. She hastened to the apartments of her sister and saw a gentleman massacred close beside her in the passage. The king himself, seeing the Huguenots in the gardens, seized a weapon and fired upon his own defenceless subjects; and the ladies of his Court with unnatural barbarity went into the court-yard to examine and count over the dead bodies! It was remarked that of so many brave men, who had a hundred times faced death upon the field of battle, there was only one, and he a civilian, who attempted to defend himself. The rest died making no resistance. A crime so monstrous seemed to paralyze their minds. It was determined to extirpate the name of the reformed. Even the two princes of Bourbon blood were included in the number of the victims, but the queen hesitated, and they were spared. On Sunday morning the king sent for them—Henry of Navarre and the prince of Condé—exclaiming fiercely, “The mass, death, or the Bastille.” They made a recantation, which nobody believed to be sincere; but their lives were spared.

Coligny's infatuation—for we can call it nothing less—blinded him to the danger which was obvious to all the more prudent Huguenots of his party. He had, indeed, the charity that believeth all things. But the vilest duplicity had been practised in order to lull his apprehensions. Charles made him a visit after he was first wounded in the streets, and said to him, “O, my father! the wound is yours, and the pain is mine; but I swear that I will visit this act with such vengeance that it shall never be effaced from the memory of man.” These words calmed the admiral's suspicions, although he had already received repeated advice to fly. On the evening of the same day the king held in court a council to deliberate upon the general massacre of the Protestants.

The admiral, as we have said, was the first victim. At the approach of the assassins he exclaimed to his household: "My friends, I command you to fly; for myself, I have been a long time prepared for death. I commend myself to the mercy of God. I would die to the Lord; He has elected me to the hope of life eternal; His presence is sufficient for me." After the assassins had done their work, and his mangled body had been dragged through the streets, and afterwards burnt to ashes, the head, it is said, was sent to Rome by the queen-mother, Catherine de Médicis. The slaughter continued, without intermission, day and night. The young and old, the laity and the Protestant clergy, girls, and matrons, and little children, all shared the same fate. Thus were six thousand Protestants of all ranks killed in the capital; then they celebrated a jubilee to return thanks to God for the success of such a work. "Many bells were ringing the signal of carnage," says Lacretelle the younger; "nothing but insubordination reigned amongst this nation of executioners; the most infamous banditti marched side by side with the dukes of Anjou and Montpensier, descendants of St. Louis. Encomiums, which in battle are the prize of the bravest, were here the recompense of the most cruel—of him who could longest support the fatigue of slaughter: women and young maidens were not spared; rape preceded murder; children were even slaying their little companions, sons of Huguenots. Compassion for heretics was deemed a crime equal to heresy; none were saved, but by fraud. With white crosses in their hats, chaplets, scapularies, images of the virgin tied about their neck, a torch in one hand, and in the other a dagger, an axe, an arquebus, or a club; amid the sounds of litanies, intermingled with blasphemies and licentious songs, the report of fire-arms, the cries of frantic mirth, and the groans of the suffering, troops of assassins trampling on the mutilated remains of the dead, met and cheered each other on to the work of destruction and carnage; assisted each other in forcing the gates of the best-defended hotels, sharing in no small booty, and wresting it from each other. Some, like open and avowed robbers, bearing to their houses the fruits of their bloody rapine; others, with ferocious honesty, deposited their share either in the vestry, the Louvre, or at the feet of the king. They barricaded the streets with chains to prevent the Protestants from escaping, and those

they had not been able to surprise in their beds, they pursued upon the house-tops."

On Thursday, the 28th, a proclamation was issued in which the king declared himself the author of the massacre. The same day the clergy of Paris celebrated an extraordinary jubilee, and made a procession through the city. As the news spread through the provinces, the massacre was renewed from place to place, and the horrors which the capital had witnessed were repeated. At Meaux, Angers, Bourges, Orleans, Toulouse, the scenes were frightful; and most of the small towns, villages, and even the chateaux, were filled with blood. At Lyons the Guises had a strong party, and here the worst ferocity was displayed. According to some, eight hundred, but by the computation of others fifteen, or even eighteen, hundred perished. The peasantry on the banks of the Rhone, through Dauphine and Provence, were shocked by the sight of so many corpses floating down the stream, horribly mutilated. "At Lyons," wrote Capi-lupi, an officer in the pope's household, "thanks to the excellent order and singular prudence of the governor, all the Huguenots were taken one after the other, like sheep." Here the atrocities of Paris were almost excelled. M. de Mandelat, the governor, closed the gates on receiving information of the massacre of Paris. The guards were reinforced and the approaches guarded, and the unhappy Huguenots were aware that their hour was come. They were forbidden to leave the city, or to go out from house to house. When the next night came they were dragged into the streets and assassinated, and their bodies were thrown into the river. Their three ministers were seized and slaughtered with circumstances of the utmost inhumanity. Crispin, or Escrivain, a Huguenot of those days, whose brother was a martyr, describes the horrible scene of which he was a witness; and Lacretelle and other French historians have repeated his touching narrative. "On Friday," he says, "the 29th of August, Du Perat, citizen of Lyons, arrived from court. Then a proclamation was published throughout the city by sound of trumpet, that the Protestants were to repair to the governor's house to hear the king's pleasure. The greater part, too credulous, went to the appointed place, from whence they were soon after conveyed to the common prison, some to the archbishop's palace, some to the Celestine convents, or to the Franciscan, and other ecclesias-

tical houses, capable of containing so large a number. The night had hardly commenced when the lamentations and cries of those who were being massacred within doors mingled with the groans of the dying, whom they were dragging to the river ; and above all rose the horrible shrieks of women, and the cries of children, who saw themselves covered with their parent's blood. Amongst other victims on this fatal day was Martin Genou, brassfounder by trade, who, although he was suffering from a broken thigh, was lifted from his bed and carried in a sheet to the Rhone and thrown in. He gained a boat by swimming ; but at the instant that he was attempting to grapple it they hacked off his hands, and struck him severely with a pole, to make him leave hold and fall back into the water.

“ On Sunday, August 31, about eight o'clock in the morning, the massacre of the remainder of those who had been imprisoned in the monastery of the Franciscan monks was concluded. Many craved permission to pray to God before dying ; but their savage executioners, instead of granting their request, struck them with the sword : and when these unfortunate creatures, on bended knees, were lifting up their hands to heaven, they hacked off their fingers and cut off their noses, mocking and mangling them, taking pleasure in seeing them thus die by degrees. Many bound together by one cord were thrown into the river. From this hour the whole city was like a slaughter-house. It seemed as if the gates of hell were opened, and the demons let loose to fall upon their victims. Mornieu, one of the chief executioners, delivered Lazarus Bardot, royal sergeant, into the hands of John Vernay, his sworn enemy, who instantly despatched him. This same day, about one o'clock, the Penons received orders to take each of them twenty-five armed men and twelve porters, and to conduct them to St. George's gate, near the archbishop's palace, where the greatest number of prisoners were confined, and where the great massacre was to take place. The keys of the palace were delivered to those who were eagerly presenting themselves to perform the office of executioners ; for the public executioner of the place refused to take part in this infernal work, saying that there were but too many executioners of the kind they wanted. And the soldiers, too, had declared that they were resolved not to disgrace the military profession by an act fit only for butchers and slaughterers of oxen.

“Nevertheless Le Clou, captain of the arquebusiers of the city, arrived about two or three o'clock in the afternoon, with an infuriated and savage troop. As soon as he had entered the great court he said aloud to the prisoners, ‘You must die;’ then turning towards his men, ‘Proceed,’ cried he, ‘to business.’ He then ascended the gallery with his standard-bearer, to enjoy the butchery. The assassins fell so furiously upon their victims, that in a few hours all were cut to pieces. Almost all of them were smitten while in the very act of prayer, except a few young men of good family, who offered some resistance, and some officers, who seized the naked swords with their hands, with the blades of which they did but cut themselves. Amongst those who confessed, while dying, the name of Jesus Christ was a hatter, named François de Couleur, who deserves, together with his two sons, particular notice. His feet sliding in the gore of his brethren, and his face covered with the warm blood that spouted from their wounds, he was still heard encouraging his two sons to die faithful to God: ‘We know, my children,’ said he to them, ‘that such hath always been the condition of believers, to be hated, cruelly treated, and murdered, as innocent sheep among wolves. Be not frightened at the sight of these swords; they will but form to us a bridge, to pass safely over from this miserable life to the blessedness of heaven. We have lived long enough amongst the wicked, let us now go to live with our God!’” When he saw the murderers advance, he embraced his two sons, and they also in their turn embraced their father: “as if the father,” says Crispin, “had wished to serve as a shield to his children, and as if the children, by a natural impulse, were desirous to ward off the blows directed against their father at the peril of their own lives.” After the massacre, all three were found locked in each other’s arms.

“The executioners having finished their slaughter, and stripped the dead bodies, proceeded to the king’s prison, called Roanne, to do the same work there, when God willed to repress the rage of Satan, and employed the governor himself to stop the carnage. In fact, this magistrate, having learned that the massacre was about to begin at the archbishop’s palace, repaired without delay to the place: as he had not yet lost all sense of humanity, he was seized with horror at the sight of so much human blood, and revoked the order he had given but a few moments before, that

they should go to Roanne, and despatch the prisoners there. He caused it at the same time to be proclaimed by sound of trumpet that whosoever knew the authors of the crimes committed, and would bring them to justice, should receive a hundred crowns' reward. Meantime the assassins were walking about the city, exhibiting their white doublets sprinkled with blood, and boasting of having killed some a hundred, some more, some less." At Toulouse the gates were closed, with the exception of a postern, and the Protestants watched. Some of them, it was found, were absent, and in order to induce them to return, and to quiet the misgivings of the rest, a prohibition against molestation to any of *the religion* was published by sound of trumpet:—It was true there had been an outrage at Paris, but it arose out of a private quarrel, and at Toulouse the Protestants were safe. Many of them, still hiding themselves, from fear, the troops broke into their houses, seized them, and imprisoned them for three weeks, when orders arrived from Paris for their execution. The next day, before sunrise, two students, with a few of the rabble armed with axes and swords, proceeded to the prison by order of the advocate-general, and murdered them one by one as they descended the steps, to the number of three hundred; their bodies lay exposed and stripped two days, and were thrown into the ditch. Five councillors were hanged in their robes before the palace, and their bodies abandoned to pillage. The number of the sufferers through the whole of France is estimated by Perefice, archbishop of Paris, at 100,000; by Sully, a Protestant, at 70,000. De Thou, a Roman Catholic, again, reduces them to 30,000; and Dr. Lingard, the modern Roman Catholic historian, endeavours to show that not more than 1,600 suffered. The statements of Perefice or of Sully are unquestionably much nearer the truth. (See Browning's Hist. chap. 29.)

The Protestant nations of Europe received the dismal tidings with the deepest sorrow, the pope with exultation and transports of joy. The messenger was presented with a thousand pieces of gold, the guns of St. Angelo were fired, a jubilee declared, and a medal struck, bearing on one side the head of the pope, Gregory XIII., and on the other the destroying angel smiting the heretics. The inscription is "Huguenotorum strages, 1572." And the pope went in grand procession with the cardinals to offer thanksgivings, and hear a Te Deum for the triumph of the

true faith ; but, after all, the Huguenots were not extinguished, and the contest, instead of coming to a close, was to begin again with deeper hatred and animosities still more intense. In the provinces they defended themselves with all the fury of despair. Amongst scenes of horror of the same description, the siege of Sancerre is memorable for the valour of the Huguenots. It held out for more than ten months against the king, though the besieged had no fire-arms, and fought with slings. Upwards of five hundred died of hunger, including nearly all the children. The pastor, Jean de Léry, an eyewitness, describes the sufferings of the Huguenots. They fed upon moles, snails, straw, and even the parchment of their books. "I have seen some served up at table," he says, "on which the characters were visible." Rochelle suffered scarcely less severely ; and to the extreme mortification of the court, in both instances, the siege was raised. In Picardy and at Rouen the Protestants resumed their worship ; in fact, the massacre of St. Bartholomew had served no other purpose than to widen the breach, and kindle amongst them a spirit of desperate resistance.

After the massacres, Charles IX. (says Lacroix, "*Guerres de Religion*," tom. ii., p. 337) appeared gloomy and thoughtful. All the felicitations of the court of Rome were unavailing ; processions and spiritual songs could not calm his soul. He was seen continually plunged in that state of convulsion into which he had been thrown by the first sound of the signal-bell—with frantic step, quivering lips, and haggard bloodshot eyes. The massacre took place on the 24th of August, 1572 ; Charles IX. died, aged twenty-four, May 30th, 1574. His sickness was accompanied with such terrible symptoms as had never before been observed in cases of consumption. His chest was particularly affected, but blood flowed from all his pores. Frightful recollections troubled his thoughts, while lying on a bed ever bathed in blood—a bed from which in vain he strove to raise himself. His looks were often as wild as those of a man who believes himself pursued by avenging spirits. He still continually repeated, from the force of habit, those blasphemies which were wont to accompany all his words ; then he would implore the mercy of God. His torments increased when he was sensible of his mother's approach ; he trembled, and was dreadfully agitated to see her so tranquil after their common crime. He knew not whether he was falling

a sacrifice to the vengeance of God, or to the subtle attempts of his enemies, perhaps his mother, against his life. Did he conceive the most frightful suspicions, he would afterwards reproach himself. He interrogated his physicians, believing he saw in them a want of candour; he cursed them and cursed himself. He received no comfort from any conversations excepting those he held with his nurse. She was a Protestant, and he had prevented her from being included in the number of victims of St. Bartholomew's eve. "Ah, my friend," said he, "what a wicked counsel have I followed! O, my God! pardon me; have mercy on me. Where am I going? What shall I do? I know too well that I am lost!" Thus died Charles IX., at the early age of twenty-four, the victim of crime and of remorse.

He was succeeded by Henry III., an effeminate voluptuary and a slave of the priests. Still bent on the extermination of heresy, he was drawn by his counsellors into a scheme for uniting all good Catholics in one vast *League* for their destruction. This league, at the head of which Henry placed himself, was an agreement couched, at first, in moderate terms, which bound its members, in general, to support the royal authority, and, as to matters of religious difference, to abide by the decision of the States-general, to be convoked for that special purpose. Practically it became a formidable engine for the suppression of the Protestant faith, and exercised a great influence on the history of France for many years. War, of course, soon broke out. In 1577 a short peace succeeded; the terms were more favourable than the Protestants might have expected. It conceded the right of public worship, except in some few places, and defined the civil rights of "those of the religion," so, upon the whole, as to secure their persons from injury. They were allowed to celebrate marriages and baptisms, but they were still forbidden to claim any succession, direct or collateral, and they could inherit only personal property under any circumstances; but it was ill observed, and war again broke out in 1579: it raged with various success till the battle of Coutres, in 1587, where the king of Navarre, at the head of the Huguenots, destroyed the Roman Catholic general, the duc de Joyeuse, and half his army. Henry was himself assassinated by a monk in 1589; and the king of Navarre, his legitimate successor, as Henry IV., stepped into the throne.

The Protestants of France exulted that a professor of their own religion was at length their king. It was only reasonable to expect from a Huguenot king protection for the Huguenots. A long series of insults and persecutions seemed about to close for ever, perhaps to be succeeded by honours and preferment. But the Protestant Church of France, always, to human eyes, unfortunate, was doomed once more to disappointment. The Roman Catholics were the dominant party in the state. They used all their influence to persuade the king to retract his heresy and become a member of the true Church. They so far succeeded as to induce him to make the foolish promise to study the controversy for six months, and then determine what should be his religion for the future. The ultra-Romanists, the men of the League, set up a rival sovereign in the person of the Cardinal Bourbon. Instead of assisting his old comrades, Henry IV. found it difficult to maintain his own rights. France was again embroiled, and, this time, it was a war not simply of the two religions against each other, but of moderate men, both Roman Catholics and Protestants on behalf of the king, against the pope and his allies at home and abroad. Henry had, at this period of his life, no very strong sense of religion; he had already begun to temporize, and to maintain that the contest between the two parties was of much less importance than either of them was willing to allow. "Let a man hold the creeds," he was fond of saying, "and live accordingly, and he must be a good Christian." But in fact he was gradually becoming indifferent to the cause to which his illustrious mother had devoted her life, and the solicitations of his wife were not wanting to win him back to the Church of Rome. At length, on the 25th July, 1593, he abjured the Protestant faith, and was admitted, at the church of St. Denis, with much pomp, into the communion of the Roman Catholic Church. His title to the throne was afterwards recognised by the pope.

Still, the Protestants obtained some advantages. In the first place, their persecutions ceased for a time at least; and, secondly, the EDICT OF NANTES, which was signed the 30th of April, 1598. secured to them the exercise of public worship and other privileges. This famous edict recognised the Protestants as a party in the state. In the preamble the king acknowledges that God is adored and worshipped by all his subjects, if not in the same

form, at least with the same intentions; "in such manner that his kingdom will always merit and preserve the glorious title of 'very Christian.'" The edict was declared perpetual and irrevocable, as being the principal foundation of the union and tranquillity of the state. Within their families liberty of conscience was allowed; noblemen of the highest rank had permission to perform Divine service in their castles; and those of inferior rank might admit thirty persons to their private worship. The Protestants were eligible to all civil offices, their poor to the hospitals, and for their protection mixed chambers, partly Protestant, were to be established in all the parliaments. These parliaments, be it observed, were provincial assemblies, partly judicial and partly deliberative, and there were ten of them in the whole of France. They were also permitted to convoke synods and to establish four academies for science and theology. Still, however, the public exercise of their religion was limited to certain towns, in which it had been already licensed, and to the suburbs of other cities in certain parts of the kingdom. The supremacy of the Church of Rome was provided for; tithe was to be paid to its clergy, and its worship was to be re-established throughout the kingdom. This last article is said to have undone the work of the Reformation to a vast extent, and to have restored the mass in two hundred and fifty towns and two thousand parishes. Yet the party of the League was dissatisfied: pope Clement VIII. declared, that a decree that gave liberty of conscience to all was accursed—"the most accursed that had ever been made." The university of Paris attempted to close its gates against the Huguenots, and the parliament of Paris, until overcome by the king's remonstrances, refused to register the edict. At length, by degrees, passion upon both sides died away, and the twelve years that followed, to the death of the king, forms one of the most tranquil periods of the reformed Church. The edict of Nantes was the charter of Protestantism in France. The preface declared it to be perpetual and irrevocable; but it was ill observed from the first, and, after eighty-seven years, repealed by the grandson of Henry of Navarre; but during that long interval it was the measure and the rule, though not always the effectual bulwark, of the liberties of the Protestants of France.

During this season of repose the spiritual life of the Reforma-

tion failed. After the edict few converts were gained, while, at the same time, many Huguenots conformed. They went, says a French writer, through the Church of Rome, in order to pass into the ante-chambers of the court. The priests were anxious to gain over the pastors, and their conduct was marked with generosity. They raised a fund of thirty thousand livres a-year for the purpose of pensioning those ministers and professors who might forsake the Huguenots. To the honour of their pastors not one of them accepted the bounty. Yet the piety, and with it the energy and success, of the Protestants, had disappeared. Catherine, the queen-mother, had employed all her seductive arts to infuse amongst their chiefs and leaders the luxurious vices of her own licentious court; rank, office, and all the other allurements of royal patronage were employed to shake their fidelity; and Mézerai asserts, that more Huguenots were converted in four years by these methods, than had been induced to abandon their religion in forty years by the scaffold and the stake. "Nor must we omit, as still more fatal to their piety, the sanguinary habits contracted during many years of civil warfare. The atrocities of that dark era were not confined to the Catholics. As the contest proceeded, the parties on either side became gradually bereft, not only of the spirit of Christianity, but of the feelings of our common humanity; while the moral sense was paralysed, if not deadened, by the sight, and the perpetration, of remorseless cruelties. To men stained with such crimes, however sorely provoked to the commission of them, it was not given to raise aloft the Cross of the Redeemer, and to announce the tidings of peace and reconciliation. By the lips of such heralds, even the gospel itself was proclaimed in vain." (Sir James Stephen, Lectures on the Hist. of France.)

We do not attempt to pursue the history during the interval between the edict of Nantes and its revocation. It would be to relate the struggle of two great political parties rather than to give a history of religion or of the Protestant Church. Henry IV. fell by the hand of Ravallac the assassin on the 14th May 1610. The Huguenots left Paris; the duke of Sully, who had now become their leader, shut himself up in the Bastille, of which he was governor; and in the southern provinces the Huguenots took up arms. There was a general dread of the court, now managed on behalf of the young king, Louis XIII., a child eight

years old, by Mary de Medicis, the widow of Henry IV., a bigoted and vindictive Catholic. But it was not till 1615 that the wars of religion again broke out. In 1620 a system of persecution, afterwards known as the *dragonnades*, was introduced. The states of Béarn, almost entirely Protestant, were ordered to restore the ecclesiastical property, which, for thirty years, had been applied to their own churches, schools, and hospitals, and, as they were naturally reluctant, the demand was enforced at the point of the sword. The soldiers committed the greatest excesses. The people were driven to the mass with blows, their property wasted, their children carried off. The war spread, with its usual miseries, and in 1625, Rochelle, the Protestant stronghold in the north, fell. It was lost to the Huguenots by the treachery of Charles I., who made over to the French king the fleet which had been equipped for the assistance of the besieged Protestants. The pope sang a Te Deum, and wrote to congratulate Louis, and once more "the religion" seemed to be expiring in France. At Privas, a small town which was taken by capitulation from the Huguenots, the garrison of eight hundred was slaughtered, fifty burghers were hanged, numbers were sent to the galleys, the town was burnt, and a band of missionary priests followed to compel the survivors to embrace the religion of the king. In 1629 an *edict of grace* was published—the title shows the altered condition of the Huguenots; they were now treated only as rebels, or as a disaffected faction. The great Calvinist party had ceased to exist after the loss of Rochelle.

Louis XIV. succeeded to the crown in 1644, and found the Protestants few in numbers, and of no political importance. For some time they were treated with the forbearance which contempt inspires. His first minister, Richelieu, as well as Mazarin, who succeeded him, were men of more enlarged minds and gentle dispositions than any who had hitherto directed the counsels of the Roman Catholic party. The Protestants were allowed to hold their synods: many eloquent preachers, and several authors of the highest reputation appeared amongst them. It is enough to mention the names of Amyraut, Dumoulin, Daillé, Basnage, Drelincourt, and Claude. Yet it must not be supposed that their condition, even now, was an enviable one. They were exposed to constant insults, and occasionally, on some trifling pretext, to gross injustice. Mazarin died in 1661; the

king resolved to govern alone ; he was now, too, freed by the death of Cromwell and the restoration of Charles II. from all uneasiness from England ; his disposition was naturally insolent, and it was inflamed by unbridled indulgence and the possession of unbounded power. His licentiousness drove him to his priests for relief to an irritated conscience, and the priests used their influence to embitter his mind against the Huguenots. He began to persecute in order to appease his remorse, and make a composition for his crimes. Urged forwards by the Jesuits, he was easily persuaded that the suppression of heresy would atone for his criminal indulgences ; and his favourite mistress, Madame de Maintenon, was now only anxious to conceal the stain in her birth (she was born and brought up a Huguenot) by stimulating the king to fresh severities. One by one, the immunities which had been extorted from his predecessors were invaded ; every legal point was determined in favour of their enemies ; their political assemblies were closed ; their national synod forbidden ; their burials ordered to be solemnized only in the night, their marriages to be regulated by the (Roman) canon law ; their ministers forbidden to wear the cassock, except in a place of worship, or to speak or pray with their poor in the hospitals, except in a whisper ; the profession of physic was closed against them ; they were forbidden to exercise the callings of apothecaries, grocers, or booksellers, or to have an apprentice. On the other hand, large sums were spent by the court in buying conversions ; and, as a premium, converts were allowed a delay of three years for the payment of their debts. But the conversions did not, after all, proceed with sufficient rapidity, and soldiers were quartered in the houses of the *obstinate* ; while converts were exempted from the burden by a royal ordinance. The highest expectations were raised at court. "If God spares the king," wrote Madame de Maintenon to her friend, Mad. de Villette, on the 6th April, 1681, "there will not be a single Huguenot in twenty years." The repeal of the Edict of Nantes seemed to be the only step necessary to complete their final destruction ; it had, in fact, been for some years resolved upon, and from this time began to be avowed ; and preparations were made for carrying it into effect. Frightful cruelties were practised. One Protestant minister, Andoyer, was hanged in 1684 ; another, Homel, was broken on the wheel in the same year. Petitions or

remonstrances were alike unheeded. The dragonnades were renewed, and horrible acts of cruelty were practised, perhaps (as his apologists maintain) without the sanction, or even the knowledge of the king. The whole nation was inflamed against the Huguenots. Soulier, a Roman Catholic, writes thus: "While the king's council was striving to suppress the Protestant academies and overthrow their temples, the bishops, the parliaments, the governors, and even the inferior authorities, did each their best to second the king's designs: by this means most of the provinces where Huguenotism was formerly very flourishing were deprived even of public worship." In the court of Louis XIV., the ruling passion and the fashionable pursuit was to make converts. It was the one act by which the king had been induced to believe that all his sins would be atoned for, and the glory of his reign established for ever. M de Sismondi wittily remarks that religion, as inculcated on Louis XIV. by his confessors, is reducible to two precepts: "Desist from adultery; exterminate heresy." One-third of all the profits of all the vacant benefices of France was set apart by Louis as the capital of a sort of bank of conversion, at the head of which he placed Pelisson, himself a convert from the faith of Geneva. Under Pelisson were employed subordinate officers in all the cities and provinces of France in which Protestantism most abounded. Their duty was to purchase adhesions to the Church of Rome: for this traffic there was a regular scale of prices, ranging from five to a hundred livres, according to the rank and wealth of the apostates. Lists were published of hundreds of conversions; but, unfortunately, the converts, having received the bribe, affected scruples, fell back into the ranks of the Huguenots, and had to be bribed again. This device was answered by an edict of the year 1679, which condemned all relapsed persons to banishment for life, and confiscated their property. The work proceeded too slowly after all; there were still about two millions of Frenchmen who were not ashamed of the name of Huguenots. It was evident that the conversion of France would never be effected by blandishments and bribes. Louis determined to have recourse to violence: penal laws were passed and rigidly enforced. From an appalling list of pains and penalties, we adduce a few of the most distressing. Mixed marriages were forbidden: a Protestant might not employ a

Catholic valet, lest he should be seduced into heresy, nor a Protestant, because he could not be trusted by the State. Children of seven years of age might abjure the Protestant faith notwithstanding the opposition of their parents; an opposition which subjected them to a severe penalty. Much of their ecclesiastical property was confiscated. If a new convert were admitted, the pastor was punished with banishment and confiscation of his property, and the congregation was dispersed. The dragoons were now let loose, and in 1685 two hundred and forty thousand converts were made at the point of the halbert. Scenes incapable of description must be faintly pictured to the reader by his own imagination. Louvois, one of the missionaries employed, reported that within a few weeks twenty thousand conversions had been effected in the district of Montauban, and sixty thousand in that of Bordeaux. "A month ago," said he, "there were one hundred and fifty thousand Protestants; very soon there will not be ten thousand left." The Duc de Noailles, commanding the army on the south-east, wrote to Louvois as follows: "The day after my arrival at Nismes, the most considerable persons of the place made their abjuration. The ardour for change then cooled a little, but, in consequence of my having quartered some troops upon some of the most obstinate, affairs are once more in a good train. . . . I hope that before the end of the month not a single Huguenot will be left in the Cevennes. . . . The number of these religionists in this province is about two hundred and forty thousand." These were preliminary steps. On the 18th October 1685, Louis XIV. signed the REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES. "Observing," says the king, in the introduction, "with the gratitude which we so justly owe to God, that our cares have produced the desired end, and that the greater part of those of the religion calling itself reformed have embraced the Catholic faith, for which reason the further execution of the Edict of Nantes is useless, therefore it is enacted that the Protestant religion shall be no longer celebrated in any part of the kingdom; that all Protestant pastors shall quit France within fifteen days, and be condemned to the galleys if they venture to preach again (while those who should conform received a pension, with other privileges); that the children of Protestants shall be educated as Catholics; that Protestants emigrating, if men, shall be sent to the galleys for

life ; if women, be imprisoned for life." A deceitful promise was added, that the members of this religion might remain unmolested till it should please God to enlighten them, provided they abstained from public worship. The last article gave rise to fresh calamities: the Huguenots rejoiced that liberty of conscience within the bosom of the family was still respected. But the intentions of the court were very different; it was merely a pretext to prevent their emigration. Louvois wrote thus to the commanders of the dragoons: "His Majesty desires that the utmost rigour shall be shown to those who will not conform to his religion, and those who seek the foolish glory of being the last must be pushed to the utmost extremity." Almost all writers, of all creeds, and all shades of political opinion, date from the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the destruction of the ancient monarchy, and the long entail of the sorrows and disgraces of a hundred years. But the edict was popular, and never was the "grand monarque" thought more worthy of the title than when, as his flatterers told him, he had accomplished, by a single stroke of his pen, what six kings of France had attempted in vain. The act of revocation was rigorously executed. The letter of the edict had allowed fifteen days for the departure of the pastors; they hastened to be gone; hurried away, as they were, by the royal guards. There was a rush of Huguenots to the frontiers. The men assumed every possible disguise. Women of quality, says an eye-witness (Benoit, "Hist. of the Edict of Nantes,") who, so to speak, had never placed a foot upon the ground, except to cross their apartments or stroll in an avenue, travelled on foot a hundred leagues. Girls of fifteen, of every rank, exposed themselves to the same hazard: they drew wheelbarrows, they carried manure, they disfigured their faces with dyes, or blistered the skin to give them a wrinkled aspect; both women and girls counterfeited sickness, dumbness, and insanity. Some went disguised as men, some, too delicate and small for men, donned the dress of lacqueys, and followed, as boys, on foot through the mud. Thousands perished with fatigue, or accident, or shipwreck, or the bullets of the soldiery; thousands were captured, and the galleys were crammed with ancient magistrates, officers, gentlemen, and old men. The court was alarmed at the depopulation of the country and the ruin of industry. To-day it affected

indifference, and threw open all the outlets of the country; to-morrow it revoked the license; yet few ships quitted the coast without carrying away some fugitives stowed away in the cargo, or packed in cases and bales of goods. Multitudes put to sea in open boats, and thus numbers perished. It is difficult to determine the exact number of the refugees. Benoit, himself a refugee pastor, makes the number of his clerical brethren seven hundred: a moderate statement; since other writers have raised the numbers to fifteen hundred, and two thousand. Voltaire says that fifty thousand families quitted the kingdom. Sismondi calculates that, if the lowest numbers be accepted, three or four hundred thousand established themselves in other countries, while a million was left in France. Of the numbers who took refuge in England, we may judge from the fact that twenty two French churches were formed in London, and eleven regiments of refugees were enrolled in the army. But it is with the history of the million Protestants who remained in France that our narrative is now concerned. To the story of the refugees we shall advert hereafter.

After the edict of revocation, the Protestants were still exposed to the dragonnades. *Lettres de cachet* were issued, under which hundreds were secretly imprisoned. Their churches, or temples, and Bibles were destroyed, and their children kidnapped and placed in Roman Catholic seminaries and convents. Still the Protestant cause revived; and the court was enraged and mortified to learn that all its measures, severe and desperate as they were, had been unsuccessful. It is true that in two important points the character of the Huguenot party was much altered. It had now no longer a nobility to lead, or a clergy to instruct it. After the revocation, scarcely a gentleman of rank of the reformed religion remained in France. A party which had once numbered in its ranks probably a third of the noblesse, several Bourbon princes, and a king of France, was now composed only of the middle classes (and but sparingly of these), the mechanics, and the peasantry. All their learned men, all their pastors, had disappeared. It is true that many of those who had fled at the revocation returned soon after, and resumed their ministry by stealth. But in July, 1686, an ordinance appeared denouncing death against the pastors who had thus returned, and confinement for life to the galleys to those who sheltered them.

The same ordinance promised a reward of five thousand five hundred livres to those who should apprehend or betray a minister, and it threatened death to those who should attend the religious meetings of the Huguenots. These were no empty menaces; if the Protestants were overheard praying or singing, the soldiers at once fired upon them. They preserved exact lists of the numbers massacred in different places, and there were instances in which companies of two, three, or five hundred were slaughtered without an effort to resist, and found dead in the tranquil attitude of prayer. Louis XIV. was urged to these furious excesses by his own tyrannical disposition, and by the arts of the Jesuits under Père la Chaise, the royal confessor. But the Jansenists viewed these cruelties with horror, and solemnly protested against them. Several of the bishops refused to put in force the royal mandates against the Huguenots, or to suffer their clergy to harass them into a recantation; and Fénelon dared to lift up his voice in indignant condemnation of measures which he saw to be at once futile and wicked.

Under these circumstances the war of the Camisards broke out. It would have been astonishing if an enthusiastic and persecuted band of men, without leaders, had not fallen into some excesses, and it excites no surprise that when thus goaded they took reprisals on their tormentors. It is only under the influence of the highest religious principles that human nature can patiently submit to a course of systematic cruelty, the details of which, as in the case of the Camisards, are too sickening to bear description. Deprived of their pastors, the Huguenots devoutly listened to the instructions of several pious laymen, amongst whom Claude Brousson, an advocate of Nismes, is justly renowned. He renounced his prospects in life, and gave himself up to the noble work of imparting spiritual consolation to an afflicted people. A volume of sermons published shortly after his death attests, not only his piety and zeal, but genius and a fair amount of learning. His ministry was carried on in caves, and out-houses, and inaccessible ravines amongst the mountains. At length he was arrested, and sentenced to be broken alive, and then hanged, but the sentence was inverted; he was first strangled and then mangled on the wheel. This was one of many ferocious acts which drove the Huguenots to madness. In July, 1702, they fell upon

the Abbé du Chaila, a ferocious persecutor, whose refinement in torturing his victims no North American savage or grand inquisitor has at any time surpassed. A body of fifty Huguenots suddenly surrounded the house in which he lodged; he endeavoured to escape, but fell pierced with nearly fifty wounds. Each assassin exclaiming as he struck him, "This avenges my father's death;" "This comes from my brother in the galleys." This was the beginning of the war of the Camisards—a word the meaning of which is unknown.

The Camisards soon found themselves in sufficient numbers to dare an open insurrection; they continued two years in arms, and maintained upwards of thirty engagements with the royal troops. The Count de Broglie attacked them on the 12th of January, 1703, at Val-de-Bane. There were not above two hundred Camisards. The approach of the troops did not move the resolute band, who continued singing a psalm, with one knee on the ground, until they had received the first volley; when they replied with such effect, that their enemies retreated. But the fortunes of Louis had already waned, and fearing that the Protestant powers of Europe might land their troops in the disturbed provinces, he was induced to relax his severities, and even to offer places in his service to their leaders. He died in 1715, and the Camisard war expired. It certainly purchased a few years of comparative repose to the Huguenots during the last part of his reign.

The Camisards, deprived of their ministers, were often the dupes of an ignorant superstition. They regarded their leaders as inspired men, and prophets in great numbers appeared amongst them, and were listened to with implicit faith. The soldiers called themselves the children of God, the flock of the Lord, and they bestowed on their captains the name of brother. In many points they resembled the sectaries in the parliamentary army under Cromwell. Their private life was religious and severe; but they made stern and bloody reprisals upon their enemies. The atrocities on both sides were such that it is refreshing to meet with a military engagement, as a positive relief.

The Protestant refugees, after the revocation of the edict of Nantes, were hospitably received in all Protestant countries. England was their principal retreat; and they well repaid the generous sympathy which their sufferings drew forth amongst our

countrymen. Schomberg and Rouvigné were Huguenots. To the former, at the head of his French regiment, was due in no small measure the triumph of William III. at the battle of the Boyne, in 1689 ; and the humiliation, by the same blow, of popery and the grand monarch, as represented in James II. the tool of both. Schomberg was not less a Christian than a hero ; twice in the course of a long life he had been stripped of all he had for his adherence to the Protestant cause. He was offered the bâton of a marshal of France on condition that he would conform. He answered the king, "That if upon such low motives he abandoned the service of the God of his fathers, he should deserve the scorn of all men, and in particular of his majesty ; and he who was not true to God, could never be faithful to his prince." His high merit afterwards gained the bâton. One of his first proclamations to the army which he led, in his last campaign of Ireland, is "to forbid the horrid and detestable crimes of profane cursing and swearing, and taking God's holy name in vain, because, he justly fears, that their majesties' army may be more prejudiced by these sins than advantaged by the conduct and courage of those guilty of them." His discipline would have suited the camp of Oliver Cromwell, or been worthy of that of Gustavus-Adolphus. The Marquis of Rouvigné was another of the heroes of William III. He had left a plentiful estate in France to follow the dictates of his conscience, and devoted his high abilities to the service of his adopted land in the cabinet and upon the field.

For many years the refugees were supported by a national grant, and we fear that to this circumstance, as much as to the misconduct of some of their own body, must be attributed the unpopularity which fell upon them soon afterwards. It is not to be supposed that the emigration had been confined entirely to religious men. In so large a number there was of course the usual admixture of good and evil. The greater part had no doubt obeyed the voice of conscience : many had been driven out by fear ; but others had yielded to the mere influence of contagious example, or had sought excitement rather than repose ; and these brought with them the habits of a corrupt nation instead of those of a reformed church. In a sermon preached at the French Chapel of the Savoy, on the death of Queen Mary, the minister Jean Dubourdieu, spoke of "that

extraordinary contradiction, at which he wondered, in the conduct of the profane refugees, unable to practise the religion for which they suffered."

About the year 1706 the French prophets appeared, and for several years the indignation with which they were visited fell, with little discrimination, on all the refugees. The chief prophets were Camisards, who had already played their part in the Cevennes, and now came over to London, professing inspiration; but whether from fanaticism or the mere love of imposture, seems a little uncertain. They displayed their gifts in public, threw themselves into convulsions, or fell into trances, and were visited by crowds. Credulity being limited to no class of society, the rich and educated caught the infection, and shared deeply in the delusion. Some converts were gained in the higher classes, and amongst members even of the bar. They were joined, too, by Sir Richard Bulkeley, a baronet of ancient family, and for a short time not only London, but the great provincial towns were infested with "French prophets" and prophetesses, and their English imitators. Happily one of them in London stumbled on a prediction which at once brought his veracity to the test. He foretold that upon a given day a certain dead man would revive. The enthusiasm was incredible, but the bubble then burst, and the French prophets were heard of no more. In justice to the children of the Huguenots, let it be remembered, that similar claims to the prophetic gift were made about the same time by a section of Roman Catholics in France, and that they have been revived by the Irvingites in England during the present century.

In this folly the French churches in London was not involved. They passed a severe censure upon the Camisards and their fraudulent or foolish fanaticism; both, as they said, "to prevent the reproach which those of the Romish communion might cast upon us, and to testify to the nation in whose bosom we have the happiness to live, that we have done what lay in our power to prevent this great scandal." Some went further, and treating the prophets and their assemblies with marks of contempt, took pains to show their abhorrence of such practices.

Religion appears to have greatly declined amongst them about this period. They became violent politicians, and thus provoked the animosity of their opponents; and in the caricatures of

Hogarth, as well as in the literature of the day, we may see indications of their unpopularity. Gradually, however, these ebullitions ceased. The refugees acquired the language and the habits of their adopted country, and with these its religion. Of the original churches of the Huguenots in London, only two or three now exist, and these are replenished by new comers from abroad, rather than the descendants of the ancient refugees. But, on the other hand, they have risen to wealth and station in English society, and have long been thoroughly incorporated with us. In art and science, in the senate and upon the exchange, at the bar and in the pulpit, not a few names of high distinction remind us of a French extraction, and of our obligations, as a people, to the tyrant who, in revoking the edict of Nantes, infused a new element of life among the Protestant nations of Europe.

In England, the French Church has produced no great divines, if we except Saurin, who for a short time was one of the ministers of a congregation in London. In 1705, he settled at the Hague, and there his ministerial life was spent. We believe that he is allowed to stand in the highest class of French orators, sacred or secular. He is eulogized by foreign critics for deep thought, forcible argument, bursts of feeling, and a grand simplicity. But an English reader is rather impressed with admiration of his skill and genius than deeply moved. An effort to surprise us is too apparent; the structure of the address is too elaborate; and we are not carried away with a torrent, copious indeed and beautiful, but conducted through artificial channels, which seems meant to decorate the landscape rather than to refresh the soil.

The history of the French Protestants in France, from the death of Louis XIV. to the revolution in 1789, presents few points of interest. During the regency of the duke of Orleans we have a repetition of the old severities. So recently as 1752, Benzenet was executed at Montpellier, and in 1762 Rochette at Toulouse, for no crime except that they were Protestant ministers. At Rochelle three brothers were beheaded at the same time, who were offered their lives upon the scaffold if they would abjure. Louis XVI. made a few concessions in favour of his Protestant subjects. It was reserved for the National Assembly to restore the Huguenots to the enjoyment of the rights of men and citizens. The Edict of Toleration was passed in 1789, and it removed the penalties of the Revocation, and gave the Protestants once more

a legal existence. A decree of the Constituent Assembly declared "all citizens equal in the eye of the law," and removed the last badges of degradation. When the patrimony of the Church was confiscated, the Protestants were accused by the Roman Catholic party of being the cause of its misfortune, and in the south of France they were pillaged and killed; but the revolution advanced, both parties fell in equal proportions beneath the knife of the guillotine, and these quarrels disappeared. During the reign of Napoleon the Protestants were protected. "The empire of the law," said he, "ends, where that of conscience begins." If we may believe O'Meara, he once seriously contemplated the establishment of Protestantism as the religion of France. During the empire persecution ceased, and yet religion seemed to derive no advantage. Properly speaking, says M. De Felice, a Protestant minister, "French Protestantism has no history during the consulate and the empire. Weak in numbers, scattered, without bond or union, without discipline, constrained to be humble and silent, and to avoid all occasion of disturbing the official classification of religions, it dragged on a uniform and obscure existence. The ministers preached, and the people listened, the consistories met, and worship preserved its forms. Beyond this no one troubled himself, no one thought, and religion was a thing beyond the life of all." Upon the return of the Bourbons, in 1815, attempts were made on the part of the extreme Roman Catholics to induce the government to repeat the often-tried experiment of religious persecution. At Nismes, barbarities were practised, which would stand out in strong and frightful colours in any other history than that of the ever-suffering Huguenots. Several outrages and even murders were committed, and a general slaughter, "another Bartholomew" was planned, and on the eve of execution, when it was happily discovered and prevented by General Lagarde. The second revolution of 1830, placed all religions once more upon an equal footing, and the Protestants accepted the dynasty of Louis Philippe with hope and joy. But they were again doomed to disappointment. They soon found that they were safe so long only as they were apathetic. The national irreligion gave them occasion to display their zeal, and their old opponents, the Jesuit party, on whose support the king had unhappily thrown himself, demanded vigorous measures. The growth of a new developement of infidelity, St.

Simonianism, had created an Evangelical association, the aim of which was to promulgate Scriptural truth rather than to further the interests of any individual community. In several instances the Protestant ministers, and especially those in connection with this society, were punished by the inferior courts with fines, or the suppression of their places of worship; and the Court of Cassation, the supreme tribunal, though presided over by the virtuous Dupin, professed itself incompetent to redress the grievances the reality of which were admitted. Yet Protestantism increased, and the traces of its primitive zeal and piety reappeared. A number of Roman Catholics, and even some priests embraced it. New churches were formed. In 1838, the Calvinist or Reformed Church had eighty-nine consistories, and about four hundred ministers. The Lutheran Church in France had, in addition, thirty-seven consistories, and about two hundred and sixty ministers. The names of men of rank and talent, and of pastors renowned for eloquence or apostolic zeal, once more adorned the annals of a reviving cause. Amongst the former were the young Baron de Stael, the worthy descendant of great progenitors, and the admiral Ver-Huell, an ambassador, and a peer of France. Amongst the latter, Felix Neff, Alexander Vinet, Vincent, and Encontre, need only to be mentioned. The revolution of 1848 found the Protestants anxious, and probably not reluctant. Under Louis Philippe, their liberties had been abridged, and the growing power of the priesthood evidently threatened them with further discouragements. Once more there was a door of hope. The delegates of the reformed churches assembled spontaneously at Paris in the month of May 1848. They had been, in a manner, convoked by the common necessities and apprehensions. There was no regularity in the origin of their mandates; some had been appointed by universal suffrage, others by the consistories. Nor was a fair proportion observed in the members of the representatives: certain churches in the neighbourhood of Paris reckoned five or six delegates for a single consistorial circuit; while, on the other hand, some churches had only sent one deputy for three or four consistories. There, lastly, was no uniformity in the powers of the delegates; some were authorized to enter fully into a discussion of ecclesiastical questions, and others were not. Such an assembly could only prepare the way for a body more regularly chosen by the members of legal Protestantism.

The meeting first debated the question of the relations between Church and State, and the great majority were in favour of preserving the alliance, reserving expressly the dignity and liberty of the Church. A resolution was framed for the formation of an assembly to consider the affairs of the Protestant communion. Its session opened on the 11th September 1848. Ninety-two consistories were invited to nominate an ecclesiastical or lay deputy, and eighty-nine complied. But the number of members actually present at the assembly did not exceed from seventy to eighty; it was, in fact, a voluntary meeting, and without authority in law; the churches represented were still free to accept or reject its resolutions. But the difficulties which seem inherent in all ecclesiastical convocations impeded the little good which might, perhaps not unreasonably, have been looked for. The assembly stumbled and broke down upon the question of a confession of faith. The majority decided not to meddle with dogmatic subjects. The minority protested and withdrew. The majority proceeded to revise the constitution of the French churches, and submitted a scheme to the Minister of Public Worship with a view to obtaining a legal establishment. They proposed to reconstruct the Church upon the presbyterian system. They retained general consistories as subordinate to particular synods, and these again to a general synod which should assemble at stated intervals. But the scheme has not yet been sanctioned by the government. The minority formed, together with the independent congregations already in being, a new religious society under the name of the Union of the Evangelical Churches of France. They opened a synod on the 20th of August 1849, and drew up a profession of faith and an ecclesiastical constitution for the churches represented. But other changes were at hand. In December 1851, Louis Napoleon became Emperor of France. In the proclamation in which the imperial constitution is promulged, he declares, "it is still the *Concordat* that regulates the relations in Church and State." This is, certainly, a great discouragement to Protestantism. By Napoleon's Concordat of 1801 the Roman Catholic faith is recognized "as that of the majority of the French nation," and although liberty of conscience was affirmed for all, still the priest-party had never ceased to urge, even under Napoleon I., that toleration was all to which Protestants were entitled—not

an endowment by the State. The National Assembly of 1849 had declared all religions equal in the eye of the law ; and the Protestants looked forward on the accession of Napoleon III. to a share in ecclesiastical revenues as well as civil rights. At present, the French Church exhibits on the one hand a revival of piety, learning, and active zeal worthy of its best ages ; on the other its political horizon is gloomy : the State shows little sympathy ; and the Jesuit party are bent on its destruction.

It is a long time since the literature of the French Church was known beyond its own borders. Poverty, and constant anxieties for its very existence, suggest at once a sufficient explanation without any reflection upon the capacity or diligence of the clergy. " We are not aware," says De Felice, " of the publication of a single important book on doctrine, ecclesiastical history, or sacred eloquence, in the course of Napoleon's reign." A few occasional sermons, some courses of religious instruction, some abridgments of sacred history, three or four translations of English and German works, constitute the Protestant literature of this epoch. After the Restoration, though numerous works were published, they were mostly translations or reprints. Thus the writings of Paley, Chalmers, Thomas Scott, and Milner, have become familiar to the French reader. At present, the religious press upon the continent, where free, is in a state of great activity ; and works of great research, or deep thought, such as Gaussen's *Theopneustia*, for example, enrich the language of France and exalt its piety. In history and biography, and, still more perhaps, in a species of writing which has hitherto been left too much, in England at least, to minds of an inferior order,—religious tracts, full of thought and point ; solemn as the subject requires, yet picturesque and vivid,—the French Protestant divines are creating a new and important literature of their own.—*Maimbourg, Hist. du Calvinisme ; Anquetil, Esprit de la Ligue ; Fleury, Hist. Ecclesias. ; Thuani, Hist. ; Vie de Coligny ; Browning, Hist. Huguenots ; De Felice, Hist. French Protestants ; Weiss, Hist. des Réfugiés Protestants depuis la Révolution, &c.*

FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF (OR QUAKERS). George Fox, who was born at Drayton, in Leicestershire, in 1624, is the reputed founder of the Society of Friends; but they trace up their principles to the New Testament, and regard Fox in the light only of an eminent confessor, possessing more spiritual discernment than other teachers of his age. The Reformation, they maintain, was a gradual work, and Fox brought it to completion. The great leaders of the Reformation had no doubt protested faithfully against various errors. Wickliffe against the papal supremacy; Latimer against the mass; the Anabaptists against the error of infant baptism; and thus the great structure of human inventions was gradually broken down. It was reserved for Fox to teach the spirituality of pure religion, and the power with which the Holy Spirit works upon the soul of man. The doctrine, in his hands, was not new; it was held by all the Reformed Churches; and sentiments which have been supposed to be peculiar to Quakerism on the point of a Divine afflatus may be found in earlier records. Thus Peloquin, who was burnt in France in 1552, had said in his confession "that it was the Holy Ghost who gave him witness in his conscience that the books of the Old and New Testament were the Holy Scripture." Lewis de Marsac was burned about the same time at Lyons. When asked how he knew the Holy Scriptures to be the gospel, he made the same answer, "that God had taught him so by his Spirit." These men, however, lived only in the dawning of the Reformation, and to them a full and clear discernment of the truth had not been granted, for though, to use the language of a Quaker historian, the stem of human traditions and institutions had been sometimes strongly shaken, yet much of the root was left. "There still stood a partition wall, whereby the soul was hindered from living in perfect peace with its Creator." It now pleased God to make a clearer discovery of his truth; and Fox was raised up to teach the doctrine of an inward light and the spirituality of true religion.

The parents of George Fox were pious members of the Church of England in humble life. His father was a weaver; his mother was of the stock of the martyrs. Their son was apprenticed to a shoemaker, and from childhood his temper was grave and thoughtful. In his nineteenth year, under a conviction which he believed to be from heaven, that he must forsake his

kindred and his father's house, he left his home, resolved upon a life of seclusion from the world. We are indebted to his own pen for an account of the various trials, mental and bodily, through which he passed. To understand aright the disposition of Fox, the origin of Quakerism, or the state of society in England out of which it rose, we must avail ourselves of this singular and affecting memorial.

He left Drayton in 1643, and wandered about from town to town, seeking rest and finding none. He led a solitary life; he fasted often, and read the Holy Scriptures diligently. Still he was in great misery and sorrow of mind. He fell into a despairing state, walking many nights by himself, and sleeping in woods. After some time he went to an ancient priest at Mancetter, in Warwickshire, and reasoned with him about despair and temptation: who, being ignorant of his condition, bid him take tobacco and sing psalms. But, he says, "he was no lover of tobacco, and as for psalms he did not feel in a state to sing." After this he went to one Macham, a priest of high account, who was for giving him physic and for bleeding him. Alas! he found them all miserable comforters, and his mind continued in a state of great trouble.

In the year 1646, on the 1st of May, while he was walking in the fields, he had, he believed, a divine revelation, which discovered to his understanding that *to be bred at Oxford or Cambridge was not enough to make a man to be a minister of Christ*. At this he wondered, believing now the ordinary ministers not to be such as they pretended to be, and this made him unwilling to go any more to church. He, therefore, retired to fields and orchards, and studied his Bible alone; nor did he join himself to any body of dissenters, or professors of religion.

It was about this time that he believed he received several revelations from heaven. At last joy broke in upon his heart, and he thus expresses himself: "I saw into that which was without end, and things which cannot be uttered; and of the greatness and infiniteness of the love of God, which cannot be expressed by words: for I had been brought through the very ocean of darkness and death, and through and over the power of Satan by the eternal glorious power of Christ. Even through that darkness was I brought which covered all the world, and which chained down all, and shut up all in the death. And the same eternal power of God which brought me through those

things was that which afterwards shook the nation, priests, professors, and people. Then could I say I had been in spiritual Babylon, Sodom, Egypt, and the grave; but by the eternal power of God I was come out of it, and was brought over it, and the power of it, into the power of Christ. And I saw the harvest white, and the seed of God lying thick in the ground, as ever did wheat that was sown outwardly, and none to gather it. And for this I mourned with tears."

A report now went abroad that he was a young man of a discerning spirit; and many professors, priests, and people listened to his ministry.

In 1649, while he was at Nottingham, he entered the parish church, which he calls the steeple-house, where, having heard the priest give out his text, and preach "that it was the Scripture by which they were to try all doctrines, religions, and opinions," Fox felt such a righteous zeal working in him, that he was made to cry out, "O, no! it is not the Scripture, but it is the Holy Spirit, by which the holy men of God gave forth the Scriptures, whereby opinions, religions, and judgments are to be tried. That was it which led into all truth, and gave the knowledge thereof; for the Jews had the Scripture, and yet resisted the Holy Ghost, and rejected Christ, the bright Morning Star, and persecuted him and his apostles, though they took upon them to try their doctrine by Scriptures; but they erred in judgment, and did not try them aright, because they did it without the Holy Ghost." He thus speaking, the officers came and took him away, and put him in prison. After a while he was taken to the sheriff's house, where he lodged, and many religious meetings were held there, attended by people of quality and others, on whom a mighty change was wrought by means of his preaching. But the magistrates were displeased, and committed him again to the common prison, where he was kept till the next assizes. He was at length set at liberty, and travelled as before, preaching in all the towns and villages through which he passed. Wherever he came, imprisonment, or something worse, befel him. At Mansfield he entered the church "to declare the truth to the priest and people." They fell upon him and beat him cruelly in the church with their hands, their sticks, and their Bibles. They then dragged him to the stocks, and would have scourged him, had not a magistrate, of more compassion, kindly interfered on his behalf. The barbarous people then stoned him

out of the town. This was but a specimen of the treatment Fox met with wherever he went. At Derby he was imprisoned in 1650, and lay in gaol for six months at once. "Magistrates, priests, and professors were all in a rage with him;" and yet his chief offence, at present, was that he questioned their notions of church government, and sternly rebuked their vices. While he was in prison he issued, in a stern prophetic manner, warnings and remonstrances addressed to his persecutors. The clergy, the magistrates, and the people were each, in turn, solemnly rebuked. Many of his censures were the more cutting because too true.

At this period England was under the rule of Cromwell. The Church of England was destroyed. The Presbyterians or Independents had possession of the parish churches; and the professions of religion from all classes were loud and clamorous. It is painful to see with what facility men, who were themselves but just released from the oppression of Laud and the tyranny of the Star Chamber, could seize the weapons of persecution, and wield them with savage violence against the harmless Quakers. The interruption of public worship, in which Fox delighted, it was necessary to repress with severity, if lenient measures were not enough. But besides the popular outrages at which the magistrates connived, the punishments which they themselves inflicted under the forms of law were vindictive and unjust; and, to other sufferings, jeers and words of scorn were added, even from the judgment-seat. It was at Derby that Fox and his companions received the title of Quakers. Jervase Bennett, one of the justices of the peace, had signed the mittimus for Fox's imprisonment; and Fox in return bid him "tremble at the word of the Lord." Bennett from thence took occasion to call him and his companions Quakers. Clergy and laity took up the word, and it spread with that singular rapidity with which the new coinage of abuse is welcomed. Sewell, the friend of George Fox, in his "History of the people called Quakers," says, "that it sounded so gladly abroad that it soon ran over all England; and making no stand there, it quickly reached to the neighbouring countries and adjacent kingdoms, insomuch that the said professors of the light, for distinction's sake from other religious societies, have been called everywhere by that English name, which sounding very odd in the ears of some foreign nations, hath also given occasion to many silly stories."

From his gaol Fox wrote thus to Justice Bennett, who, it

should be mentioned, was an Independent in religion—"Friend, thou that dost profess God and Christ in words, see how thou dost follow him. To take off burdens, and to visit them that be in prison, and show mercy, and clothe thy own flesh, and deal thy bread to the hungry; these are God's commandments: to relieve the fatherless, and to visit the widows in their afflictions, and to keep thyself unspotted from the world, this is pure religion before God. But if thou dost profess Christ, and followest covetousness, and greediness, and earthly-mindedness, thou deniest him in life, and deceivest thyself and others, and takest him for a cloke. Woe be to you, greedy men and rich men; howl and weep for your misery that shall come. Take heed of covetousness and extortion; God doth forbid that. Woe be to the man that coveteth an evil covetousness, that he may set his nest on high, and cover himself with thick clay. Oh, do not love that which God doth forbid; his servant thou art to whom thou dost obey, whether it be of sin unto death or of obedience unto righteousness. Think upon Lazarus and Dives; one fared sumptuously every day, the other was a beggar. See if thou be not Dives. Be not deceived: God is not mocked with vain words. Evil communication corrupteth good manners. Awake to righteousness and sin not.—G. F."

In similar strains of expostulation, earnest and simple-minded, did the shoemaker's apprentice, with the unction of a suffering prophet, issue his letters to the mayor of Derby, to the several magistrates, and to the court. His exhortation to the last is full of good sense and piety, and would have well become the sheriff's chaplain. To understand Quakerism, the reader must comprehend the character of George Fox; for no institution ever carried more thoroughly impressed upon it the features of its chief. We present it in his own words:—

"I am moved to write unto you to take heed of oppressing the poor in your courts; or laying burdens on poor people which they cannot bear; and of false oaths, or making them take oaths which they cannot perform. The Lord saith, 'I will come near to judgment, and I will be a swift witness against the sorcerers, against the false swearers, and against the idolaters, and against those that do oppress the widow and fatherless.' Therefore take heed of all these things betimes. The Lord's judgments are all true, and he delighteth in mercy; so love mercy, dear people, and consider in time."

The Independent clergy of Derby were handled with more severity than the persecuting magistrates. He regarded them justly as the men who instigated the violence of the laity :—" O, friends, I was sent unto you to tell you that if you had received the Gospel freely, you would minister it freely without money or price. But you make a trade and sale of what the prophets and the apostles have spoken, and so you corrupt the truth. And you are the men that lead silly women captive, who are ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth. You have a form of godliness, but you deny the power. Now as Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses, so do you resist the truth ; being men of corrupt minds, reprobate concerning the faith. But you shall proceed no further, for your folly shall be made manifest to all men, as theirs was. Moreover, the Lord sent me to tell you that he doth look for fruits. You asked me if the Scripture was my rule ? but it is not your rule, to rule your lives by, but to talk of in words. You are the men that live in pleasure, pride, and wantonness, in fulness of bread, and abundance of idleness ; see if this be not the sin of Sodom. Lot received the angels : but Sodom was envious. You show forth the vain nature ; you stand in the steps of those who crucified my Saviour and mocked him ; you are their children, you show forth their fruit. They had the chief place in the assemblies, and so have you. They loved to be called Rabbi, and so do you. —G. F."

Fox's intrepidity, his fearless preaching, and his patience under his sufferings, gained for him many converts. Of these the gaoler of Derby was not the least remarkable. He had used his prisoner at first with professional brutality ; at length, overcome by the example and the exhortations of Fox, he came into his cell to implore forgiveness, and actually went the next day to the justices to remonstrate against his further confinement. They too, by this time, had become uneasy, and were not reluctant to afford their fearless monitor, in the town gaol, an opportunity of escaping. They "gave him leave to walk a mile sometimes," hoping that he would escape. Fox quietly requested them "to let him know how far a mile was, that he might take the liberty of walking it sometimes ;" and so he remained a prisoner till his term expired. His influence in the town had become so great that, a troop of soldiers being raised at Derby,

the men demanded that Fox should be their captain. The parliamentary commissioners offered him the post, which he rejected with scorn, and was in consequence committed again to prison ; now, too, amongst the rogues and felons.

Here he spent his time, as before, in publishing solemn exhortations to the magistrates, and letters of consolation to his friends. Now, too, more humane and wiser than the men of the age in which he lived, or their children's children, he remonstrated with them for putting men to death for secondary crimes. "I am moved," he says, "to write unto you to take heed of putting men to death for stealing cattle, or money, &c., for the thieves in the old time were to make restitution, and if they had not wherewithal they were to be sold for their theft. Mind the laws of God in the Scriptures, and the Spirit that gave them forth ; and let them be your rule in executing judgment, and show mercy, that you may receive mercy from God the judge of all." A young woman was tried for robbing her master. He wrote a solemn remonstrance to the judge and jury. The girl was sentenced to the gallows, her grave was dug, and she was carried out to the place of execution. Fox had prepared a solemn protest and placed it in the hands of one of his followers, to be read on the occasion. But public opinion was now for once on the side of the imprisoned Quaker. The magistrates were afraid, and at the last moment the culprit was reprieved beneath the scaffold. He suggested a reform, too, of another kind, which, after the lapse of another century, Howard found still unaccomplished. The prisoners remained long in gaol, "corrupting each other, and boasting of their evil deeds before they were brought to trial." He wrote an admonition to the judges showing the extent of this evil, and the necessity of having speedy justice done. In short, the magistrates found him, though in prison, a disagreeable neighbour, and he was released, after a year's imprisonment, towards the close of 1651.

George Fox was now six and twenty years of age. He had fully entered on his work, and had shown already that no sufferings which man could inflict would divert him from it. His system, in its great outlines, was formed. He had rejected the sacraments as carnal ordinances, and the stated forms of worship in use amongst Christians of other sects as mere formality. Ministers were called of God himself ; no imposition of hands,

no human sanctions were necessary; and they were to speak without premeditation, and only as the Spirit gave them utterance. He had now adopted those peculiarities of dress and language which still distinguish the Society of Friends. He had protested against oaths and war, and defied the might of Cromwell himself, in refusing to bear a commission in his army, or to take an oath of allegiance to his government. A Quaker woman had begun to preach. This singularity did not originate with Fox. The *Seekers*, a sect in some points resembling the Society of Friends, had for some years existed in England, and their women preached. The sect became fanatical and violent, and died away, and the more respectable were absorbed in the societies of Fox.

Released from his imprisonment Fox immediately resumed his mission. His labours hitherto had been confined to the counties of Warwick, Stafford, York, and Lancaster; now he took a wider range. Revisiting the scenes of his former sufferings, he extended his circuit far beyond into Lincolnshire on one side, and Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland, on the other. He was now assisted by several zealous friends, who had thoroughly embraced his doctrine, and who preached it with scarcely less fervour and acceptance than himself. Their teaching was everywhere the same. Christ they said was the light of man, and his light shone inwardly: to this inner light they solemnly bid every man take heed. On one occasion, standing, up amidst an audience of a thousand people, on a mountain-side in Westmorland, he spoke for about three hours. The substance of his address was that of all his preaching: "He directed all to the Spirit of God in themselves, that so they might be turned from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan which they had been under, unto God; by which they should become children of the light, and, by the Spirit of truth, be led into all truth, and so sensibly understand the words of the prophets of Christ, and of the Apostles; and come to know Christ to be their teacher to instruct them, their counsellor to guide them, their shepherd to feed them, their bishop to oversee them, and their prophet to open divine mysteries to them, that so their bodies might be prepared, sanctified, and made fit temples for God and Christ to dwell in. Moreover, he explained the prophets, and the figures and shadows, and directed his hearers to

Christ the substance. He also opened the parables and sayings of Christ, and showed the intent and scope of the Apostles' writings and epistles to the elect."

It is probable that if Fox had confined himself to these statements of Christian doctrine, and exhortations to piety, he would have met with little opposition, perhaps with some encouragement, from most of his opponents—Presbyterians, Independents, or Episcopalians. His theology differed from theirs, it is true, upon one point of great importance; he referred Christian men to the Spirit of God in themselves as the supreme and ultimate guide; they, on the other hand, made the written word the ultimate appeal. But a difference on this point was not of a nature to rouse the passions of the multitude, who indeed would scarcely appreciate its importance or detect its consequences. Fox provoked the persecutions he met with by his courageous assaults, renewed on every occasion with a resolution which nothing could daunt, against what he held to be the abominations of all existing Churches. He appeared amongst the people as a prophet denouncing sin, rather than a Christian teacher. His offence lay in the fierce assaults he made on others, rather than in the doctrines which he held himself. Thus the exhortation we have just quoted was delivered "close to the steeple-house yard at Sedburgh;" it was introduced with the preliminary remark that "the ground whereon he stood was as good as that of the steeple-house;" and, in conclusion, he made a severe attack upon the clergy. "Then he spake also concerning the state of the apostacy; how the priests had gotten the Scriptures without being in that spirit which gave them forth; how they were found in the steps of the false prophets, scribes and pharisees of old, and were such as the true prophets, Christ and the Apostles, cried against, in so much that none that were now guided by the Spirit of God could own them." Nor were these intimations thrown out merely as barren generalities, and so left upon his hearers' minds. The clergy were false teachers, and therefore their demand of tithes was a sinful extortion. "In conclusion, he said, that the Lord God had sent him to preach the everlasting gospel, and word of life amongst them, and to bring them off from all these temples, tithes, priests, and rudiments of the world which were gotten up since the Apostles' days, and had been set up by such as erred from the spirit and

power the Apostles were in." "Thus," adds his friend and historian, Sewell, "preached George Fox, and his ministry was at that time accompanied with such convincing power, and so reached the hearts of the people, that many, and even all the teachers of that congregation (who were Independents), were convinced of that truth that was declared unto them." Two eminent ministers amongst the Quakers, Audland and Howgil, were amongst the fruits of this sermon. It is scarcely a matter of surprise that, in the middle of the seventeenth century, persecution fell heavily on Fox and his companions.

To Howgil the honour belongs of having been the first to proclaim the principles of the new community in London; he arrived there in the beginning of the year 1654, when Cromwell was at the summit of his power. In the north of England the new sect had now above sixty ministers, but in the metropolis they were as yet unknown. Howgil, who is called an "eminent and eloquent man," obtained an interview with Cromwell, and soon afterwards addressed to him a solemn and prophetic warning: "Hear the word of the Lord! Thus saith the Lord, I chose thee out of all the nations, when thou wast little in thine own eyes, and threw down the powers of the earth before thee, which had established wickedness by a law; but now thine heart is not upright before me. * * * Therefore, this is the word of the Lord to thee, whether thou wilt hear or forbear; if thou take not away all those laws which are made concerning religion, whereby the people which are dear in mine eyes are oppressed, thou shalt not be established, but as thou hast trodden down my enemies by my power, so shalt thou be trodden down by my power." He concludes with denouncing the persecutors of the Friends. "Are not many shut up in prison? some stocked, some stoned, some shamefully entreated, because they abide in the doctrine of Christ, * * * And now if thou let them suffer, and count it just, I will visit for these things, saith the Lord."

Cromwell was not a persecutor; in this respect he had a more enlightened spirit than perhaps any public man of his age. But in the face of a nation split into factions, and frenzied with bigotry, he did not venture to repeal the penal laws which he found in existence, nor always to prevent their execution. The Friends spread rapidly in London: they met at first at a private house in Watling-street, then at a house in Aldersgate-street,

and soon afterwards in a large hall attached to a great house, called the Bull and Mouth, where an inn retaining that name has existed ever since. Burrough accompanied Howgil; he was the Whitfield of the party, both in eloquence and courage. It was the custom in the summer evenings with the young men of those days to try their skill in wrestling on Moorfields, and, in general, multitudes collected to enjoy the sport: Burrough was passing one evening and saw a strong and dexterous fellow, who had already thrown three others and was waiting for a fourth; Burrough stepped into the ring, walked up to the wrestler with a serious countenance, while the crowd looked with astonishment upon "the grave and awful young man," eagerly expecting the issue of the combat. It was a fight of another kind the unknown champion had in view. He spoke in a solemn voice of the evil of their ways, and of that grace of God of which he had given to every man a measure, enlightening every one with the light of Christ. He was a son of thunder, though at the same time a man of a bland and gentle spirit. His word went with heart-piercing power, we are told, and he was heard with no less attention than admiration. The hall at the Bull and Mouth was soon crowded; their women began to preach, and from Baptists, Independents, Sectaries, and Presbyterians, the cry was heard that their people were falling away to the Quakers. The parties who had subdued an ancient monarchy and laid prostrate the Church of England, were deeply mortified. A strange young man who knew no book but his Bible, who could scarcely write, and stood up clad in a leathern jerkin, announced himself as the great reformer and prophet of the age. He and his friends, simple men and women, had been stoned, imprisoned, and whipped from town to town, but still his principles grew apace, and his followers multiplied; and now he seemed to challenge the great divines of the age, the Marshalls, Baxters, Owens, and Mantons, to mortal combat in the very seat of their pride and strength, and in the heart of London.

It must not be concealed that a wild and dangerous fanaticism made its appearance amongst the new society, and provoked the indignation of the country. For the first few years they seem to have interrupted public worship in the parish church, wherever they opened their mission, and indeed as the means of gaining attention. In London, where these interruptions were

likely to be most offensive, they were carried on with the greatest rudeness. In one church a Quaker, who was a tailor, mounted the pulpit in the midst of divine service, and fell to work upon a piece of cloth ; a sign to the people that their church, so called, was not the house of God. Sudden cries, and denunciations in the shrillest voice of coming vengeance, were of frequent occurrence ; and more than once there were exhibitions shocking to modesty. A female came into Whitehall chapel in a state of nudity in the midst of public worship, Cromwell himself being present. The same thing was repeated in the time of worship in other places. Thomas Adam, having complained to the Protector of the imprisonment of some Friends in the country, and not finding redress, he took off his cap and tore it to pieces, saying, "So shall thy government be torn from thee and thy house." Some of them denounced judgments upon the whole nation. Some desecrated the Lord's day, as a legal ordinance which ought to be treated with contempt. The historians of the Society of Friends have not thought it necessary to place these extravagances on record. They received no encouragement from Fox, or the ministers who laboured with him ; and if any one, they say, swayed by human passion, commits any excess which is disapproved of by his fellow-members of the church, then such an act cannot fairly be imputed to the Society with whom he is connected. The force of this defence depends, of course, on two considerations : first, how far these excesses were the legitimate result of the principles maintained by the whole body ; and secondly, supposing them to have no legitimate connection with those principles, how far the healthy portion of the Society discountenanced the follies of its erring members. Still, supposing the leaders of the Society of Friends to have been entirely blameless in these matters, it would be unjust to pass them by unnoticed, unless we could undertake to be likewise silent upon those shameful persecutions which they so largely tended to provoke, and of which they are, in fact, the sole extenuation. Of the persecutions thus provoked, those of James Naylor were dreadful ; they have left a dark stain upon the Puritans of the commonwealth. He was one of Fox's earliest converts, and a preacher at the Bull and Mouth. His popularity, acting upon a mind naturally weak, and fanned by the flatteries of several foolish women, who thought themselves prophetesses, seems to

have disturbed his intellect. He was censured in London by his brethren for his self-conceit, and went to Exeter, where he was (almost a matter of course) imprisoned. Here he suffered himself to be addressed with blasphemous adulations by the women who accompanied him, as the everlasting Son of Righteousness, the Prince of Peace, and the only begotten Son of God. Released from prison at Exeter, he rode in triumph into Bristol, attended by his devotees. As he entered through the suburbs, one Thomas Woodcock walked bareheaded before him. Of the women, one led his horse; others spread their scarfs and handkerchiefs before him; and the whole company cried, "Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord God of Hosts! Hosanna in the highest!" They had no sooner arrived within the city of Bristol, than they were hurried to prison, and the matter being far too grave to be dealt with by the magistrates was laid before the House of Commons. It occupied a committee of the House for many days, and when they made their report, a long debate followed. Whitelocke, a member of this parliament, says that of the wisest men of that assembly, many were ashamed that the acts of a madman should occupy so much of their time, and that his conduct should be visited with such frightful severity. On the seventeenth of December 1656, they passed a resolution which, shameful as it is, no historian of the Quakers can omit: "That James Naylor be set on the pillory, with his head in the pillory, in the palace-yard, Westminster, during the space of two hours on Thursday next, and be whipt by the hangman through the streets from Westminster to the Old Exchange, London, and there likewise be set on the pillory, with his head in the pillory, for the space of two hours, between the hours of eleven and one on Saturday next; in each place wearing a paper containing an inscription of his crimes; and that at the Old Exchange his tongue be bored through with a hot iron, and that he be there also stigmatized in the forehead with the letter B; and that he be afterwards sent to Bristol, and be conveyed into and through the said city on horseback, with his face backward, and there also publicly whipt the next market-day after he comes thither; and that from thence he be committed to prison in Bridewell, London, and there restrained from the society of all people, and there to labour hard till he shall be released by parliament; and during that time be debarred the use of pen, ink,

and paper, and shall have no relief but what he earns by his daily labour."

The sentence was fully carried into effect, against the remonstrances of the citizens, more humane than the House of Commons. Naylor lived some years afterwards, awoke from his dream, confessed his errors with deep contrition, and was received again into the Society of Friends, amongst whom he died.

During the whole of the protectorate, the sufferings of the Quakers continued. They still continued to interrupt divine worship in the churches, and were as constantly dragged to the dungeon and the stocks; not unfrequently men and women were publicly whipped; yet they never shrank from persecution, but in general returned immediately to the town or village out of which they had been dragged at the cart's tail, and repeated their protest. The awful solemnity of their manner, their cruel punishments, their courage and their patience, produced a deep impression. Not only the common people, but men of consideration in the commonwealth, captains in the army and magistrates on the bench, espoused their principles, and appear amongst the sufferers for conscience' sake. In many cases the garb and language were of themselves a sufficient condemnation; and many harmless persons suffered, against whom nothing was alleged beyond the bare fact of their Quakerism.

Cromwell himself showed a disposition to favour the persecuted sect. George Fox was imprisoned at Launceston on an absurd charge of being concerned in a plot for raising forty thousand men to restore Charles II. One of his friends went to Cromwell, and offered to lie in the same prison as a substitute, provided Fox might be released. Cromwell's answer was, that he could not give his consent, for it was contrary to law: "But," said he, turning to his council, and duly appreciating this rare instance of disinterested friendship, "which of you would do so much for me, if I were in the same condition?" When Cromwell met his parliament in 1656, in the painted chamber at Whitehall, Samuel Fisher, a Quaker, contrived to obtain admission. The Protector in the course of his speech dwelt with a complacency, that upon the whole was not unreasonable, upon the equal administration of justice which prevailed throughout the kingdom. "He knew not," he said, "of any one man that suffered imprisonment unjustly in all England." An unfortunate remark in

the presence of Samuel Fisher ! He waited till the speech was over, and then having obtained a convenient standing, he pronounced "the burden of the word of the Lord God of heaven and of earth to Oliver Cromwell, protector, so called, of these three nations, to the parliament, and likewise to the three nations themselves, and all the people thereof." Cromwell and the parliament listened in silence while he opened his solemn charge, but the attendants interfered and the house broke up. Fisher, however, was not molested ; and a few days afterwards he published his speech in print as he intended to deliver it.

About this time the Society of Friends first adventured upon foreign missions. In 1655, Burrough and Howgil visited Ireland. They were imprisoned and banished in a few weeks, but others immediately took their place, and Ireland thenceforth became one of the fixed abodes of the Society of Friends. William Caton visited Holland ; at Middleburg he was imprisoned, and sent back to England ; and some attempts were made in Normandy ; but in neither country with much success.

It was in America, the wide field upon which the political virtues of the Quaker system, as well as its religious peculiarities, were to be tried soon after, on so magnificent a scale, by William Penn, that they were now to suffer a long and bitter persecution. In July, 1656, two Quaker women, Mary Fisher and Ann Austin, arrived at Boston. Boston had just then sprung into existence under the hands of the English Puritans. For conscience' sake they had chosen the wilderness of America in preference to their native land. They had fled from Laud and the Star Chamber. They professed a high regard for the rights of conscience ; and they looked down upon the Church of England with pity and disdain. The hapless Quakers hoped, among men who had felt the smart of persecution, to meet with tolerance if not with favour. They were doomed to a bitter disappointment. England, harsh and barbarous as she was, had been a gentle mother when her conduct came to be compared with that of the New England Puritans.

The arrival of the Quaker women filled Boston with dismay, of which it is impossible to read without a smile. Before they landed their books were seized, and, by an order from the council, burnt in the market-place by the hangman. They were kept prisoners on board the vessel until the proof of their guilt was

clear. One of them was heard to say thee and thou ; they were immediately landed and imprisoned ; and, lest the contagion should spread, all persons were forbidden to hold any communication with them by word or in writing under a penalty of five pounds. They were denied pens, ink, paper, and candles, and under pretence that perhaps they were witches were stripped naked. At the end of five weeks they were sent home again, the captain giving bond in one hundred pounds to land them in England and to suffer none of his crew to converse with them upon the voyage.

Scarcely a month passed before a party of eight Quakers arrived by another ship at Boston. They were imprisoned, and sent home again in a few weeks by the same vessel, and a law was passed by the local court of legislation prohibiting the colonists from connivance at the introduction of Quakers into New England under pain of imprisonment. But all these precautions availed nothing. The New England colonies, and particularly the city of Boston, were overrun with Quakers. The usual punishments were tried with the usual effect. Both men and women rejoiced to suffer scourgings and imprisonment, and delivered their message only with more boldness and more success. Endicot, the governor, in other respects a virtuous man, and a chief magistrate of great ability, headed the public feeling against the Quakers, and in his own example taught the disgraceful lessons of barbarity and injustice. The Puritans were indignant that these intruders should violate the sanctuary of pure religion which they had set up at so great a cost ; forgetting that they themselves had been sufferers in England under the very same pretext, and that their severities to the Quakers were, so far, a justification of the more lenient sentences which they and their fathers had received from Star Chambers and Courts of High Commission. In 1658 they made a law which imposed a fine of one hundred pounds upon any colonist who should, directly or indirectly, introduce a Quaker, with imprisonment until the penalty was paid ; and for every hour's concealment of the outlaw, a further penalty of five pounds. The unfortunate Quaker himself was to be dealt with thus, viz. : "That for the first offence, if a male, one of his ears should be cut off, and he be kept at work in the house of correction till he should be sent away on his own charge. For the second, the other ear, and be kept in the house

of correction, as aforesaid. If a woman, to be severely whipped, and kept as aforesaid, as the male for the first; and for the second offence to be dealt withal as the first. And for the third, he or she should have their tongues bored through with a hot iron, and be kept in the house of correction close at work, till they be sent away on their own charge."

There are two circumstances, besides the greater severity of the punishments inflicted, which seem to give a peculiarly revolting character to the conduct of the New England Puritans. The one is that their clergy were, on almost all occasions, the bitterest persecutors. It was not the outrage of a mob, or the insolent caprice of a country justice, but the calm and dreadful cruelty of a systematic fanaticism. In the second place, the Quakers were punished in New England for offences committed in Great Britain. They were seized, whipped, and imprisoned on their first landing; they had neither interrupted public worship nor denounced, as their manner was, prophetic woes and judgments, when the cruelties exercised upon them had reached to the extent of these whippings and mutilations. The colonial law we have just quoted was merely a measure of prevention.

However, it entirely failed. We should merely disgust the reader to no purpose, were we to recount the barbarities practised upon men and women, the clipping of ears, the lashing, the chaining of neck and heels together, to say nothing of fining and imprisonment, which disfigured the annals of the Boston settlers after this enactment. At length it was resolved, that Quakerism should be made a capital crime. Sewell, the Quaker historian, declares, that the magistrates took this last step in consequence of a petition from the Puritan ministers. "This," he says, "gave encouragement to the magistrates; for since the churchmen pushed on so wicked a business no scruple was made to go on with this bloody work." An Act was made, at a general court held at Boston, the 20th of October 1658, which happily has no parallel in ecclesiastical history, except in the records of the Church of Rome. It condemned Quakers to banishment on conviction of that single crime, and inflicted the penalty of death if they revisited the colony. The sentence might be carried into effect by a majority of the County Court, consisting of three magistrates; that is, "two magistrates might hang a Quaker," as Sewell expresses it, "at pleasure, without trial by jury; a

thing not heard of in Old England." Indeed the whole proceeding was utterly illegal, and the executions beneath this barbarous law were, in truth, judicial murders. The colonists, under a patent, had, it is true, a general power of making laws for their own government; but this power was limited; they could not create new felonies, much less inflict, under statutes of their own, the penalty of death. Both parties were aware of this; the Quakers ever reminding their persecutors, as one of them expressed it on his trial, that "their hearts were as rotten towards the king of England as to the law of God;" and the Puritans making answer too frequently with derision and defiance.

Under this Act many Quakers suffered exile or imprisonment and some were put to death. The list of martyrs and confessors has been treasured up; and in the exhibition of the loftiest graces of the Christian character under cruelty and in the face of death, it is worthy to be compared with the martyrology of any Church of ancient or modern days.

The first victims who sealed their testimony with their blood were William Robinson, a merchant of London, and Marmaduke Stephenson, of Yorkshire, who, together with Mary Dyer, the wife of a respectable colonist, were sentenced to the gallows in October, 1659. Robinson and Stephenson had been banished under the law of the previous year; they soon returned, and paid the forfeit of their lives. Mary Dyer was reprieved after the halter had been put about her neck; for it appears that these cruelties disgusted many of the colonists, and that Endicot, struggling between a sense of shame, and the impulses of fanaticism, was disposed, upon the whole, to spare her life. She was conveyed on horseback, attended by four guards to Rhode Island; in the spring she returned to Boston, and was immediately brought before Endicot, and condemned to die the next day. She was led through the town, guarded with a troop of soldiers, the drums beating all the way, to drown her voice, had she attempted to address the people. She was again beneath the gallows, when a reprieve was offered if she would promise to return into banishment. "In obedience to the will of the Lord I came," she said, "and in his will I abide faithful unto death." She was told that she was guilty of her own blood, to which she made answer thus: "Nay; I came to keep bloodguiltiness from you, desiring you to repeal the unrighteous and unjust law of

banishment under pain of death, made against the innocent servants of the Lord ; therefore, my blood will be required at your hands who wilfully do it ; but for those who do it in the simplicity of their hearts, I desire the Lord to forgive them. I came to do the will of my Father, and in obedience to His will I stand, even to death." Thus Mary Dyer bore her last testimony to the two great Quaker doctrines of implicit submission to the guidance of the inward light, and of passive quietude in suffering without wrath and almost without remonstrance.

We might give a frightful catalogue of men and women whipped from town to town, through the New England states ; but it is enough to show the discipline through which Quakerism passed in its infancy, and the character of the age in which it was cradled so roughly. The people of England and the Parliament were shocked ; and Endicot and his friends felt it necessary to send home an apology for their cruelties, and "to vindicate themselves," as they say, "from the clamorous accusations of severity." They advance no extenuation, except the necessity of providing for their own security against "the impetuous, frantic fury" of the Quakers,—the impetuous, frantic fury, to wit, of Mary Dyer !

Other martyrs followed. In 1661 William Leddra and Wenlock Christison thought fit to return from banishment, and were immediately imprisoned in chains. When brought to trial, Leddra asked, reasonably enough, "What evil have I done?" The court answered, that his own confession was as good as a thousand witnesses ; that he maintained the innocence of the Quakers who had been put to death ; and, moreover, that he kept his hat on in court ; and that he said thee and thou. "Will you put me to death," said he, "for speaking English, and for not taking off my clothes?" "A man," replied the court, "may speak treason in English." "And is it treason," he rejoined, "to say thee and thou to a single person?" He received no answer ; but ten days afterwards he was hanged, exclaiming, "I commit my righteous cause to thee, O God." Christison was asked upon his trial by Endicot the governor, "What dost thou here?" "I am come here," said the prisoner, "to warn you that you shed no more innocent blood, for the blood which you have shed already cries to the Lord God for vengeance to come upon you." Whereupon it was said, "Take him away, gaoler." He was brought up

again, and tried by a jury, for the colonists now began to fear the opinion of the mother-country ; he was brought in guilty, protesting manfully against the iniquity of their proceedings. "I appeal," said he, "to the laws of my own nation ; I never heard or read of any law in England to hang Quakers !" His courage saved his life : in a few days, Wenlock and twenty-seven of his friends were set at liberty. Wenlock treated his judges with contempt. "What means this ?" said he, "have you a new law, that I am to be set at liberty ?" "Yes," said they. "Then," he replied, "you have deceived most people." "How so ?" said they. "Because they thought the gallows had been your last weapon." Two of the company, Peter Pearson and Judith Brown, as some atonement for the wounded honour of the magistrates, were stripped to the waist, fastened to a cart's-tail, and whipped through the town of Boston. Soon afterwards an order arrived from Charles II., who was now restored, dated the 9th of December, 1661, commanding Endicot to desist from further proceedings against the Quakers ; whatever their offence, and whether they had been condemned or not, they were to be sent over to England, together with the respective crimes and offences laid to their charge, and tried according to the laws of the land at home. Happily for the persecuted Quakers, Governor Endicot died the next year. One of his last acts, in defiance of the crown, was the flogging of a Quaker.

Meanwhile the zeal of the new society had carried its ministers of both sexes into various lands. At Gibraltar, Daniel Baker testified against idolatry, clothed in sackcloth, while the priest was celebrating high mass. Two women opened their mission at Malta, and were laid two years in the inquisition. A mission was attempted on the coast of Barbary, but without success. In Barbados they suffered only less severely than at Boston ; besides the usual punishments of imprisonment and scourging, they were compelled to do the work of slaves ; one of them was chained to a wheelbarrow for a term of two years, in company with a negro, and some were sold as slaves.

To resume their history at home. A paper was published and laid before Parliament in 1659, in which they recount their sufferings. Some of these, it must be owned, were the legitimate fruit of their own extravagance. At West Chester, a Quaker, judging both priest and people to be exceedingly dark, entered

the church during sermon with a lantern and lighted candle, a sign how much they wanted the illumination of the inner light. He was punished by being thrust into a hole called Little-ease; this was a triangular den common in the prisons of those days, one of which may still be seen in the Tower. The prisoner was so confined that he could neither lie down nor stand, he could only sit in one posture; under this discipline, Sale, the offending Quaker, died. The paper contains a relation of above one hundred and forty persons, who, for the peculiarities of their sect, had been imprisoned. Of these, one and twenty had perished from ill usage, the remainder were still in gaol; the statement declares that in the last six years, about two thousand Quakers had suffered in their goods or persons.

But sufferings had no effect upon such men as George Fox, Howgil, and Burroughs. Towards the close of Cromwell's life, they began to assume the character of a political party, so far at least as to offer remonstrance and advice both to the Parliament and the Protector. When Cromwell was anxious for the crown, Fox remonstrated with him personally, and afterwards sent him a solemn admonition in writing: "O, Protector! who hast tasted of the power of God, keep kingship off thine head, and earthly crowns under thy feet. * * * O, Oliver! take heed of undoing thyself by running into things that will fade; be subject and obedient unto the Lord God." The Protector appreciated the integrity of his monitor, and treated him with kindness: but he wanted the will or the power to protect the Quakers, who, on their part, seldom lost an opportunity of provoking their tormentors. A national fast was proclaimed on account of the persecuted Waldenses; Fox seized the occasion to denounce it as an act of vast hypocrisy to weep for the sufferings of the Vaudois, and, at the same time, to persecute the saints at home. Burroughs wrote to the Protector to warn him that judgment was at hand; and Fox repeated the admonition. Quakers thronged the approaches to the House of Commons, to protest, to their face, against the hypocrisy of its members. One of their women forced herself into the assembly with a pitcher in her hand, which she threw down, exclaiming, that so they should be dashed in pieces.

When Charles II. arrived in London in 1660, hundreds of the Quakers were in prison, and Fox himself was in Lancaster Castle. He was released by an order from the king, at the intercession of

Margaret Fell. She was a Quaker lady of Lancaster (whom Fox afterwards married), who, with a female friend, now made her way to London, and obtained an audience of the young king. She represented to him the hardships which the Society of Friends endured. What truth there was in her representations, and what force in her pathetic eloquence, is told in the fact that, in the year 1660, seven hundred Quakers were at one time released from various prisons in England. Charles and his privy council were even disposed to go farther; an order was prepared for granting them the free exercise of their worship, when Venner's insurrection happened, and all was changed. The Quakers were confounded with the Fifth Monarchy men, and a general persecution began. Margaret Fell again interceded with the king, and the outrages were checked for a time, but the order permitting their public worship, though wanting only the sign and seal, was laid aside.

The Friends now shared in those severe measures which disgrace the legislation of Charles II. towards all Nonconformists. Numbers of them were again in prison, when an Act was passed, in 1662 (xiii. and xiv. Charles II., chapter 1), "for preventing mischiefs and dangers that may arise from certain persons called Quakers, and others, refusing to take lawful oaths." For maintaining the proposition that oaths were unlawful, or for the assembling of five or more, under pretence of joining in religious worship, the offender is fined five pounds for the first offence, and ten pounds for the second; with the alternative of imprisonment in the common gaol for three months for the first offence, and six months, with hard labour, for the second. "For the third offence it shall be lawful for his majesty, his heirs and successors, to cause him, her, or them, to be transported into any ship, or ships, to any of his majesty's plantations beyond the seas." Or, simply, thus: a Quaker, thrice convicted of the offence, might be sold into perpetual slavery at Tunis, or Jamaica, or perhaps Barbadoes, or Virginia.

The Act was rigidly enforced. Before the end of 1662, according to a statement published at the time, attested by twelve persons, more than four thousand two hundred Quakers were imprisoned in England; and in London and the suburbs five hundred. Many of these died under their hardships. Their meeting-houses were now closed, and if they attempted to

assemble they were turned out by the soldiers. But they disdained to hide themselves, and their boast was they had never sought shelter in conventicles or secret places. Expelled from the meeting-house, they took refuge in the street. As one preacher was seized and dragged off to prison, another, and a third, stood up in his place. When all the male teachers had been arrested in succession, the women stood up to speak, and shared the same fate. Nay, the Quaker boys sometimes, fired with a zeal beyond their years, took the place of the preacher just imprisoned. These occurrences were by no means unusual in the streets of London.

Quakerism still increased, and the severer sentence of banishment was now put in force. Burroughs sunk in prison, and died at the age of twenty-eight. Howgil soon followed; he too sunk under the hardships of his repeated imprisonments, and died after four years' confinement, in the gaol of Appleby, in 1664. This year, too, great numbers were banished; nineteen were transported at assizes held in October at the Old Bailey, the men to Barbadoes, and the women to Jamaica. In December, the same year, thirty-two men and women were transported to Jamaica for seven years. Keeling and Twisden were the judges on the bench, and both of them were brutal men, infamous for their severity to Nonconformists. In January, 1665, thirty-six were condemned by Keeling to Jamaica; and in February, thirty-four. Some of the jury were reluctant to condemn, and they were fined for refusing to do so. One ship carried out no less than fifty-five of these exiles for conscience' sake. But the crews and captains were exceedingly averse. Foul winds and fearful storms, and the simple, unresisting manners of their captives, convinced them of God's displeasure. In several instances the ships, after lying wind-bound for weeks, or encountering dreadful storms, landed the prisoners again, the sailors refusing to go to sea until they were rid of their perilous freight. At length, in 1665, no captain was allowed to sail to the West Indies without a pass from the admiral, and this was granted to those only who undertook to carry Quakers.

This state of things continued, with little improvement, till the Conventicle Act of 1670 (xxiv. Charles II., chapter 4), which, though not aimed especially against the Quakers, occasioned fresh severities. The trial of William Penn for preaching at an

assembly in Gracechurch-street was one consequence of this Act. The character of Penn, and the extraordinary influence he afterwards attained as a legislator and the founder of a Quaker colony, claim from us some notice of his life.

He was the son of Admiral Penn, who was high in favour with Charles II. He was sent to Oxford in his youth; and while at Christchurch he was so deeply impressed by the preaching of Thomas Loe and other Quakers, and their patience in suffering, that he at once embraced their principles. He was expelled, and sent by his father in displeasure to France, where he soon forgot his principles, and laid aside his plain garb. Returning home, he was sent to Ireland to manage his father's property. There he met with some of his old acquaintance, and other eminent teachers, of the Society of Friends. His convictions returned, and he himself became a preacher. Sir William Penn, his father, was greatly irritated. He saw all his projects for the advancement of his only son frustrated. Young Penn would not give way so far as to comply with his father's wish that he should take off his hat in his presence, and in that of the king and the duke of York. He was disinherited; but after a while the admiral, convinced of his integrity, gave up the contest, and was reconciled. After leaving Oxford, Penn received the rudiments of a legal education at Lincoln's Inn.

His trial at the Old Bailey, famous in constitutional history, occurred in 1670, when Penn was twenty-six years of age. The meeting-house being closed, and guarded by soldiers, William Penn and William Meade were indicted for preaching at an illegal assembly in the public street. In general the Quakers refused to plead, but Penn and his companion had no such scruple. The recorder and lord mayor, before whom they were tried, were creatures of the court, and the trial was managed on their part with that ruffianism which was characteristic of our penal courts in the days of Jefferies. But the jury were men of another mould, and in them was revived that independent spirit which English juries on political trials had then lost sight of. The jury returned the verdict of "guilty of speaking in Gracechurch-street" against Penn, acquitting Meade. The court refused to accept it, vilified the jury with opprobrious language, and locked them up till they should give a verdict declaring the assembly in Gracechurch-street an unlawful one. They returned,

and again delivered the same verdict in writing, with their names subscribed. The court was enraged, and threatened to starve the obstinate jury into submission. A scene of altercation followed, and the court remanded the prisoners to their gaol, and the jury to their chamber. "You are Englishmen," exclaimed Penn, as they parted; "mind your privileges; give not away your rights." "We never will," rejoined the jury. The next day, though Sunday, the court met; the jury, who had been kept all night, as well as the previous day, without meat, drink, fire, or tobacco, returned the same verdict,—not guilty, in the case of Meade, and guilty of preaching in Gracechurch-street, in that of Penn. The court, with a torrent of abuse, again remanded them. "Your verdict is nothing," said the recorder; "I say you shall bring in another verdict, or you shall starve; and I will have you carted about the city." "It is intolerable," said Penn, "that my jury should be thus menaced; are they not my judges by the great charter of England? What hope is there of justice when juries are threatened, and their verdict rejected?" The jury were again locked up, and the prisoners remanded to Newgate. On Monday, for the third time, their verdict was demanded; it was simply, "not guilty." The recorder accepted it with anger and reluctance, and fined each jurymen forty marks, with imprisonment till paid. Penn and his companion demanded their own liberty, but were imprisoned for contempt of court. The contempt consisted in this: they had entered the court without their hats; the judges ordered them to be placed upon their heads; when, the prisoners refusing to take them off again, they were held to be in contempt. Penn was soon released, the fine being paid by his father; but we find him afterwards a prisoner in the Tower. The life of Fox at this period is nothing but a catalogue of the dungeons he tenanted. When set at liberty he preached forthwith, and was instantly recommitted. His time in prison was spent in writing exhortations to the Friends.

During the reign of Charles II. more than two hundred Quakers died in prison, in England only. In the year 1683, above seven hundred were lying in prison. On the accession of James II., in 1685, a petition was presented to the king and both houses of parliament, setting forth "the suffering condition of the peaceable people called Quakers, only for tender conscience towards Almighty God." This tenderness of conscience, it is true,

implied in every instance when the demand was made, a refusal to pay tithes, and, in many cases, an obstinate perverseness in interrupting the public worship of other Christians. For the first of these offences, however, the law provided an easy remedy, without imprisonment; for the second imprisonment was the only cure. Still, the condition of the Quakers, as described in this petition, shows the conduct of our forefathers towards a handful of men whom they themselves believed to be misguided, rather than wicked, in a cheerless and forbidding light.

They complain that in England and Wales above 5,100 of their number had been imprisoned during the late reign; that, of this number, about 1,383, including 300 women, were still confined; that of these, 300, including many women, were imprisoned only because they refused to take an oath, many on writs of excommunication, and for fines due to the king on various pretexts. That since the restoration above 320 had died in prison, of whom 100 had perished within the last five years. That since the Conventicle Act, two years before, their sufferings had increased. In the gaol of Newgate they were crowded in such numbers (sometimes nearly 20 in a single room), that they died of suffocation and malignant fever. In the provincial towns their sufferings were even greater in proportion to their numbers. At Bristol there had been for several years upwards of 100 prisoners in the gaol, of whom 70 were females. In the city of Norwich 70 were "kept in hold, 45 whereof in holes and dungeons." Of lighter punishments there is a dreary list. Many had been ruined "by outrageous distresses and woeful havoc committed by merciless informers," who obtained a third part of the plunder for themselves. Many large manufacturers had been utterly ruined. The Quaker serge-makers at Plymouth once employed 500 people, and their business was at an end. One Quaker in Suffolk, ruined by a long imprisonment, had dismissed at least 200 hands. Many industrious families were impoverished, "without compassion shown to widows, fatherless, or desolate: to some not a bed was left to rest upon, to others no cattle to till their ground, nor corn for bread or seed, nor tools to work withal." The petition concludes thus:—"And notwithstanding all these long sustained extremities, we, the said suffering people, do solemnly profess and declare in the sight of the all-seeing God, who is the searcher of hearts, that as we

have never been found in any seditious or treasonable designs (they being wholly contrary to our Christian principle and profession), so we have nothing but good-will and true Christian affection to the king and government, sincerely desiring his and your safety, prosperity, and concurrence in mercy and truth, for the good of the whole kingdom."

The persecutions of the Quakers had been renewed abroad. From Barbadoes and New England their cry had reached their brethren at home. George Fox determined to visit them, but his wife was in prison. With much difficulty he obtained her liberty, and set forth, leaving her at home, upon his mission. At Barbadoes he made some impression upon the ruling powers. Many of the great ones, especially the governor, showed him much kindness, he relates. He visited Jamaica, and afterwards Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina. After an absence of less than two years he returned to England, and was very soon a prisoner in Worcester gaol for holding conventicles and refusing to take an oath. His wife interceded with the king, who would have released her husband by a free pardon. This Fox refused, preferring to have the validity of his indictment tried at Westminster. Sir Matthew Hale was upon the bench; Fox for once had equal justice; the indictment was quashed, and he was set at liberty.

We now take leave abruptly of these wearisome and disgraceful records of persecution. James II., feigning consideration for his nonconforming subjects, set aside the Act of Uniformity and other penal laws against dissenters by his own "dispensing power," that is, by proclamation: for the Parliament, suspecting his design, would not consent to his measures. The nonconformists in general declined to avail themselves of the indulgence, choosing rather to suffer injustice than to obtain relief at the cost of the Protestant cause and of that of the Church of England. The Quakers were the only exception. They accepted the indulgence gratefully, and thanked the king in terms more fulsome than Quakers generally use to persons in authority. "This act of mercy," they say, "which we entertain with all the acknowledgments of a grateful and persecuted people, doth the less surprise us, since it is what some of us have known to have been the declared principle of the king, as well long before, as since he came to the throne of his ancestors." This address came

from the society in London, and was drawn up, no doubt, at the instance of Penn. A few days afterwards he presented another address to the king at Windsor, which, coming from the whole body, expressed the sentiments of all the Quakers. It is more guarded, but still it expresses no misgivings, and teems with gratitude. Penn added a speech which might have been spared. "It was a great shame," he said, "for any Englishman that pretends to Christianity not to give God his due. By this grace the king has relieved his distressed subjects from their cruel sufferings, and raised to himself a new and lasting empire by adding their affections to their duty." Penn soon after fell into some disgrace, even with his own party, as the king's real intentions were better known; and the question of his integrity has been ever since debated. Mr. Macaulay, in his recent history, decides the matter against him with some severity. The Society of Friends have always regarded him as too credulous, perhaps, and wanting in firmness, and in the unbending integrity of Fox, but upon the whole, even in this affair, a man of upright purposes. It is the only passage of his life upon which a stain has rested.

With their persecutions the extravagances of the Quakers suddenly disappeared. No longer exposed to insult they no longer insulted the feelings of other Christians. Fox himself, now mellowed by years, had become a gentler and wiser man. The gentlemanly habits and courtly connections of William Penn were not without a useful influence on the society. In his travels on the continent he had gained the friendship of several ladies of high rank. His correspondence with the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Frederic V., King of Bohemia, has been published. With great fidelity, it is unsectarian, and not ungraceful. Quakerism was passing, in his hands, into the mild, pacific form which it has since retained. Several men of learning and general ability had appeared amongst them. Robert Barclay, a descendant of the dukes of Gordon, a man of eminent gifts and great endowments, versed in ecclesiastical learning, of sound judgment and powerful understanding, sustained the cause in Scotland. As an author, he defended it in various writings, of which the most important is entitled "An Apology for the true Christian Divinity, as taught and practised by the people called in scorn Quakers." It was written in Latin, and

afterwards published in an English form, with a dedication to Charles II. Upon the doctrines it enunciates we shall make a few remarks hereafter. It proved at least that the men so called were not a mere band of visionaries, much less of idle and ignorant fanatics. Every peculiarity of Quaker doctrine is argued in a close, logical form, and yet, at the same time, in a pure style, defaced neither by the jargon of the old logic nor the newer barbarisms of the unlettered George Fox. The dedication is courteous and manly. He might have told the king that his father had fought and suffered to defend the throne of the Stuarts in the Civil War, distinguished amongst the bravest of the Cavaliers. He was satisfied to remind him that Quakers had been always loyal; that their deeds were not done in secret; under the bitterest persecution they had never, he said, sought refuge in disguise, nor, like other proscribed sects, hid themselves in conventicles. Sewell, the friend of Fox, the great Quaker historian, was a scholar of considerable attainments. And others appeared amongst them, about this time, all devoted to the great principles of the Quaker system, but with little of the fanaticism which had disgraced the proceedings of some of its earlier adherents. In 1690 Fox died, and in the hands of such men the system was, to a certain extent, moulded anew.

Penn's attention had been turned to America for some time by the circumstance of his having been appointed trustee for the management of property in New Jersey. He entered upon his duties with the energy that marked his character, and about 1677 purchased a considerable tract of land, which he added to the trust, and became proprietor of both properties. Some time after, the Government being indebted to his father's estate for money advanced and arrears of pay, no less a sum than sixteen thousand pounds, he proposed to receive in payment a tract of land in America, to be secured to him by letters patent from the king. After many delays his petition was granted; and by charter, dated at Westminster the 4th of March, 1681, and signed by writ of Privy Seal, he was made and constituted full and absolute proprietor of the tract of land which he had pointed out, and invested with the power of ruling and governing it according to his judgment. The charter was made out under the name of Pennsylvania, a name fixed upon by the king, as a token of respect for Admiral Penn, though much against the

wishes of the son, who was apprehensive of its being construed into a proof of ostentation in himself, and was desirous of having it called either New Wales, or Sylvania only. He now resigned his charge of New Jersey, on which he had already tried his scheme of colonization, and in 1682 Penn sailed for his new property, resolved, if possible, to establish at least one righteous government on earth. After taking formal possession of the colony he called a general assembly of the settlers, to whom he propounded the principles of his new commonwealth. Amongst his fundamental laws it was decreed that all persons who acknowledge the supreme Creator and Ruler of the world were to be allowed to worship him in whatever manner they thought best. Those, however, who were appointed to public offices, or places of trust, were to be such as professed themselves to be believers in Jesus Christ, and whose morals were free from blemish. The State undertook to instruct the children after the age of twelve years in some useful trade or profession, that none might grow up in indolence, and become a burden to the rest. His criminal code was humane, and he was, perhaps, the first legislator who punished the criminal with a systematic view to his reformation. Solitary confinement, with hard labour, was the punishment for great crimes, but for murder and treason he reserved the punishment of death. The remainder of his laws may be described as a code based upon the great principle of natural justice,—a systematic attempt to carry out the precept of doing to others as we would that others should do unto us.

His treaty with the Indians, immortalized by the graver and the pen, was a noble instance of strength submitting its pretensions at the bar of equity. Under the shade of a spreading elm-tree, Penn, distinguished only by a blue sash round his waist, and holding a parchment containing the treaty in his hand, was met by the Indian chiefs on the spot where the city of Philadelphia has since arisen. The savages assembled in great numbers with their bows and hatchets; Penn and his friends were few and unarmed. But the experiment succeeded perfectly. Penn did not consider the Letters Patent a sufficient warrant for taking possession of their country, and he now purchased it by a fair and open bargain. The terms of intercourse between the Indians and the settlers were arranged, and an equitable court established by which disputes between the two parties might be settled by a

jury or mixed commission of natives and settlers. Of this famous treaty, Voltaire, with his usual sneer and questionable accuracy, says: "This was the only treaty between those people and the Christians that was not ratified with an oath, and that was never broken." The Abbé Raynal, with more justice, remarks: "Here it is, the mind rests with pleasure on modern history, and feels some kind of compensation for the disgust and melancholy which the whole of it, and especially that of the European settlements in America, inspires."

In the first year nearly three thousand colonists arrived, and soon the affairs of Pennsylvania were in so prosperous a state, that Penn, after an absence of five years, returned home on a visit. James II. was now upon the throne; and when the revolution took place in 1688, his well-known regard for the Quaker chieftain brought the latter into no little peril. He was repeatedly arrested as a Jacobite, engaged in plotting the return of his old master. But though a letter was intercepted which James had written to him from his exile, the integrity of his character protected him. The prosecutors never appeared on the day of the trial; and three times arrested for treason, he was as often released. In his absence in England the colony fell into disorder, and his enemies prevailed upon King William to deprive him of his rights, and transfer the government to Colonel Fletcher, governor of New York. The Quakers at home remonstrated on his behalf, and Penn himself addressed a memorial to the king. His suit was granted, and all his rights restored as conceded by the original charter, with a gracious admission that he had been misrepresented. In 1699 Penn once more returned to America; under his care the colony revived, and the foundations were more firmly secured of those principles of justice and benevolence which long continued to distinguish Pennsylvania amongst the other States. But Penn's affairs once more demanded his presence at home. He became involved in embarrassments through the mismanagement of his agent, and found himself in his declining years greatly reduced. His colonists abroad behaved with ingratitude; and on his death, in 1718, Pennsylvania was offered to the government, according to a request in his will, for twelve thousand pounds. We cannot attempt to trace the later history of the colony. It still retains, however, some of the features of its birth. The number of Quakers in America many times

exceeds that in the mother-country, amounting to about one hundred and sixty thousand, by the highest computation; and of these the greater part are still found in Pennsylvania. The native tribes, for whose welfare Penn displayed so much anxiety, have long since disappeared.

The history of the Society of Friends in England since the revolution of 1688 presents few points of general interest. In that great political event they took no share. It could scarcely be expected that they should make the cause of the Church of England, or that of the Protestant dissenters, their own. They had suffered equally from both. In James they had found their only friend. Barclay paid a visit to the bishops in the Tower, to remind them that they too had imprisoned men for conscience's sake; nay, that Quakers had died in prison in consequence of their severity. "But now," said he, "since ye yourselves are under oppression, it is in nowise our intention to publish these matters and exasperate the king against you." In June, the yearly meeting in London addressed James with the warmest gratitude. "We bless God," they say, "and thank the king. The gaols are everywhere clear except in the cases of tithes and the repairs of parish churches, and some few about oaths." In July, James, by an order from his secretary Sunderland, bestowed the freedom of Norwich upon forty Quakers, in compliance with their own petition. This act was clearly illegal; and James's consideration for the Quakers, at the very time he was thrusting a papist into the headship of Magdalen College, imprisoning the bishops, and provoking the nonconformists by his popery, naturally turned the indignation of the people against his supposed allies. They were suspected of being papists, or even Jesuits disguised. But in December James abdicated; the revolution was accomplished without violence, and these suspicions soon died away. The Quakers were indeed amongst the first to taste the blessings of new-bought liberty. In 1689 the penal laws, except the Test Act, were repealed. Instead of the oath of allegiance, their declaration was accepted, and this they willingly transferred to the new sovereigns. They were also obliged to subscribe to the following declaration, before witnesses who declared that the subscriber was not a papist:—"I A. B. profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his Eternal Son, the true God, and in the Holy Spirit, one God blessed for ever-

more ; and do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be given by divine inspiration."

In the year 1696 an Act was obtained by which the people called Quakers were permitted, under all circumstances, to make a solemn affirmation instead of an oath. They were excused from serving on juries, or giving evidence, in criminal causes ; and, while tithes might on refusal be still levied by distress, the Act provides a remedy against oppression and extortion.

On the accession of Anne, the Society of Friends approached her, through William Penn, with an address of congratulation, to which a kind and gracious answer was returned. A similar address was presented, by George Whitehead as the spokesman, to George I. ; and the custom has ever since been observed on the accession of a sovereign.

The Society of Friends does not appear to have increased in England during the last century. In the year 1800 it was computed that the members of the Society, in the whole of Great Britain, amounted to about twenty-four thousand. This includes Ireland, where a vigorous Society was formed in 1668, which holds its own national yearly meeting in Dublin, and sends representatives, since 1670, to the yearly meeting in London. America was then supposed to contain, chiefly in the United States, about one hundred and fifty thousand members. From Barbadoes and the continent of Europe Quakerism had almost disappeared. The Society of Friends, since the days of Penn and Barclay, have attempted no new missions ; their passive creed has strongly impressed itself upon their character. They are satisfied to maintain their principles, and to exhibit their efficacy in their own conduct, leaving the world to look on and form its conclusions.

Even the peaceable Society of Friends has not been free from internal discord. A theological question of the first importance was agitated about the close of the last century in Ireland. It was soon revived with great heat in America. Then, crossing the ocean back again, it distracted the Societies in England. A Quaker writer, Isaac Crewdson, speaks of it in 1834, as a "desolating heresy, which in the United States of America has lately swept thousands after thousands of our small section of the Christian Church into the gulf of Hicksism and Deism ; a heresy in proportion to our numbers probably unparalleled in extent in

the history of the Church of Christ." Elias Hicks, a Quaker minister of Philadelphia, was the leader of the schism. His doctrines were reviewed at large, and condemned, "at a yearly meeting, held in Philadelphia in the fourth month, 1828," from whose "Declaration" we easily collect the subject-matter of Hicks's teaching. By selections, chiefly taken from his own discourses, it is shown: first, that under the plausible pretext of exalting the light within as the primary rule of faith and practice, he endeavoured to lessen the authority of the Holy Scriptures; and secondly, that when he had greatly impaired the sentiments of reverence justly due to their divine testimony, he proceeded to speak of our blessed Saviour as being merely an example, or pattern to us, and denied that his death was an offering for the sins of mankind, except for the legal sins of the Jews. The first of these charges is abundantly proved in the declaration by quotations, and is severely condemned by the yearly meeting, "who believe it right to bear their decided testimony against such principles, and to disown those who hold them." Yet it appears to us that the first position maintained by Hicks, and at length denounced by the Quakers of Philadelphia, after Quakerism had existed for a hundred and fifty years, is precisely that which Fox himself enunciated, and to which all his associates adhered. The question is a very simple one:—what is the ultimate rule of life and doctrine? Is it the inner light, or the written word? Hicks maintained that it was the inner light; so too did Fox and Barclay. The reader will remember Fox's protest in the "steeple-house at Nottingham," which was indeed the first occasion of all his sufferings. The preacher whom he interrupted declared that "all doctrines, opinions and religions must be tried by Scripture." "O no!" exclaimed Fox, "it is not the Scriptures, but it is the Holy Spirit by which opinions and religions are to be tried." Nor was this an unguarded sentiment; on the contrary, it was the basis of the system which he taught. Barclay, the ablest defender of the Quaker doctrine who has yet appeared, defends this proposition with the utmost pertinacity. We must place it before the reader in his own words:—

"The Scriptures of truth contain, &c.; nevertheless, because they are only a declaration of the fountain, and not the fountain itself, therefore they are not to be esteemed the principal ground

of all truth and knowledge, nor yet the *adequate primary rule of faith and manners*. Nevertheless as that which giveth a true and faithful testimony of the first foundation, they are and may be esteemed a *secondary rule, subordinate* to the *Spirit*, from which they have all their excellence and certainty ; for, as by the inward testimony of the Spirit we do alone truly know them, so they testify that the Spirit is that guide by which the saints are led into all truth ; therefore according to them the Spirit is the first and principal leader."—*Apology*, 4to ed. 1765, p. 5.

The orthodox party of the Society of Friends, as represented by Crewdson, deny "the assumption that we are authorised to be taught the true knowledge of God and his salvation, our duty to Him and our fellow-men, immediately by the Spirit independently of his revelation through the Scriptures." They maintain, "that the impressions made upon our minds are to be brought to the test of Scripture." It appears to us that Fox and Barclay taught precisely the reverse of this. We have looked with anxiety into the writings of Joseph John Gurney to ascertain his views upon this important subject ; and we cannot resist the conclusion (though he himself would probably have protested against it) that his theory of the perceptible influence and guidance of the Spirit, goes, in fact, to the full length of Barclay in the proposition just recited. "With Friends," he says, "it is a leading principle, on which they deem it to be, in a particular manner, their duty to insist, that the operations of the Holy Spirit in the soul are not only immediate and direct, but perceptible ; and that we are all furnished with an inward guide or monitor, who makes his voice known to us, and who, if faithfully obeyed and closely followed, will infallibly conduct us into true virtue and happiness, because he leads us into a real conformity with the will of God." This surely asserts an individual inspiration as much as Fox and Barclay, and in the same sense in which it is maintained by Hicks himself.

Upon the second point, Hicks was, it is equally capable of proof, guilty of teaching doctrines which the Society of Friends have always abhorred. In Quaker theology his principles were true, but his inferences were erroneous. The system which Barclay defends is that of evangelical Arminianism, though with some peculiarities. He denies, for instance, that infants are born in sin in consequence of Adam's fall ; but he allows

in practice that all are sinners and need redemption. He admits the article of justification by faith, but rejects both the Roman Catholic and Protestant expositions of the doctrine. His own view being that works are, as he expresses it, a *causa sine quâ non*. Hicks and his followers, on the other hand, deny the atonement and the fall, and teach a system of mere Deism. Hicks maintains, for instance, "that the native Indians of America have a higher sense of the Divine light of God in the soul than the professors of Christianity generally have. They appeal to it abundantly, especially those who have never had any intercourse with other nations." This is pure Deism. Many of his propositions deny the Trinity.

From these, and perhaps from other causes, the Society of Friends, divided amongst themselves and unsettled in some measure as to their rule of faith, have made few converts during the present century. At least their numbers have not increased. In 1800 they possessed 413 meeting-houses; while the number returned by the census in 1851 was only 371. They say, however, that this does not necessarily indicate a smaller number of professors; since of late there has been a considerable tendency amongst them to migrate from the rural districts, and to settle in the larger towns. But their zeal in works of practical benevolence knows no decay. In this their small community stands unrivalled, almost unapproached. If the opinions of their leaders should seem to disparage the sacred volume, their followers, with a happy inconsistency, are the zealous and unwearied advocates of its diffusion through the world. In them the Bible Society has always met with its most staunch supporters. Without their powerful assistance, Wilberforce would have declaimed in vain on the horrors of the middle passage, and Sir Fowell Buxton, himself of Quaker blood, on the abolition of slavery. Quakers are not a boastful people, or they might challenge contradiction to the fact that no considerable movement has taken place during the last half-century, on behalf of the poor, the abject, or the guilty, which did not either originate with themselves, or from them at least receive the impulse which gave it popularity, and crowned it with success. Mrs. Fry carried out that reformation of our prisons which Howard had begun. To Allen we are indebted for being amongst the first to arouse the country on the subject of national education. Reynolds, of Bristol, taught us the sys-

tematic visitation of the poor. In short, wherever a Quaker community exists, it is the centre of philanthropy and the example of the surrounding district. Since the repeal of the Test Act, 3 and 4 Wm. IV., c. 49, they have been eligible to seats in Parliament; and one or two members of the Society of Friends have generally sat in Parliament, and often for large constituencies. Manchester is now represented by a member of the Society of Friends.

For an explanation and defence of the religious peculiarities of the Quakers, we may refer the reader to the writings of the late Mr. J. J. Gurney. They reject the Sacraments on the ground that they were typical rites; the ordination of ministers by the imposition of hands, or otherwise, on the ground that a Divine call is necessary, and a human one superfluous; the pecuniary remuneration of the ministers of the gospel, because "the hiring of a preacher degrades the character and corrupts the practical operation of the ministry." The ministry of women is defended from the examples of the Old and New Testament; and silent worship by considerations drawn from the majesty of God and the nature of true religion. They believe oaths unlawful from a strict interpretation of our Lord's words in his sermon on the Mount, and from other passages of Scripture; and they denounce war, under all circumstances, as utterly inconsistent with the example of Christ and the precepts of the New Testament.

Their Church government is so peculiar, differing in many points from that of every other denomination, that it will be necessary to lay a brief sketch of it before the reader. It seems well suited for maintaining discipline in a comparatively small and select community, and it presents some points which might perhaps be copied with advantage in larger Churches.

The members of the Society of Friends unite as a distinct body not only for the performance of public worship according to the mode which they believe to have been intended by Jesus Christ, but also for the maintaining of a Christian discipline. By means of this discipline they are of opinion that their union as a religious society receives additional strength, and that they are enabled, with increased effect, to co-operate for their own mutual good.

The considerations which chiefly determine the local meeting or *congregation* to which each individual belongs are sometimes

the relative number of members of which a congregation consists, but more frequently the vicinity of the meeting-house to his own residence. And the rules and regulations of the society are, of course, obligatory upon every individual who continues to be a member of it.

The members of each congregation assemble once a month, at the conclusion of a meeting for worship; and they then constitute a preparatory *meeting for discipline*. Certain queries, directed by the yearly meeting to be answered at stated periods, form a part of the business of these meetings. The overseers or other members impart such information respecting the occurrences among themselves as may appear necessary. Generally two members are appointed representatives to the ensuing monthly meeting; and the answers to the queries, together with such information as it may be necessary to communicate to the monthly meeting, are here prepared, to be transmitted to it by the representatives. Hence these local meetings of discipline are sometimes denominated *preparative meetings*.

In some places the members of a single congregation constitute a monthly meeting for discipline; but where the members are less numerous, the association of two, or more than two, preparative meetings or congregations, within a stated district, constitutes one *monthly meeting*. Monthly meetings are often denominated by the names of the places where they are most frequently held; but several of them take their names from some other appropriate circumstance.

A *quarterly meeting* generally comprises the members resident in one county, and it usually consists of the several monthly meetings within such county. It has been found expedient in several instances to unite the monthly meetings of two or more counties in which the members were not numerous, especially in Ireland, under the jurisdiction of one quarterly meeting.

The members of the society in the states of New England, New York, Maryland, and Virginia, have we believe each their distinct *yearly meeting*. Those members who reside in Pennsylvania and New Jersey associate together for this purpose, as do those of several other states. Each of these yearly meetings, as well as the *yearly meeting of Great Britain* (usually denominated the yearly meeting held in London), possesses, within its appropriate district, the supreme legislative and judicial power

in all that respects the discipline of the Society. The yearly meeting of each district is independent of the others. A mutual correspondence between them and the yearly meeting held in London is, however, generally maintained by means of epistles from the several annual meetings.

A communication is maintained between each general yearly meeting of discipline and the several quarterly meetings within its appropriate district. A similar communication is maintained between each quarterly meeting of discipline and the several monthly meetings of which it is constituted; and between each monthly meeting of discipline and the several local meetings or congregations of which the monthly meeting is constituted.

This communication is preserved by means of representatives from the preparative meetings of each congregation, to the monthly meeting of which it forms a part; from each monthly to the quarterly meeting, and from each quarterly to the yearly meeting. Each of these meetings is usually attended by a considerable number of members besides the representatives; and at every meeting for the purposes of general discipline any member of the society may attend and assist in its deliberations.

The men and the women have each their separate province, and hold their meetings apart, except at the select meetings of ministers and elders, in which both sexes meet together. For the purpose of obtaining information upon the state of the society, and for directing the attention of its members to those points on which the care of each may be profitably employed, certain queries and advices are framed; and it is directed that the queries should be read and considered, and the answers to them transmitted at stated periods. These answers are given first at the preparative meeting of discipline for each congregation, and thence communicated by their representatives to the monthly meeting, and lastly, in substance, to the yearly meeting.

The appointment of elders, in each particular congregation, is made by the monthly meeting for discipline, assisted by a committee appointed for this purpose by the quarterly meeting; and it is directed that the elders be selected from among those members whose exemplary conduct, and religious attainments, render them best qualified for this important station. It is their province to exercise a suitable care, that whatever be delivered in meetings for public worship, either as preaching or prayer,

shall have a tendency to edification. If anything should be delivered which may be deemed objectionable, with regard either to its import or the temper, manner, or time of its delivery, the elders are expected to administer suitable advice to the party. Should this prove ineffectual they are then to lay the case before the men's monthly meeting for discipline—the only tribunal which is competent in the first instance to pass judgment or censure upon the conduct either of ministers, elders, or any other members. But if any individual should think himself aggrieved by the decision of a monthly meeting, he is at liberty to appeal from it to the judgment of the quarterly meeting, and in like manner from the decision of the latter to the judgment of the yearly meeting, whose decision is final.

The literature of the Society of Friends, on which we offer in conclusion a few remarks, is naturally tinged by the circumstances and strong peculiarities of the body. Shut out by scruples of conscience from the universities, the liberal professions, and the exclusive cultivation of the fine arts, their field of literary exercise has been greatly narrowed. Yet Quakers have appeared from time to time in almost every department of literature, of art, and science, whose attainments were of a high order. Benjamin West as a historical painter once ruled the academy, and still has many followers; but it must be owned that he met with little encouragement in his studies as an artist from his Quaker friends. Bernard Barton and Mrs. Opie were thought five and twenty years ago to contest the palm with Cowper and Miss Edgeworth. Barton's poems, artless and unassuming, have real merit, and some of his devotional pieces deserve higher praise. Mrs. Opie condescended to write for children and the young, satisfied with the ambition of doing good. Her tales, marked by strong sense and skilful management, stand high in a class of writing in which excellence is not less rare than mediocrity is common. The writings of J. J. Gurney on the doctrines of Christianity, and on the Redemption, obtained a circulation far beyond the Society of Friends, and retain a place in our theological literature. In medical science and chemistry the Friends have long been distinguished; for upwards of a century some of our greatest physicians have been members of their community.

But the true Quaker literature is to be sought in a thousand pamphlets which addressed themselves to some palpable griev-

ance of the age, and pointed out the way for its removal. Quakerism, in practice, deals with facts not with theories or abstract principles. It bends all its force against some present evil—a neglected populace, a mismanaged prison, an unrighteous war. It attacks in detail, and though its triumphs are great they are won silently. If its literature be obscure, it is because it has sought for usefulness in a field which men conscious of a powerful intellect have unhappily disdained. We have visited Newgate with Mrs. Fry, and seen with her, in one forenoon, the materials for volumes of romance. But the Society of Friends, never anxious to decorate the scene of their own labours, have left to others the rude materials out of which poetry, or history, or fiction may be built, and passed on to other scenes of uninviting toil.

(*Foxe's Journal*; *History of the people called Quakers*, by William Sewel; *Apology for the people called Quakers*, by Robert Barclay; *Baxter's Life*, by himself; *Neale's History of the Puritans*; *Life of William Penn*; *Narrative of Events in Ireland among the people called Quakers* (by William Rathbone), 1804; *Extracts from the Minutes and Advices of the People*, &c.; *Declaration of the Yearly Meeting of Friends held in Philadelphia*, 1828; *A Beacon to the Society of Friends*, by Isaac Crewdson, 1835; *Observations on the Religious Peculiarities of the Society of Friends*, by J. J. Gurney; *Memoirs of William Allen and Elizabeth Fry*.)

GREEK CHURCH.—Buried beneath the ruins of a fallen empire, the Eastern Church drags on a lingering existence. Her internal strength seems just sufficient to preserve the last sparks of life; and this she owes in no small measure to the support of foreign powers and to the dearly-bought forbearance of her Mahomedan masters. In tracing the expiring form of this decayed fabric, we search in vain for those striking features which mark her ambitious rival in the West. We have few instances of deep learning, or vast ability, or intense devotion to her interests in her sons. Misfortune has placed the temporal power beyond the reach of her ambition, or it never was her aim to rule nations or place her foot upon the neck of kings. We

propose to trace a brief sketch of the Greek Church from the period of its first separation from the western communion, during the reign of Constantine the Great, down to the present time.

The circumstances which led to that separation and the causes which prepared the way for it, are clearly marked. The Greek Church owes its existence, as a separate communion, to the will of Constantine. With the plan of the Roman constitution before him, he determined to remodel the Church by the appointment of four ecclesiastical rulers, in imitation of the ancient prætors. This was the origin of the bishops or patriarchs, as they were afterwards called, of Rome, Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria.

When he transferred the seat of empire to Byzantium and built Constantinople, Constantine opened a new era in the history of the Church. The bishops of Constantinople soon began to lay claim to the dignity and rank of the Roman pontiff. Constantinople was now the capital of the world, and its bishops would yield to none in honour and magnificence. The pride of the emperor seems to have encouraged the hopes of the bishops. In the council held at Constantinople in the year 381, the bishop of that city was ranked next after the bishop of Rome, and consequently above those of Alexandria and Antioch. On this occasion the power of the Greek Church was first tried against that of the Latin bishops. The bishop of Rome complained with bitterness of the attempt to throw off his authority, but the decision of the council was supported by the authority of the emperor Theodosius the Great. Alexandria was compelled to resign her claim to supremacy in the East, and Nectarius, the youngest of the patriarchs, was the first who enjoyed the new dignity. The sudden elevation of the Byzantine prelate was viewed with equal jealousy by Rome and Alexandria. What was first complained of as an irregularity, succeeding prelates resented as a wrong, and time instead of softening their differences only widened the breach : and the strife thus begun ended at length in the entire separation of the Greek and Latin Churches.

John, surnamed Chrysostom, or the golden tongue, from the force and beauty of his language, next succeeded as chief or patriarch of the Eastern Christians. By far the greatest man the Eastern Church can boast, his piety and genius must always

be revered, and his writings explain and justify the influence he once possessed. He was born at Antioch A. D. 347, an orphan of a noble family; his mother, Anthusa, devoted herself to the education of her son, and from her his first lessons of piety were learned. Proudly conscious of his abilities, she placed him under the most accomplished tutors. Under Libanius he studied oratory and philosophy; under Adragathius of Athens his admirers relate that, at the age of twenty, he pleaded in the forum with wonderful success. Meletius, the bishop of Antioch, guided his studies in theology; and with the help of Diodorus, and the presbyters of Antioch, he learned sacred history. Shortly after his mother's death he withdrew himself to the mountain districts near Antioch, where, under the austere garb of a hermit, he spent some years. Wearied with the rigours of a useless life, and broken down in health, he returned to Antioch, where he was ordained deacon and presbyter successively. Here he began his career as an eloquent preacher. His style was diffuse and oriental, it moved the feelings and inflamed the imagination of a languid people; and for twelve years he continued to preach to throngs of enthusiastic listeners. His fame was so well established, that on the death of Nectarius he was chosen by the emperor Arcadius, in preference to a number of ecclesiastics ambitious of the honour, to fill the vacant see of Constantinople. Chrysostom, as his treatise on the priesthood testifies, entertained a slavish and superstitious dread of the responsibilities of the Christian ministry. He had trembled to become a deacon, and had already once refused the episcopate. To provide against a second refusal he was invited to Constantinople in ignorance of the office that awaited him, and his scruples were overcome by surprise. He was consecrated by Theophilus, patriarch of Alexandria, who afterwards became one of his fierce opponents.

The life of Chrysostom shows the vices and corruptions of the Eastern Church in strong relief; while his writings show, that in doctrine, she had closely followed the superstitions of the West. From his elevation to the episcopate, his whole life was an unsuccessful struggle against the most licentious practices, and the most gross abuses. He seems to have been deficient in practical wisdom; an eloquent declaimer, the idol of the multitude, the scorpion of a luxurious court. In the mountains of Antioch he had practised the wildest asceticisms; living in a

cave without a bed or chair, in silence and solitude, and eating only vegetables. The Christians of Constantinople indulged in luxuries of which many a virtuous heathen would have been ashamed. The clergy were slothful and ignorant, and their habits were not unfrequently licentious. Chrysostom assailed their vices with the intrepidity of a Luther. He degraded within two years of his accession to the episcopate no less than thirteen bishops in Asia Minor, on the charge of simony and for other crimes. His mortifications, his self-denial, his contempt of the world, his diligence in visiting the sick, formed a striking contrast with the luxurious indolence of his clergy, and roused their hatred. Many of his homilies are directed with great severity against female vices; and those of the empress Eudoxia herself did not escape his severe invectives. Her resentment was probably the cause of all those reverses which now followed. The deposed bishops, led on by Theophilus, a prelate of infamous character, and assisted by the Egyptian bishops, glad of an opportunity to humble the rival Church, assembled in council at Chalcedon in 403, and summoned Chrysostom to appear before them. Forty-two charges were produced, of which one was that he had called the empress a second Jezebel. He declared the synod illegal, and refused to appear before it; but sentence was pronounced, and he was condemned to be deprived and banished. But his judges found it more easy to condemn than to punish a man so beloved by the people. They guarded him day and night to prevent the execution of the sentence. The city was threatened with an insurrection on his account, when, dreading the consequences, he at length gave himself up, and went into exile to Bithynia. An earthquake, which happened soon afterwards, aroused the slumbering conscience of Eudoxia, and the weak Arcadius was terrified by the indignation of the citizens. After only a few weeks' absence the patriarch was suddenly recalled. His return to Constantinople resembled the triumphant progress of a conqueror.

But Chrysostom's warmth of temper again hurried him into violence, and his language scarcely became the dignity of a Christian bishop. Shortly afterwards, a silver statue of the empress was erected in the city near one of the churches. The outrageous lewdness of the pagan festivities on that occasion aroused his spirit. He addressed Eudoxia with the rough sim-

plicity of honest indignation; he vented his abhorrence in the bitterest invectives against what he called this "new Herodias." His violence procured his banishment a second time—now, to Cacus in Armenia. His exile was for some years devoted to missionary labours, especially among the Goths and Persians. His frame at length sunk under the weight of his misfortunes, aggravated by the cruelty of his persecutors: he died on the 14th September, 407, on his road to Pityus, from the fatigue of the journey, and thus ended a stormy life of sixty years. He expired at Comana, in Pontus, where he was buried: his body was afterwards carried to Constantinople.

By the second council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, another step was taken towards the advancement of the Greek Church. It was resolved that the rights and honours claimed by the bishop of Rome were equally due to the bishop of Constantinople; and all those provinces in the east which were not claimed by the patriarchs of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria, were annexed to the patriarchate of Constantinople: this claim, however, became a fruitful source of those internal dissensions in after years which so distracted the peace of the Church at home, and weakened its influence abroad. These decrees of Chalcedon were, of course, violently opposed by the Roman pontiffs, at the head of whom stands Leo the Great, as well as by the other patriarchs; but the emperors threw their weight into the scale, and the Church of which Constantinople was the metropolis always triumphed. The oppressive consequences of their pretended superiority were soon felt at Antioch and Alexandria. No bishop of the imperial city was more conspicuous for his arrogant ambition than Acacius. It was about this time that the bishop of Jerusalem, encouraged by the emperor Theodosius the Younger, withdrew his Church from the jurisdiction of Cæsarea, and assumed the style of patriarch of Palestine; thus declaring himself independent of all spiritual authority, and invading the rights of the bishop of Antioch by encroaching on his provinces of Phœnicia and Arabia. There were now, including the bishop of Rome, five patriarchs; to whom the patriarch of the Russian Church must be added. Amongst the rights or privileges of their high office, the patriarchs claim to consecrate the bishops of their several provinces. Formerly they convoked the clergy once a year to regulate the affairs of the Church:

all important causes and controversies are referred to their decision; even the bishops may be accused before them of heresy or misconduct, and must submit to their decision; and they may appoint vicars or deputies, to take the oversight of distant provinces.

Of the origin and history of the Arian controversy, condemned at the council of Nice, A.D., 325, and by that of Constantinople in 381, we have given an outline (see ARIANS), to which we refer the reader. The heretics rejected from the Church, formed the Monophysite party, so called because they acknowledge our Saviour only in one nature. To quiet the disturbance occasioned by this controversy, the emperor Zeno, in 482, published an edict called the Henoticon, or deed of union, in which he repudiated the errors of Nestorius and Eutyches, but without recognizing the decisions of the council of Chalcedon; this slight upon a general council was avenged by the pope upon the patriarch of Constantinople, who was excommunicated by Felix II. He was for some time supported by the three other patriarchs, but, at length, yielding to Rome, the canons of Chalcedon were received throughout the Eastern Churches.

The state of religion was now deplorable; it seemed as it advanced in splendour to recede from its purity. Upon the first introduction of Christianity among the pagans, attempts had been made by foolish men to reconcile them to the change by the adoption of heathen rites. The tumultuous pomp with which Pan and Bacchus had been worshipped was now imitated in Christian processions. The virtues of heathen temples were ascribed to Christian churches; their lustrations to the statues of departed heroes were superseded by the sprinkling of holy water, consecrated by certain forms of prayer to legendary saints. The rise of image-worship may be distinctly traced: the Church was disturbed by subtle distinctions to justify image-worship, under various names and pretexts; and when, at length, the practice was condemned by the council of Constantinople, in 734, its authority was denied by the Latins.

To this period may be referred another difference which continues, to this day, to separate the Greek Church from the rest of Christendom; this is, the question of the procession of the Holy Ghost, technically called the filioque controversy. It originated in an alteration made by the Spanish Church in the creed of Constantinople. The form had previously ran—"The

Holy Ghost, which proceedeth from the Father ;” with the Spanish addition it read, “ which proceedeth from the Father and the Son ;” this change was afterwards introduced into the Churches of France and Germany. In 767 the Greeks began the conflict by accusing the Latins of heresy upon this point. The remonstrance, at first unheeded, at length aroused the resistance of the papal Church, conducted at first with more moderation than she usually shows towards her opponents. Pope Leo III. is said to have looked upon the tenet without disapproval, but he refused to insert it in the creed. By his direction copies of the belief, as drawn up at Constantinople, were engraved on silver plates, one in Latin and another in Greek, and publicly exhibited in the church. The question was revived in the following century with greater vehemence, and each of the Churches, retaining its own creed, charged its opponent with heresy and schism.

It has been the misfortune of the Greek Church that its historians have been members of a hostile communion. During the middle ages we are indebted for our acquaintance with it entirely to the Latin writers. It is probable that their colouring is often false, for their sentiments are always hostile. Yet, if their outline of facts be true, the Eastern Church shared deeply in the degradation of Western Christendom. Through many a dreary century there is little to relate beyond internal dissensions, or angry recriminations with the Church of Rome. The conversion of the Slavonic nations is the one bright spot, relieving the darkness of the eighth century.

During the reign of Ruric, the founder of the Russian empire, two Scandinavian chieftains, named Oskold and Dir, were led by an adventurous spirit to undertake an expedition to Constantinople. They probably set out with the intention of entering the imperial service, which was frequently done by their countrymen ; but having seized the town of Kioff on their way, they established a dominion of their own. This unexpected success inspired them with the hope of further conquest. Their forces were swelled by fresh arrivals of their countrymen, as well as by natives of the countries through which they passed, who, allured by the hope of sharing in the pillage, gathered round them in large bodies. Following the course of the Dnieper, this piratical expedition at length reached the shores of the Thracian Bosphorus. After committing great ravages, they suddenly beset

the imperial city with more than two hundred armed boats. Dismay at this bold invasion drove the emperor and his subjects to the priests for advice ; and a miraculous robe of the Virgin was produced at this emergency, carried in solemn procession, headed by the patriarch, to the shore, and cast into the waves. As the garment sank to the bottom, the sea boiled up with rage, a sudden storm arose, and shattered the Russian fleet. This sudden deliverance was attributed by the terror-stricken people to the miraculous aid of the Virgin herself. It is related that the Russians, equally overawed by the miracle, demanded baptism on the spot.

A circular letter of the patriarch Photius, at the close of 866, gives colour to this account ; but whatever may have been the exact circumstances under which the first germ of Christianity appeared amidst the barbarism that then prevailed over those dark regions, there are many traces of the gospel having begun about that time to make its appearance amongst the Slavonic races of the Dnieper and their Scandinavian conquerors ; kept alive, no doubt, by the commercial intercourse which then existed between these Slavonians and the Greek colonies in the northern shores of the Baltic, whence (as Count Krasinski explains in his valuable "Sketch of the Slavonic Nations") traders probably visited Kioff and other Slavonic countries. — (See RUSSIAN CHURCH.)

At home the energy of the national character was lost, and the empire was giving way. Rome never ceased her attempts upon the independence of the Greek Church ; and the embarrassment of the emperors, and the misfortunes of the city, were always the signals of fresh offers of union. Sometimes the rivals approached each other in the attitude of peace, sometimes they thundered mutual excommunications. In the year 858, we find the patriarchal throne occupied by Photius, a layman and a minister of state, to make room for whom Ignatius had been deposed. Photius, if no divine, was an able statesman. Under him the Russian empire was received into the Greek communion, and Bulgaria was added to the empire. The pope espoused the cause of Ignatius, and excommunicated Photius. The dread of his anathemas still lingered in the West, and after nine years of exile, Ignatius was restored. The pope, Nicholas, not yet appeased, repeated the sentence of excommunication against Photius,

including in it those bishops who had received consecration at his hands. Photius avenged himself by summoning a general council, which in its turn excommunicated the pope. To make the farce complete, Photius appeared before the council to plead the cause of the pope ; whose chief offence appears to have been, that the legates of Rome had succeeded in Bulgaria in rejecting the chrism, or consecrated oil of Photius, which was used in baptism, and substituting their own unction instead. At this council twenty bishops subscribed the unqualified condemnation and deposition of the pope. Photius, exulting in his triumph, addressed a circular letter to the Eastern Churches. He congratulates the patriarch of Alexandria and his bishops on the increase of faith and the extinction of heresy. The Armenians, he rejoices to add, had withdrawn from the heresies of the Jacobites (a Monophysite sect, the followers of Jacobus, an Egyptian monk), and the Bulgarians had thrown off their heathen superstitions ; though he regrets that some ill-designing persons had been sent from the dark corners of the West to nip those tender plants in the bud, and corrupt the purity of the gospel by their false doctrine. The heresies of which Photius complains, tell us how entirely the true spirit of the gospel had been lost on both sides, while frivolities and senseless ceremonies occupied the place of the law of God. He complains that the pope commanded a fast on Saturdays ; that he cut off the first week in Lent ; that he permitted milk and cheese, and even meat, to be eaten during that time ; and, with more reason, that he abhorred all such priests as were legally married ; and that he repeated the unction of the holy chrism ; and, lastly, he was charged with asserting that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Son only—a doctrine, he adds, repugnant to the gospel, and contrary to the teaching of the fathers.

In the meantime, the death of Ignatius had again placed Photius upon the throne. M. Fleury, and other French historians, hint a suspicion that he was poisoned by his rival. Photius begged pardon of the pope, and so did the council that had condemned him. The pope in his submission saw a sufficient inducement to forgive the rebellious patriarch. The legality of his appointment was acknowledged, and all the proceedings against him were disannulled in the most solemn manner at a council held at Constantinople in the year 879. The Greeks

took this opportunity of signing a profession of faith in conformity with their own creed on the procession of the Holy Ghost.

The contest for supremacy never ceased ; but nothing can be less interesting, or less important, than its monotonous history. At length, in the fifteenth century, the life of the Byzantine empire was fast ebbing out ; its capital was threatened by a Turkish army ; and Rome determined to profit by the misfortunes of her rival. Assistance was offered, but submission was the price.

Dismayed at the danger of his empire from the threatened inroads of the Turks, John Palæologus repaired in person to Italy, attended by many of the clergy, to open negotiations with the Roman pontiff. The deputies of the two Churches met at the council of Florence in 1439,—the one to dictate, and the other to submit. The pressing necessities of the moment induced the representatives of the Greek Church to yield a reluctant submission to the terms laid down for them. After a few days of mock deliberation, they consented to acknowledge the twofold procession of the Spirit, the doctrine of purgatory, the supremacy of the pope, and the lawfulness of using unleavened bread in the Lord's Supper. When the result of the council became known, these unauthorised concessions were repudiated with scorn and indignation by the body of the Greek Church. The deputies were hooted as traitors to the faith they ought to have upheld. Isidore, the metropolitan of Moscow, subscribed to this union between Palæologus and pope Eugene IV. ; his assent was most liberally rewarded by the pope, who sent him back to Moscow invested with the dignity of a papal legate, and honoured with a cardinal's hat ; but on his return he was immediately deposed from his bishopric, and imprisoned in a convent, whence he escaped to Rome, and died there at a great age,—a sufficient proof of the strong feelings which then prevailed against the western encroachments.

In 1453 Constantinople fell, and the power so long wielded by the patriarchs was at the mercy of Mahomet II. The revenues of the Church were seized, a poll-tax was levied upon the clergy and the inmates of the convents of every rank, and Christianity existed only upon sufferance in what had been once the Byzantine empire. The clergy, especially those of the lower orders, sunk into a still lower state of ignorance, from which they

have never since emerged. The Russian Church threw off the last traces of its allegiance, and claimed henceforth the right of nominating an independent patriarch. A Mahomedan government was now the secular head of the Greek Church, and Christians and Mahomedans alike quailed under the Turkish conquerors. The Porte, by a skilful stroke of policy, employed the Greek clergy to overcome the reluctance of their flocks to their new rulers. Thus they became contemptible in the eyes both of Turks and Christians, and their degradation followed. But in fact neither the Greek nor the Russian Church has at any time possessed a faithful, independent, or learned ministry; and, in consequence, the one has always been governed by the Emperor or the Sultan, and the other by the Czar.

For two hundred years we have nothing to relate but the continued degradation of the Greek Church, and the unceasing efforts of the Church of Rome by fraud, by treaty, and by stratagem, to subdue its independence. Poland had received the faith, and was subject to the patriarch of Constantinople. The society of Jesuits had just been formed to repair the mischiefs of the Reformation, and Poland was almost the first arena upon which those arts were tried, which were soon to produce in every kingdom of Europe such disastrous consequences. Sigismund III. caught something of the spirit of the Reformation, and was endeavouring to purify the faith and raise the morals of his subjects. The Jesuits set themselves to counteract his efforts. At Wilna, by establishing a Jesuit-college, they secured a centre of operations. Amongst the people of Luthuania, by force and craft, they introduced their principles. The Protestants and the Greeks seem to have been equally exposed to their intrigues; but the former were the first object of their hatred. As their power increased they excited the people to the most barbarous outrages. The churches were pillaged, the clergy insulted and abused, and their marriages lampooned in doggrel verses, which said little for the wit or morals of the disciples of Loyola, and the libraries of Wilna were purged of all Protestant books. Among other devices they established schools and colleges, which were thrown open, free of expense, to pupils of all religions. They were treated with every indulgence, and to detain them as long as possible under Jesuit influence, they were taught a grammar difficult to be understood. By these means, before the death of

Sigismund, the Protestants were weakened ; and they now began to attack the Greek Christians.

The Greek Church in Poland included more than half the population. Among its members were many noble families who filled its most important offices. One of these was selected by the Jesuits as a fit tool to accomplish their long-cherished scheme of a union with this branch of the Greek Church. Michael Kahoza had been educated in their schools, and was strongly imbued with their principles. Already a Jesuit in heart, he took orders in the Greek Church in order that he might betray it to the pope. At length he was promoted to the archbishopric of Kioff, and received written instructions how to guide his conduct without awakening suspicion.

As a curious specimen of the unscrupulous means to which they resorted, we give an extract, translated from the Polish language, by Count Krazinski. It forms part of the instructions addressed to the archbishop upon this occasion, from the college of Jesuits at Wilna :—

“ It will be indeed the source of great comfort to the Catholics when they shall see the long-desired union accomplished by the care of such a great pastor as yourself. It is indeed not a little impediment to our saintly intentions which has already been removed, since the election of the prelates and metropolitans begins to pass from the hands of the nobles, who have partly guessed our zeal in converting the followers of the Greek Church and may afterwards guess more, and, therefore, it is to be feared that they might present to the function which you are administering, such subjects as might destroy the foundation of the good work and edifice which you have begun. With regard to the clergy, you may keep them in submission more easily by the following means :—appoint to all vacant places no people of consequence, because they may be unruly ; but simple poor, such as will entirely depend upon you. Put down and deprive of their benefices, under some pretence or other, all those who will oppose or disobey you, and give their benefices and revenues to those upon whom you may rely : however, exact from each of them an annual payment for your see ; but take care also that they shall not become unruly by being in too good circumstances ; therefore translate those whom you may suspect from one place to another according as circumstances may require. It will do

no harm to reduce others, entrusting them, *per speciem honoris*, with commissions of consequence, but performed at their own expence. Train up the protopapas betimes to follow your usages. Impose taxes upon the parish priests for the general benefit of the holy Church, and take particular care that they shall not convene synods nor hold any meeting without your authority. If some of them should dare to disobey in this respect your severe orders, *ad carceres* with them. With regard to the laity, be as careful as possible that they shall have no cause to suspect your real plans and intentions; therefore, should there be any apprehensions of war with them, we advise you not to attack them openly, but rather in time of peace to catch and to gain over the leading men amongst them, doing it either by your tools, only rendering them some services, or simply by gifts. Ceremonies must not be suddenly introduced into your church; this may be gradually effected. Disputes and controversies with the Western Church are *in speciem* not to be neglected, and similar other means are to be employed in order to cover every trace of your undertaking, by which not only the eyes of the populace but even those of the nobles may be blinded. Separate schools may be opened for their youths, provided the pupils are not prohibited from frequenting Catholic churches, and completing their education in the schools of our society. The word union must be entirely banished; it will not be difficult to substitute another word more supportable to the ears of the people. 'Those who attend elephants must not wear red coats.' We monks shall not be wanting to assist this work, not only by our prayers but by our labours in the vineyard of the Lord."

The proposals of union were first broached in 1590, at Brest, in a synod of the clergy, by whom they were not unfavourably received, but they met with great opposition from the laity, who had not been permitted to share in the promises of Rome to the same extent.

Four years afterwards consent to the union, concluded at Florence in 1438, was subscribed to by the archbishop and many of the bishops, retaining the Slavonic language in the service, and the ritual of the Eastern Church. The announcement of this event gave great satisfaction at Rome, and in 1596 the synod of Brest publicly proclaimed the act of union between

the two Churches. This forced alliance, in spite of all the ingenuity by which it had been brought about, gave great offence to most of the clergy as well as to the greater part of the people, whose numbers had happily proved their security, in placing them beyond the reach of bribes or the hope of future advantage.

It was at first met with bitter remonstrances; but remonstrance proved in vain, and ended in resistance. The Polish Church was now divided into two parties: those who joined the Jesuits, and those who remained steadfast to their faith. These elected bishops of their own in the place of those who had signed the union: the first of these were consecrated by the patriarch of Jerusalem on his return from Moscow. The cruelty of some of the most intolerant of the Romish bishops at length roused the popular indignation, and provoked a severe remonstrance from the chancellor of Lithuania, one of the most eminent statesmen in Poland. He speaks with indignation of their abuse of authority, of their persecutions, scurrilous writing, and arrogant threats; and bids them beware lest the union, instead of an advantage, should prove their destruction. Such language from one who was himself a Romanist requires no comment. The obnoxious prelate was shortly afterwards murdered by a mob; but he is revered as a Polish saint by his admirers of the anti-papal party.

The troubles of the Greek Church in Poland introduce us to Cyril Lucar, afterwards patriarch of Constantinople, and one of the best and wisest men who have risen to that distinction. He was a native of Candia, educated in the famous schools of Padua. He afterwards spent some time in Germany and England, where his mind was tinged with the principles of the Reformers, and on his return home, he avowed himself the adversary of the Church of Rome. He went still further, and expressed his admiration of the English and German Churches; and he even conceived the design of reforming the doctrine and ritual of the Greeks, and bringing them nearer to the simplicity and truth of the Gospel. He drew up a 'Confession of Faith,' which was published in Holland in 1629, nine years before his death, from which it is evident that he had embraced most of the doctrines of the reformed Churches. In a learned age, he was esteemed a man of letters. Besides a familiar acquaintance with Greek and Arabic, some of his correspondence, written in Latin, is remark-

able for its easy style : in one of his epistles, 'De Statu Græcarum Ecclesiarum,' he discusses the doctrines of the Greek Church. In a letter to the archbishop of Canterbury, he deploras the ignorance of the ecclesiastics of his own communion, and the greater advantages of the Latin clergy in that respect. To this Cyril was intrusted a special mission to the Emperor Sigismund from the patriarch of Alexandria, in the hope that his ability and influence might in some measure counteract the mischievous activity of the Jesuits. He was present at Brest when the act of union was agreed upon ; though the part he took in that assembly is doubtful. But he was raised soon after to the throne of Alexandria, and then to the patriarchate of Constantinople. His life was spent in the endeavour to purify the Eastern Church, and to counterwork the influence of the Jesuits. Their intrigues procured his banishment to Rhodes. The English ambassador interfered, by command of James I., and he was set at liberty, with a fine of sixty thousand dollars to the Porte. Soon afterwards the Propaganda offered a further sum of twenty thousand dollars as a bribe for his dismissal, and the Porte compounded the matter by permitting him to retain his office on the payment of one-half that sum. At length the Jesuits grasped their victim. By the help of perjured witnesses they established a charge of treason against him, and he died a martyr, being strangled, as was supposed, by order of the Porte, in the year 1638. He was succeeded by another Cyril, bishop of Berea, a man of malignant spirit, and the chief instrument of the Jesuits in the death of his predecessor. He declared himself in favour of the Latins, and would have accomplished a reconciliation between the Churches ; but he, too, fell a victim to the suspicions and jealousy of the tyrants of the East : he died in the communion of the Church of Rome. To him Parthenius succeeded, a zealous opponent of the papal claims. And from this time the Roman pontiffs desisted from their ambitious projects upon the Greek Church. They wanted the opportunity to depose its patriarchs, or the influence to allure its subjects into their own communion.

The memory of Cyril Lucar will be held in everlasting honour. Without support, without encouragement, unassisted and alone, he attempted the reformation of a Church steeped in superstitions and bigoted in its attachment to them. Luther

had the support of sovereign princes, Knox's reformation was carried in triumph on the shoulders of the people. Our English reformers were, from the first, a numerous band, and countenanced each other. The virtuous patriarch had none of these encouragements. He must have felt that he ventured on a hopeless task, except, indeed, as the Great Disposer of events might please, contrary to all human probabilities, to crown it with success. For the time he failed, and the Jesuits exulted. After a lapse of two hundred years, may we at length venture to hope that the spirit of Cyril will revive in other patriarchs, and the Greek Church become, what she has never been since the days of early Christianity, a pure and scriptural communion? The reception of Cyril's 'Confession of Faith' would at once commend her to the entire confidence of Protestant Churches. It consists of eighteen articles, of which it is necessary to cite but one in order to prove our statement, for it embraces a proposition which excludes all material error while it involves all essential truth. "The authority of Holy Writ is far greater than that of the Church, for it is a different thing to be taught by the Holy Ghost from being taught by man. Man may, through ignorance, err and be deceived. But Holy Scripture neither deceiveth nor is subject to error, but is infallible. It is true and certain the Church militant may err, and choose falsehood instead of truth. And from this error and deceit the teaching and light of the most Holy Spirit alone, not of mortal men, frees us, although this may be done by the ministry of those who faithfully serve the Church." It is, perhaps, superfluous to add, that Cyril held but two sacraments, denied transubstantiation, rejected image-worship, and taught the doctrine of justification by faith only.

Little more remains to be told. For the last two centuries the history of the Greek Church scarcely offers one incident of importance. Its power has been sapped by the constant growth of the Russian territory on the one hand, by a grinding Turkish despotism on the other. In the middle of the nineteenth century the oriental Churches occupy the attention of the civilized world. A war rages between Russia and the two great Western powers of Europe, which had its origin in the feebleness and humiliation of the Greek Church and her sister communions. The Christians sought free access to the Holy Sepulchre, the Turks pillaged and oppressed them. Their cause was taken up

by France and then by Russia. The latter at last advanced a claim to the protectorate of all the Christians in the Turkish empire, and this being resisted, she in 1853 crossed the Danube, and threatened Constantinople. France and England have espoused the cause of Turkey, and are fighting her battles in the Crimea. But they have also secured the independence of the oriental Churches; and it is not without reason the hope is cherished that they will wake up at length from their long and death-like slumber. The sacred Scriptures are introduced and read, in spite of the prohibition which the Greek Church, in imitation of the Church of Rome, has for ages placed on their perusal; and Protestant missionaries now find their way with little difficulty amongst the ignorant masses both of the Greek and Turkish population.

We must notice, in conclusion, the sects and Churches which have sprung from the mother-church of Constantinople, as well as some of the peculiarities of her creed and practice.

The Russian Church is, of course, the greatest of the communions which trace their genealogy to the great eastern patriarch. The history of the Russian Church, however, we reserve for a separate article.

The Church of Georgia, once under the patriarch of Constantinople, has fallen into the hands of Russia. It was formerly a branch of the Armenian Church, from which it separated in the fifth century to join the orthodox Church of the East. Its religion still preserves proofs of its original purity. Its independent spirit has always shown itself in the aversion of the Georgians to foreign dominion. They chose rather to compound with the authorities of Constantinople by the payment of a heavy tribute, than to suffer their patriarch's interference with the order of their own spiritual affairs.

In 1801 the extension of the Russian empire included them within her dominions, after being governed for fifteen hundred years by a bishop of their own, under the formal superintendence of Constantinople. The Georgian worship is now regulated by the archbishop of Tiflis, with the sanction of the holy synod of St. Petersburg. They delay the baptism of their children till their eighth year; but in most other respects adhere strictly to the oriental ritual.

The Montenegrine Church is another branch following the

main doctrines of the Greek ritual, though more cautious against the introduction of Romish errors. They differ from it in rejecting some of its outward observances. They show an equally implacable hatred to the idolatrous features of Romanism, and to the overtures of the pope. They forbid the worship of images, crucifixes, and pictures.

The Montenegrine Christians are governed by a bishop, consecrated at St. Petersburg; but by custom he must always be chosen from the family of Petrovitch.

Of the numerous sects that have sprung from the Greek Church the Nestorians are the most ancient. The term Chaldæans, which was formerly applied to them, is now only used with reference to those who have embraced the Romish doctrines; these are chiefly to be found in the neighbourhood of the Tigris. Though they bear the name of Nestorius, they profess to derive their tenets from the apostle James. About the beginning of the fifth century the zeal of Nestorius led him to support the followers of Apollinaris, staunch opposers of the Arian heresy. In his eagerness to show that the Virgin ought not to be addressed as the mother of God, he carried the distinction so far as to imply two persons as well as two natures in our Lord; that is, a divine person taking up his abode in a human body, one in appearance but two in reality, united in one form, though this inference was denied by Nestorius. A general council was summoned at Ephesus in 431 to settle this controversy. It was presided over by Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, who, in his haste, condemned Nestorius before the arrival of the other bishops.

Before the year 498 the numerous followers of Nestorius established for themselves a separate patriarchate under the title of archbishop of Seleucia and Ctesiphon: his residence was afterwards changed to Bagdad, and then to Mosul. In most respects their worship agrees with that of the ancient Greek Church, though in a more simple form. They reject the worship of saints and pictures. The Nestorians of Malabar, who style themselves the Christians of St. Thomas, rather than St. James, have three sacraments instead of seven. The patriarchs observe celibacy, and abstain entirely from meat. Those intended for the office are brought up from childhood without tasting animal food. The dignity is hereditary, and descends

from uncle to nephew, or, in default of a nephew, to the younger brothers.

The number of the Nestorians is estimated at about one hundred and forty thousand.

The most recent computations give the number of those Christians who are comprehended in the communion of the Greek Church as 50,000,000 in Russia ; 12,000,000 in Turkey ; Greece, including the Montenegrins, 800,000 ; the Austrian dominions, 2,800,000 ; the patriarchate of Alexandria, 5,000 ; Antioch, 150,000 ; and Jerusalem, 15,000 : in all about 65,500,000.

In doctrine the Greek Church differs but little from the Church of Rome. It receives tradition as a joint rule of faith with Holy Scripture. But, while the pope may authorize new traditions, those of the Greeks are stationary ; they include the writings of the Greek fathers to the time of John Damascensis, early in the eighth century, and the decisions of the first seven general councils, recognising as such the two councils of Nice, three councils of Constantinople, and those of Ephesus and Chalcedon. The Greek Church admits the seven sacraments of Rome ; but, with regard to baptism, it teaches that the chrism, or unction with oil, is necessary to complete the sacrament, and it makes use of the chrism likewise as an extreme unction when death approaches, and to anoint the sick that they may recover, and receive remission of sins. Baptism is performed by the immersion of the infant three times. The Lord's supper is administered to the laity in both kinds. The doctrine of transubstantiation, which may be traced in Chrysostom's treatise on the priesthood, became soon after an accredited dogma of the Eastern Church. The Greek Church rejects the doctrine of purgatory and that of works of supererogation ; nor does it assign infallibility to its head, the patriarch, or address him as the vicar of Christ. It differs from the Church of Rome in rejecting image-worship, though paintings are allowed, and receive a superstitious homage ; and, above all, in the absence of that intolerant and ambitious spirit which denounces all other Christian sects as heretics, and enforces submission to her authority by the sword. Besides the ancient creeds, the doctrines of the Greek Church are to be sought in her liturgies and confessions. Of the former there are four, used in various places, and substantially agreeing with each other. She has several confessions and many catechisms, particularly in

the Russian Church. A confession of faith was presented to Mahomet the Second, after the fall of Constantinople, which secured to the Greek Church some degree of toleration. The confession of Cyril Lucar followed in 1621. This was answered by the orthodox confession of 1643, which was approved by the four patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Antioch, and still continues to be one of the standards of the Eastern Churches.

*Picart's Religious Ceremonies; Father Simons's Travels to Mount Libanus; Ricaut's History of the Greek and Armenian Churches; Dr. King's Travels in the East; M. Aimon's authentic Memorials of the Greek Religion; MouraviEFF's History of the Church in Russia; Count Krazinski's Sketch of the Religious History of the Slavonian Nations; Dean Waddington's Sketch of the Greek Church; Neal's History of the Holy Eastern Church; and Bowen's Visit to Mount Athos,—*are among the chief authorities consulted in the foregoing article.

GNOSTICS (*γινώσκω*, to possess knowledge). Simon Magus is the generally reputed founder of the Gnostics; but, in truth, Gnosticism was nothing else than the philosophical system of the times, leavened with a slight infusion of Judaism, and a still slighter portion of Christianity. It arose, at least it exhibited itself, in its early days at Alexandria, from whence it spread through eastern Christendom. Alexandria was at that time the great seat of philosophy. It contained a vast number of Jews; and, being the great emporium of trade, it was of course much frequented by the early Christians. Justin Martyr relates that Simon Magus was a native of Samaria; but Dr. Burton thinks it probable that he studied at Alexandria, and that he there learned the doctrine of the Gnostics. (Lectures on Ecclesiastical History). The name of Gnosticism was probably not yet given to any particular sect, but in the progress of opinions it always happens that the thing exists, and floats about vaguely and undefined, before it assumes a distinctive name. Amongst the intellectual idlers of a thriving city, the Platonic philosophy had superseded the coarse and vulgar forms of the

old Egyptian superstition. The Alexandrian Jews were infected with it; for their language was Greek, and many of them had an extensive acquaintance with heathen literature, and they were a rich and numerous class, exercising, no doubt, considerable influence upon public opinion. On the other hand, the Platonists studied the Jewish scriptures, and saw in them traces of pure and sublime theology. The Jews, who wished to remove the prejudices against their peculiar creed, endeavoured, in an evil hour, to show that it harmonized with many of the speculations of Plato. They even asserted that Plato had borrowed from the writings of Moses—a statement which was implicitly believed by many of the fathers, and which has been defended with immense erudition by divines of the seventeenth century. We refer the reader especially to Gale's "Court of the Gentiles." Thus a compromise was attempted between the creeds of Moses and of Plato. There was a third element of error in the Persian or Magian doctrines; for Alexandria, open to the teaching of Greece on one side, was equally exposed to the fantastic theories of Orientalism on the other. And thus from these three sources—the philosophy of Plato, the religion of Moses, and the Magian superstitions—a new system was created; this was Gnosticism. As Christianity spread, it applied itself to explain the mysteries of the Christian faith; but in its origin it was not a Christian sect; it did not arise within the Christian Church, but it very soon infected the pure stream of gospel truth, and for a long time, in many places, obscured its real character.

If Eusebius may be credited, Simon Magus visited Rome immediately after he had been rebuked by Saint Peter in Samaria (Acts xiii. 10), and there spread his pestilent errors. Justin Martyr, who was himself a Samaritan, of the same country with the impostor, places his visit in the reign of Claudius, and speaks at some length of his successes there. He says too that his doctrine had spread over the whole of Samaria, where he was looked upon as a god; he adds, that he was received at Rome with divine honours, and had a statue erected to him with the inscription in Latin, *Simoni deo sancto*. Justin's accuracy has been questioned, and with apparent plausibility, as he could not read Latin; but the same inscription is quoted by Latin fathers, namely, by Tertullian and Augustine. It is also noticed by the Greek writers, Irenæus, Theodoret, and Cyril of Jerusalem.

(Burton's Bampton Lectures.) Upon the whole, there is little doubt that Simon Magus was the great teacher of Gnosticism, and that he visited Rome, where his success was great.

Gnosticism spread rapidly. It may have stood in the same relation to primitive Christianity which the imposture of Mahomet afterwards assumed. It accepted a few of its most obvious truths, and so doing undermined all the rest. It was unquestionably the most formidable opponent with which the early Church had to contend; it was the cause, too, of much of the odium under which it laboured. The Gnostics practised magic, which they learned from the East. The origin of evil, and the creation of material things, were amongst their most fertile topics of discussion. They held that matter was independent of the Deity, and, like him, existed from eternity. This they learned from Plato. They taught that it derived its present forms, not from the will of the supreme Deity, but from the creative power of some inferior intelligence, whom they called *Demiurgus*, to whom the world in its present state, and its inhabitants, owe their existence. In this we may trace the Magian notion of genii, or good and evil spirits, counterworking the projects of the supreme God.

A great degree of obscurity must always rest upon the subject of the real opinions of the Gnostics. In the first place our acquaintance, such as it may be, with the subject, is derived from their opponents, the fathers of the Church, who probably took but little pains to distinguish between their real tenets and those popularly ascribed to them. Again, having no acknowledged leader or standard of truth, new speculations were constantly making their appearance, each fresh extravagance generating another, until Gnosticism was merely a vague term, such as infidel or sceptic in our own times, for any form of heterodoxy or unbelief. Dr. Burton, the late Regius Professor of Divinity in Oxford, appears to have investigated the subject with great impartiality as well as extensive learning, and he sums up the dogmas of Gnosticism, properly so termed, to this effect:—That matter was independent of the Deity, and coeternal with him, was a fundamental tenet of Platonism, nor did the Alexandrian Jews find any repugnance to extract this from the writings of Moses. That several orders of spiritual beings were interposed between God and the human race, was maintained both by

Platonists and Jews; the dæmons of the one being identified with the angels of the other. The Jews had also admitted many innovations in their belief concerning angels since their residence at Babylon, mingling oriental fable with the statements of their own scriptures, as we may perceive in the books of the Apocrypha. The oriental notion was, that several successive emanations of spiritual beings had proceeded from God; and the theory of emanations became the favourite tenet of the Gnostics, and their grand invention for accounting for the origin of evil. We may recognise in this scheme the doctrine of two principles, which was held so generally in Persia, and was afterwards more widely diffused in the West by Manes or Manichæus. Some of the Gnostics believed the world to have been created by an evil principle: but the Creator was supposed by all of them to have more or less connexion with evil; and the boast of Gnosticism was to free mankind from the tyranny of this being, and to restore the *knowledge* of the true God.

The pre-existence of the soul, its depravity and degradation to reside in the material body by way of punishment, had been the doctrine of the East from time immemorial. Not conceiving how evil could arise from the abuse of free will in moral agents, they attributed good and evil, their conflicts and vicissitudes, to two eternal principles: good they properly attributed to the Supreme Intelligence, the fountain of all good; but to him they dared not attribute evil. Observing in themselves, and in the world around them, the conflict between matter and mind, and the tendency of the former to depress, oppose, and corrupt the latter, and justly conceiving, also, matter to be foreign to the Divine nature, they concluded this to be the centre and source of all evil.

Christianity no sooner appeared than the Gnostics incorporated it into their system, but so as not merely to corrupt, but to subvert it. Gnosticism taught that Christ was a being who proceeded from God, and who came to reveal the true God to man. They admitted that he and his followers wrought miracles of the most astonishing kind, and that he came to deliver men from the power of the malignant genii, or Aëons, to whom the world was subjected; but they taught also that the body of Jesus was a phantom, and that Christ was neither born, nor suffered upon the cross. Whatever was corporeal, was, in the Gnostic creed, in itself essentially evil; it was therefore impossible that the Son of the

supreme God, sent, as they admitted, from the *pleroma*, or habitation of the Father, should be really man. Thus the doctrine of the atonement and of faith in the death of Christ found no place whatever in their system; they maintain that He came to mortals with no other view than to deprive the *Aëons*, or spiritual tyrants of this world, of their influence upon virtuous and heaven-born souls; and, destroying the empire of these wicked spirits, to teach mankind how they could separate the divine mind from the impure body, and render the former worthy of being united to the Father of spirits.

Another characteristic of the Gnostics was their addiction to magic. Many proofs might be brought that Gnosticism prevailed in Asia Minor, and particularly in Ephesus. The epistles of St. Paul, written to, or dated from, that city, contain many allusions to it, and the fact of his long residence in Ephesus may perhaps be explained by this circumstance; knowing that the name of Christ, at least, was revered by the Gnostics, he was the more anxious to guard his disciples, by a perfect knowledge of the truth, against this counterfeit. The Ephesians were greatly addicted to magic, and this would give the Gnostics a great advantage in pushing their triumphs amongst a superstitious people. The Ephesian letters, or characters, had been popular as charms long before the time of which we are speaking; and the number of persons who were persuaded by St. Paul to abandon these superstitions, is a proof of the extent to which this wickedness was carried. The teachers of Gnosticism appear at this time to have been principally Jews; and such persons were likely to be attracted by St. Paul. It is not improbable that the exorcists, who are mentioned by St. Luke, were persons of this kind; they saw the success of the apostle in curing the *dæmoniacs*, and their system allowed them to make use of the name of Jesus for a similar purpose. We know, however, that the experiment failed; but such cases were well suited to illustrate the difference between true and false Christianity.

There is no doubt that the Gnostics held and practised doctrines, which, if not impure, were, at least, disreputable and suspicious. Their contempt for whatever was corporeal, as being of necessity impure, led them to a denial of the resurrection, a contempt of marriage, a severe system of mortification in some, and in others, unrestrained licentiousness. From St Paul's first

epistle to the Corinthians, it is evident that Gnosticism had already shown itself in Greece. He repeatedly uses the term knowledge, *γνῶσις*, in a peculiar sense, as arrogated by a certain party, *e. g.*, 1 Cor. viii. 1, "We know that we all have knowledge: knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth;" and the errors he combats, are precisely those which Gnosticism would have introduced: probably the discussions respecting marriage were introduced by them, and those, too, with regard to the resurrection. The Gnostics denied that there was, in any sense, a resurrection of the body; they held that the soul of man, if purified by knowledge, when separated from the body, fled up at once to the *pleroma*, and there dwelt for ever in the presence of God. Whatever the Christians said of a resurrection, they interpreted figuratively; according to them, the Gnostic rose from death to life when he was initiated in their mysteries and made perfect in their knowledge. The scruple about eating things offered to idols (1 Cor. viii. 10, &c.), was probably occasioned by the Gnostics, who, when persecution was raging a few years afterwards, certainly joined in heathen sacrifices.

We have intimations of the presence of the Gnostic heresy in most of the apostolic writings. Hymenæus and Alexander, who were delivered by St. Paul to Satan, had probably embraced these errors at Ephesus; and if their punishment consisted, as is generally supposed, in the infliction of some bodily suffering, how powerfully would this appeal to the understanding of a people addicted to magical arts and incantations! Here were the Ephesian charms silenced and degraded at the mere word of an apostle of Christ! The allusion, Rom. xvi. 17, 18, "They that are such serve not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own belly; and by good words and fair speeches deceive the hearts of the simple," is by no means inapplicable to the Gnostics, who defended immoral practices, and used their pretended miracles for gain; and if Simon Magus had visited Rome before this time, the passage in which St. Paul rejoices "that Christ was even preached of strife and contention," may probably refer to him. There must have been many persons in Rome who had heard of Christ through this vain philosophy. The principal Churches in Phrygia were those of Laodicea, Colosse, and Hierapolis; all appear to have been affected by it, as we may gather from St. Paul's letters. It is scarcely possible that any of the Churches of Asia

Minor should have escaped a contagion which so deeply infected Ephesus, the metropolis. St. Peter, Jude, and James, distinctly recognize it, and, without a doubt, it was one of those "many antichrists" which St. John warned his readers "had already come," 1 Epistle, ii. 18. The caution, chapter iv. verse 3, "Every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is not of God;" that "spirit of antichrist" which "even now is already in the world," seems to be exclusively aimed against the Gnostics.

It seems more than probable that the Gnostic doctrine spread rapidly towards the close of the first century. Cerinthus became for a time its leader; he resided for some time at Ephesus, where he is charged with having taught the greatest laxitude of morals. The Nicolaitans, Rev. ii. 6, were another branch of this wide heresy; it seems they did not scruple "to eat things offered to idols." In times of persecution the Christians were required, as a test, to join in the public sacrifices, and their refusal was punished with death; but the Gnostics taught them to equivocate, and this Nicolas, whoever he might be, had, no doubt, instructed them that, in such cases, compliance was not a sin. This convenient doctrine seduced not a few Christians from their faith; but many still stood firm; and St. John has recorded the name of Antipas, who, with several others, received the crown of martyrdom at Pergamos.

The Ebionites were another branch of the Gnostics. It is doubtful whether their name was derived from that of their supposed leader, or from a Hebrew word descriptive of their condition, "ebion" meaning poor. Simon Magus was probably the first of the Gnostics who engrafted the name of Christ into their system: he and his followers maintained that the body of Jesus was a phantom, and were thence called "Docetæ," from *δοκεῖν*, to seem. This earlier form of Gnosticism was succeeded by another, that of the Ebionites, who taught that Jesus had a real body, inasmuch as he was born of human parents, and that Christ, who was an emanation from God, was united to him at his baptism. Cerinthus also adhered to this latter opinion. The theory of emanation, we may here remark, was the favourite doctrine of the Gnostics, and their grand hypothesis for explaining the origin of evil. They supposed the Deity, by acting upon his own mind, to have created the first pair of Aëons, who by successive emana-

tions gave birth to others, who gradually deteriorated, and had less and less resemblance to the Great First Cause. These Aëons, passing the pleroma, and coming in contact with matter, created the world, the Supreme Cause himself being in no way accessory to its existence, nor even conscious at the time of what was taking place. The evil which appeared in the world was inherent in matter itself; and the Deity was employed in endeavouring to remove it. For this purpose, Christ, a later emanation from the Deity, was sent into the world. Thus, in a certain sense, they allowed him to be the Son of God, but "the preaching of the cross was foolishness unto them." They utterly denied the doctrine of his atonement. In fact, when a Christian adopted the Gnostic views, he ceased to be a Christian, for he renounced his faith in a redeemer, and his hope of a resurrection.

In the first century the Church of Christ, with one voice, agreed in this view of the Gnostic system: namely, that Gnostics were not Christians. Thus Hegisippus, who wrote in the second century, states that till the time of Trajan, "the Church continued a virgin;" that is, as he himself explains it, "was not corrupted by vain doctrines." Eusebius, the ecclesiastical historian, to whom we are indebted for the preservation of the passage, confirms it, with this remark: "If there were any before that time who endeavoured to corrupt the wholesome rule of the evangelical preaching, they lurked in darkness and obscurity." The Gnostic errors were not considered to belong to any portion of the great Christian family.

In the second century, Basilides of Alexandria was so much revered as a Gnostic teacher, that his disciples are sometimes described as a new sect under the name of Basilideans. Irenæus gives some account of his doctrines, which are curious as showing what Gnosticism was in its last stage or full development. He taught that the Supreme Being created seven Aëons of a perfect nature. Two of these, *δύναμις* and *σόφια*, Power and Wisdom, produced, or emanated, angels, who formed a region, or secondary pleroma for themselves. These again brought forth others of a still inferior nature, to the number of three hundred and sixty-five, under their chief, Abraxas. This Abraxas seems to have been the prince of the magicians, and from him the magical word "Abracadabra," said to have wrought such wonders, by the pro-

fessors of necromancy, was derived. Basilides practised magic, denied the resurrection, but differed from the early Gnostics in regarding martyrdom as an atonement for sin. Dr. Samuel Lardner, in his 'History of Ancient Heresies,' book x. chap. i., seems disposed to place Basilides in a better light. He regards him as an astronomer and a man of science misrepresented by ignorant writers. He thinks that his language, which was probably allegorical and affected mystery, was misunderstood by the fathers. His lewd morals may have had no worse foundation than a contempt of celibacy, then rising into preposterous importance. His 365 angels may have meant that each day the guidance of the world is committed to angelic care; and so forth. But however this may have been, there is no doubt that the Gnostics were, upon the whole, such as the early Christian writers describe them—dreaming theorists, who taught a debased philosophy and practised a bad life.

The Gnostic system declined as the facts and doctrines of Christianity became generally known. Its appearance, its rapid growth, and its extensive prevalence, are easily explained. The old mythologies had lost their hold on cultivated minds. The Greek philosophy, and particularly the writings of Plato, were the fashionable study, and therefore, we may venture to say, were embraced by great numbers by whom they were imperfectly understood. And yet something more certain, more religious, was wanted. This the Jew supplied, and Gnosticism was formed. But now Christian truth was already in the field, and her challenge none dare dispute. Gnosticism was an attempt (so far as it assumed the Christian garb) to effect a compromise between the gospel and heathenism as refined by philosophy and leavened with Judaism. It prevailed as long as the facts of the evangelic history were imperfectly received: when they could no longer be resisted, Gnosticism perished. It left, however, the traces of its baneful existence deeply impressed upon the Eastern world. From its expiring ashes Mahomet kindled a new and fiercer flame. Gnosticism, with its magic, its angelic powers, its mystical dogmas, its affected contempt of the body and of death, and its real licentiousness, was absorbed into the system of the impostor, or fanatic, of Mecca. He added that religious enthusiasm, and that distinctness in the enunciation of practical duties, ceremonies, and laws, without which no system can ever interest

mankind at large ; and instead of dreaming reveries, debasing to their victims, but of little influence on the world, he produced, and from the same materials, a system which for ages filled the world with awe, and held dominion over millions of the human race, and which still grasps, though with a palsied hand, the spiritual sway of nations renowned for wealth, valour, and refinement.

Writings of the Apostolic Fathers, by Archbishop Wake. Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History. Dr. Burton's Lectures on Ecclesiastical History. Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, Vol. I. Sale's Koran. Lardner's History of Ancient Heresies.

HUNTINGDON'S (LADY) CONNEXION.—Selina, wife of the ninth Earl of Huntingdon, and daughter of the second Earl Ferrers, of the ancient and noble house of Shirley, gives her name to this community. She became the friend and correspondent of the Wesleys at the opening of their career. In 1739 she was a constant attendant at their chapel in Fetter-lane, and a member of the first Methodist society formed in that place. A division soon occurred in the infant society between the Moravians and the Methodists, and Fetter-lane was abandoned to the Moravians. The Wesleys retired to the Foundry, and Lady Huntingdon accompanied them. Here she was, for some time, one of the most eminent members of the small community, at the head of which were the Wesleys, and their eloquent and zealous coadjutor Whitfield. Whitfield soon afterwards undertook a mission to Georgia, a colony already of importance ; but on his return, after four years' absence, in 1748, differences arose between the Wesleys and himself, which widened into an open breach. Whitfield embraced the Calvinistic doctrines, the Wesleys were Arminians ; he was forbidden to preach at the Foundry, and he complains that he was even shut out from a chapel in Bristol which he himself had founded.

The clergy of the Established Church were equally indisposed to admit either party to their pulpits. The Wesleys formed the society which bears their name. Whitfield, too, as a substitute for parochial congregations, formed societies, as they were

then termed, in various parts. In June 1741, he opened the Tabernacle, a temporary screen or shed in Moorfields, thus named in allusion to the moveable tent at which the Israelites worshipped, by divine command, in their journey through the desert. Such was the power of his ministry, and the attraction of his eloquence, that great numbers of the nobility crowded the lowly structure even during the winter season; amongst these were Sarah, the celebrated Duchess of Marlborough; Catherine, Duchess of Buckingham; the Duke of Cumberland, and his brother Frederick, the father of George III. And amongst the most constant in their attendance were the Earl and Countess of Huntingdon. The Earl died soon after, but Lady Huntingdon's attachment to the cause suffered no abatement. At her suggestion, it was resolved to rebuild the Tabernacle: it was opened in June 1755, and, though capable of seating four thousand persons, was crowded in every part. In the same year, Whitfield obtained possession of Long-acre chapel. Here he was interrupted by a noisy mob, and one effect of this persecution was the immediate erection of a large chapel in Tottenham-court-road; it was opened for divine worship, according to the forms of the Church of England, in November 1756. Whitfield's intention was to have placed the chapel under Lady Huntingdon's protection. He was her chaplain, and he hoped by this means to secure himself from interruption. "We have consulted Doctors' Commons," he says, "about putting the chapel under your Ladyship's protection;—this was the answer, 'No nobleman can license a chapel, or in any manner have one, but in his dwelling-house; the chapel must be private, that is, not with doors to the street, for any persons to resort to at pleasure; for then it becomes public. A chapel cannot be built and used as such without the consent of the parson of the parish; and when it is done with his consent, no minister can preach therein without license of the bishop of the diocese.' There seems then," he adds, "but one way; to license it as other houses are." Thus the foundations of a new dissent were laid, and Tottenham-court chapel was licensed as a meeting-house. Yet neither at this time, or to the close of his life, was Whitfield a dissenter. He had no preferment; and choosing rather to preach in sheds and tabernacles than to be silent (for few of the clergy would now admit him to their pulpits), he embraced the only alternative

which lay before him. We may date from this event the formation of Lady Huntingdon's Connexion, although its formal establishment took place some years later.

Whitfield was assisted occasionally at the Tabernacle both by eminent dissenting ministers and by several clergymen. His popularity was astonishing. The meanest beggar heard him with profit; the greatest orators, the wisest and the most thoughtful men—the elder Fox and Pitt, Soame Jenyns, and the accomplished Chesterfield—listened with admiration and delight. The theatre lampooned the Methodists in vain in a ridiculous farce called “*The Minor*,” and Garrick was not ashamed to sanction the miserable piece of buffoonery: but this only increased Whitfield's popularity. Hundreds who had enjoyed the farce at Drury-lane paid a visit to Tottenham-court chapel, in the hope of further entertainment: they returned sad and silent, or sought relief in the vestry, throwing themselves at the preacher's feet and asking his forgiveness. The subscriptions after several of Whitfield's sermons disclose both the extent of his popularity and the wealth of his audience. For the French Protestants in Prussia he once collected 1,500*l*. Had vanity been predominant in Whitfield's character, here was an ample field for its indulgence. But when he had provided for the duties of his chapels at home, he withdrew to America to superintend an orphan house and do the work of a missionary to the colonists; and there he died in 1770. The characteristic of his eloquence seems to have been intense and vehement simplicity. That his preaching should have produced such astonishing effects on the illiterate is not surprising. Its influence with the higher classes is only fully explained when we call to mind their profound ignorance, at this period, upon the whole subject of religion. His voice and manner were probably those of a more perfect orator than the pulpit of England has produced in any second instance. Still his boundless popularity remains in some measure unexplained. The depth and fervour of their piety alone redeem his printed sermons from utter neglect; and the same remark applies, with equal truth, to his correspondence. We look in vain for the flashes of genius, for force or grace of language, or for originality of thought.

We may here observe that Whitfield's chapels, of which there were several, were vested in trustees; with whom, the congrega-

tion consenting, the appointment of the minister rests. A very considerable number of chapels has been since built on this principle in England and Wales, belonging to the various divisions of the Calvinistic Methodists. None of these are strictly in connexion with Lady Huntingdon's societies; though, for the most part, a union of affectionate regard exists between them. The Calvinistic Methodists are, in fact, independent Churches; they differ from the old Independents in two points; they originated with Whitfield and Rowland Hill, his younger friend and zealous associate; and they retain, in general, a warmer regard to the Church of England. Many of them use the Liturgy, with a few alterations, and they adhere to her Articles as the standard of faith.

Lady Huntingdon herself laid out vast sums, contributed by generous friends, in addition to her own private liberality, in building chapels and founding colleges for students for the ministry. At first she confined herself, with few exceptions, to ministers of the Established Church, many of whom accepted her invitations and laboured in her chapels. But her zeal increasing with her success, she built or hired chapels in most of the large towns; and as they multiplied, the clergy were unequal to the task of supplying them. Some were unwilling to move about in a field so wide and various. Great complaints were made by many Churchmen of the irregularity of their proceedings, as inconsistent with the discipline of the Church of England. As the work extended and became more systematic, the clergy were more dissatisfied with it. We must add that Lady Huntingdon was imperious, and that the clergy who joined her often found their liberty restrained rather than increased by their secession. In 1767 she founded her college at Trevecca, in South Wales. Its basis was broad and generous: she proposed to admit young men of real piety who wished to be trained up for the ministry. They were to remain three years. Their education, their board, even their clothing, was provided for them. They were then at liberty to enter into the ministry either, as literates, in the Church of England, or amongst any body of orthodox Protestants. As to the course of study, she consulted Wesley, Venn, Romaine, and Fletcher, the last of whom became the first master or president. The outline of study which he proposed was meagre enough no doubt; but, at

the same time, it was much better than that of either of the Universities. We quote an interesting passage on the subject from one of Fletcher's letters, dated January 1768; it will show the intentions of Lady Huntingdon's advisers. "A plan of study must be fixed upon first, before proper books can be chosen. Grammar, logic, rhetoric, with ecclesiastical history, and a little natural philosophy, and geography, with a great deal of practical divinity, will be sufficient for those who do not care to dive into languages. Watts' Logic and his History of the Bible seem to me to be excellent books of the kind. Mr. Wesley's Natural Philosophy contains as much as is wanted, or more. With regard to those who propose to learn Latin and Greek, the master your Ladyship shall appoint may choose to follow his particular method. Mr. Wesley's books, printed for the use of Christian youths, seem to me to be short and proper. Two or three dictionaries of Bailey or Dyke, for those who learn English, with two or three Cole's dictionaries, Schrevelius's and Pasore's, for those who will learn Latin and Greek, may be a sufficient stock at first." The students from this college, who joined Lady Huntingdon's Connexion, received ordination at the hands of her ministers, or else without ordination were content to preach as laymen. A considerable number took orders from time to time in the Church of England; and if not distinguished by their learning, they were almost invariably zealous and useful ministers. Thus provided at length with a staff of earnest, enterprising students, the zeal of the foundress aspired to evangelize the kingdom. In 1781 we find four of the students sent out on a preaching mission for three months. Their commission ran thus: "It was concluded at a late meeting, that the only means effectually to reach the multitudes was, that the four principal ministers—Mr. Glascott, Mr. Wills, Mr. Taylor, and Mr. Plassy—should, for three months, visit universally in four different departments, and thus severally preach through the towns, counties, and villages of the kingdom, by a general voice or proclamation of the glorious Gospel of peace to lost sinners." They preached in the open air and frequently to immense congregations. One of the missionaries reports, that at Bosveal not less than ten thousand assembled in a large, deep, hollow ground, a natural amphitheatre, "rendered convenient for the preacher and hearers by circular benches cut out of the sides from the top

to the bottom." Their success seemed to be great in every direction, and they contributed, no doubt, their full share to that revived interest in religion which marked the period. Wesley, who was now regarded by Lady Huntingdon as scarcely orthodox, was at the same time bringing the same machinery to bear upon the wants of England. His field preachers were neither more numerous nor more zealous than those of Lady Huntingdon; and the latter had the advantage of some training and mental discipline. Yet lasting success lay on the side of Wesley. Lady Huntingdon's Connexion was most vigorous in its infant days; the Wesleyan societies grew into a mighty manhood, and prospered long after their founder's death. The success of Wesleyan Methodism, and the causes of it, we describe in another article. The comparative want of success of Lady Huntingdon's Connexion was probably inherent in the system.

It was not Lady Huntingdon's wish at this period of her life to secede from the Church of England; but the bishops, displeased with their irregularities, at length refused to ordain her students. She and her friends resolved, in consequence, to form a Secession Church, and "Lady Huntingdon's Connexion" appeared. The experiment was interesting. It was an attempt to model an eclectic Church out of materials afforded chiefly, but not entirely, from the Church of England. Its Liturgy, its forms, and even its vestments, were retained, with a few alterations in the former, and less precision in the use of the two latter; but episcopacy was dismissed. Her churches became Presbyterian in their orders; and, in discipline, they partook both of presbyterianism and independency. To the eye as well as to the mind, however, the service in her chapels was that to which the hearer had been accustomed in his parish church. It might have been foreseen, that the connexion would thrive only where the Church of England was slothful, or in bad hands. There was no mechanism to entangle the hearer and prevent his return to the Church. And the fact that its forms of worship and so many of its peculiarities were retained, would leave but little scope for Lady Huntingdon's preachers, had they been so disposed, to depreciate the National Church. The irregular ally, then, would cease to be followed wherever the parent institution recovered its vigour; or, if really dissatisfied with her terms of communion, the member of Lady Huntingdon's connexion

would associate himself with some of the more palpable forms of dissent. A consideration of these causes will explain the slow progress and comparatively slender triumphs of this bold experiment.

The first ordination did not take place till the year 1783: it was held at the Countess's new chapel in Spa-fields. Six students from Trevecca were ordained, by imposition of hands, by Messrs. Wills and Taylor, presbyters of the Church of England, who had previously resigned their parochial charges. Wills defended the proceeding in an able address to the assembled congregation. "Our dissenting brethren," he argued, "cannot dispute the point against us. Condemning us, they censure their own forefathers, who acted as we do now. It is only the Established Church that, with any appearance of consistency, can contest the matter with us. Let us meet them," he said, "on Scripture ground;" and he argued at length to show the right of presbyters, as well as bishops, to ordain. But considerations of greater weight, with Lady Huntingdon at least, followed. "What was to be done? her Ladyship had stepped in to fill up the gap, and proclaim the Gospel here, where once had been a synagogue of Satan" (the building had been erected for a theatre). "What was the consequence? her right was called in question; some of her ministers were cited to the Ecclesiastical Courts, so called, and tried and silenced one after another. Was the cause of God to be deserted? was this, were other, chapels to be closed? A minister of a parish says, You shall not preach here; a bishop says, You shall not preach here. Whether in this case we are to hearken to men more than God, judge ye." The candidates for ordination gave in writing a declaration of their faith, in fifteen articles. These are the doctrinal Articles of the Church of England, with some alterations which appear to have been based upon the Assembly's Catechism. The seventeenth article on predestination is adopted; and on the subject of reprobation, silence is observed. A declaration is affixed, "that some things in the Liturgy, and many things in the discipline and government of the Established Church, being contrary to Holy Scripture, they have felt it necessary to secede;" but there is no detail given of the points objected against. Thus Lady Huntingdon's Connexion was at last completed.

During her lifetime Lady Huntingdon appointed and removed

the ministers who officiated in her chapels at her pleasure ; and also appointed laymen, termed managers, in each congregation, to superintend its secular concerns. On her death, June 17th, 1791, in the eighty-fourth year of her age, her chapels were devised to four trustees, possessed in all respects of the same powers which she herself had exercised. Rules for the management of her societies had been drawn up in 1785, and only those who conformed to them were members of the connexion. In the year 1792, the lease of the College of Trevecca having expired, the institution was removed to Cheshunt. The College is vested in seven trustees, who have the sole right of admitting and rejecting students, and the appointment and dismissal of the tutors. It has been endowed from time to time with legacies and presents to a considerable amount, and is one of the wealthiest of the dissenting colleges or seminaries. But its field is narrow : it professes to educate only for the ministry, and the students are supported entirely from the funds of the Institution. The same generous spirit which was shown by the Countess at Trevecca is still maintained at Cheshunt ; and the student, when his education is complete, is at full liberty "to serve in the ministry of the Gospel, either in the late Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion abroad, or in the Established Church, or in any other of the Churches of Christ."

The reader will have observed that the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion can be so termed only with considerable latitude. In the strict sense of the word there is no connexion. The trustees appoint to the various chapels such ministers as they please ; but each of these chapels, or congregations, is conducted upon the independent model : there is no combined or federal ecclesiastical government, and several of them have merged into purely independent Churches.

The number of chapels in England in 1851 was 109. The number of attendants, according to the census, was 19,159. Dr. Haweis, one of the trustees of Lady Huntingdon, says in 1795 : "Those who are immediately with us, or though gone out are still in union with us, preach, I think the Gospel, every Sabbath day, to at least 100,000 people." If this statement were correct, the declension is remarkable : since not more than a fourth part of the number now remains. The fact is, no doubt, that the Connexion has served as a feeder to dissent on the one

hand, and to the Church of England on the other: and in both instances, by its moderation and its soundness in doctrine, it has been highly useful.

Life and Times of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, by a Member of the House of Shirley, 1835. Bogue and Bennett's History of Dissenters. Life of Rev. Rowland Hill, by Sidney. Wesley's Journal. Whitfield's Sermons.

INDEPENDENTS.—The Independents maintain as a fundamental principle that every society of believers united for religious fellowship and Christian worship is a perfect church within itself, that it possesses full power to regulate its own affairs, and is independent of all external control. They have lately taken the name of CONGREGATIONALISTS; but are better known in history by the older designation.

No record exists of any Church formed on the independent model from the close of the first century to the Reformation. Still it is asserted that this was the primitive and apostolic form. The Churches of the New Testament, they conceive, were formed upon these principles, which were stifled by the early corruptions of Christianity, when the spirit of the world established the domination of the few over the consciences of the many. When the Reformation had relieved men from the yoke of Rome, and given them leisure to attend to the discipline of the Church, the congregational, or independent, system was revived as a complete restoration of the primitive regimen of the churches. The Baptists were the first to establish independent churches; this they did in Germany prior to the English Reformation. They were followed by the Brownists in the reign of Elizabeth, who, retaining infant baptism, agreed on other points with the Anabaptists. Of these two bodies some account has been given. (See BAPTISTS and BROWNISTS.) It was not till the Commonwealth that the Brownists took the name of Independents, and it is from this period their history properly begins.

The Westminster Assembly of Divines met in 1643: besides ten lords and twenty members of the House of Commons, it consisted of one hundred and twenty-one divines, and six deputies from Scotland. The English divines were appointed by the parliament; and their business was, the reformation of the

national Church, and the establishment of a purer discipline. The divines, with the exception of the Scotch, had all been members of the Church of England ; a few of them still adhered to Episcopacy, but after a few sittings these ceased to attend. The rest were strongly in favour of Presbyterianism, as it existed in the Church of Scotland ; and it was soon apparent that, if they had the power, they would establish a Presbyterian Church in England. Upon this point they would have been unanimous, had it not been for two or three Erastians (so called from Erastus, a German physician, who wrote a treatise denying the right of self-government to Christian churches, and placing them under the power of the secular magistrate) and a small body of five "dissenting brethren." These last were the leaders of the Independents. Their names were Nye, Simpson, Burroughes, Bridge, and Goodwin. Under the recent persecutions of Laud, they had been driven to Holland, where they had formed Independent Churches. Adopting the Brownist discipline, they rejected the name, and severely censured the asperity and exclusiveness of the old party. Nor did they wish to be called Independents. In a memorial which they addressed to the parliament, they say, "that proud and insolent title of Independency was affixed unto us as our claim, the very sound of which conveys to all men's apprehensions the challenge of an exemption of our Churches from all subjection and dependence, or rather a trumpet of defiance against whatever power spiritual or civil, which we do abhor and detest." *Apologetic Narration, presented to the Parliament, p. 22.*

The five dissenting brethren were at first supported in the Assembly by not more than four or five divines. But these numbers convey no adequate notion of the real power of the party in other places. In the House of Commons the Independents, already powerful, soon became supreme. In the army, Cromwell espoused their principles, and they soon had many followers amongst the men who drew the sword. In short, the clergy were more Presbyterian than the nation. Yet partly out of deference to the Scotch alliance, and because no other scheme of discipline had been matured, the Solemn League and Covenant was subscribed by the Assembly and House of Commons, on the 25th September, 1643, and a few days afterwards, by the House of Lords. It was designed to lay the foundation of a

Presbyterian Church in England ; but as it merely asserted "the necessity of endeavouring the preservation of the reformed religion according to the word of God and the example of the best reformed Churches," the Independents, with one exception, yielded their assent to it, and the solitary dissentient was immediately excluded from the Assembly, and deposed from his living. The whole nation was called upon to subscribe the Covenant, and no public office, ecclesiastical or civil, could be filled by those who declined to do so. Thus the ground was prepared for the construction of a national Church, in lieu of the old episcopacy.

The question of the government of the future Church was warmly contested in the Assembly : the Presbyterians maintaining the divine authority of the Presbyterian discipline ; Nye, and the Independents, protesting against the ecclesiastical tyranny which they believed it would introduce. "It is inconvenient," said Nye, "to nourish such a vast body in a commonwealth : it is not to be endured. Men are already troubled to think whether a presbytery shall be set up *jure divino*, and no wonder ; for, if it be, it will grow so as to become as big as the civil power. When two vast bodies are of equal amplitude, if they disagree it will be naught, and if they agree it will be worse."

The Presbyterians prevailed both in the Assembly and the House of Commons. The five Independent leaders drew up a protest, their "Apologetical Narration," which, in 1644, was presented to the House of Commons. The tide still drifting against them, both in parliament and the Assembly, they were driven to ask for toleration as a favour, and this was stoutly refused by the Presbyterian party. The heats in the Assembly produced uneasiness in parliament, which was now beginning to look on the demands of the Presbyterians for a spiritual jurisdiction, similar to that in Scotland, with strong aversion. In September, 1644, the "Grand Committee of Accommodation" was formed out of a committee of lords and commons, the Scotch commissioners, and a committee of divines, "to take into consideration the differences of the opinions of the members of the Assembly in point of Church government, and to attempt an union, if possible." Before them the Independents pleaded for toleration and indulgence. They agreed, they said, with the Presbyterians in one confession of faith ; and they humbly prayed that they might not be forced into subjection to the Pres

byterian courts or "classes," which it was now proposed to erect in every parish, that they might have liberty to abstain from the parish church, and to form congregational churches, possessing ecclesiastical power within themselves, and subject only to the parliament. But these demands the Presbyterians were by no means disposed to grant. Such a concession would imply, they said, a total separation from the established Church. It would admit the lawfulness of "gathered," or independent churches. Should the parliament consent, it would destroy its own work. The members of these gathered churches would have a degree of liberty denied to the members of the established Church; the latter must submit to the ecclesiastical courts, the former might set them at defiance. This would countenance a perpetual schism, and introduce confusion. One favour they would grant, out of regard to tender consciences; that those who, after conference with their parish minister, were not satisfied with the Presbyterian Church, should not be compelled to communicate in the Lord's Supper, nor be liable to censure from the classes or synods, provided they joined with the parish congregation, and submitted in other respects to the Church which was about to be by law established. Thus the Independents met with the same harsh treatment at the hands of the Presbyterians, of which the latter had complained so loudly from the hands of Laud and the prelates.

To these disputes we owe our first acquaintance with the doctrines of toleration. The Independent cause, argued with ability by Nye and Burroughes in the Assembly, was defended elsewhere by champions of another order. In 1644, Milton published his "Areopagitica." The Presbyterians were already lagging behind in the revolution they themselves had mainly brought about. Stung by a thousand pamphleteers, they would have revived the most odious of the practices of the Star-Chamber, and laid an embargo on the press. This attempt produced Milton's work, which contributed in no small measure to turn the wavering tide; and henceforward the Presbyterians rapidly declined. The nation was afraid of another spiritual despotism, and Milton gave eloquent expression to its alarms. "If," said he, "it come to inquisitioning again, and licensing, and that we are so timorous of ourselves and suspicious of all men, as to fear each book, and the shaking of every leaf, before we know what the

contents are ; if some who but of late were little better than silenced from preaching, shall now come to silence us from reading, except what they please, it cannot be guessed what is intended by some, but a second tyranny over learning ; and will soon put it out of controversy, that bishops and presbyters are the same to us, both name and thing."

John Goodwin, the Arminian leader, though doctrinally opposed to the Independents, and never recognized amongst them, promoted their views in London, where he held one of the city churches. He was a man of great courage, eloquence, and energy. His insulated position, shunned by all parties, led him to cherish those tolerant principles which a similar necessity had lately imposed on the Independents. The city of London, devoted as it had been to the Presbyterian cause, began to apprehend danger to the cause of civil liberty. A *jure divino* claim to establish spiritual courts in England, with universal authority, when once understood, was indignantly rejected. The Presbyterian establishment in fact was never set up. In March, 1646 an ordinance was obtained from Parliament for establishing a presbytery in London ; but upon trial it proved so defective that the city and the London ministers petitioned against it ; while the Assembly itself protested, on the other hand, that the ordinance "prescribed no penalty on dissentients," and therefore "gave no power of vigorous enforcement." In Lancashire the system was also tried, and a presbytery formed at Manchester. But the civil war grew fiercer. Cromwell became the leader of the parliamentary forces, and his influence was given to the Independents. Their opponents became more and more unpopular ; while the Independents, advocating liberty and popular rights, and carefully avoiding the appearance of a spiritual despotism, as rapidly gained the confidence of the nation. They filled many of the best benefices. John Owen, who became their head, was vice-chancellor of Oxford ; and before Cromwell's death the Independents, dominant in the army and the state, were at least a powerful minority in the parishes and pulpits of England.

The religionists of whom Cromwell was one, necessarily became a political party, and during the twelve years of his rule and protectorate the Independents had the greatest share in the government of the country. But this we pass over, confining

ourselves to their religious history; and we bring the reader at once to the synod of 1658.

The Independents were now a numerous and wealthy body, but on several points their principles were still indefinite. They appealed to the Protector for permission to hold a synod, in order, amongst other matters, that they might prepare and publish a uniform confession of their faith. Cromwell, with much reluctance, consented a few months before his death. It has been thought he dreaded a second Westminster Assembly, or that his interest lay in keeping the great religious factions in a divided state. The Independent synod met on the 29th of September, 1658, at the Savoy in the Strand.

We may judge of the progress which Independent principles had made in England by the fact that upwards of one hundred churches were represented by ministers and lay delegates; the latter, according to Neale's statement, being the majority. It is said that of the stricter Independents many refused to attend, apprehending danger from too close an alliance with the state. It was determined to draw up a confession of faith; and a committee, consisting of Goodwin, Nye, Bridge, Caryl, and Greenhill, with the famous Dr. John Owen at their head, was appointed. They prepared "a Declaration of the Faith and Order owned and practised in the Congregational Churches in England; agreed upon and consented to by their elders and messengers, in their meeting at the Savoy, October 12, 1658." It was at once accepted by the synod; for in fact it was a republication of the Westminster Confession, with the omission of those passages which maintain the Presbyterian discipline, and with the addition of a chapter in which the Independent scheme is asserted and explained. The other alterations are few and unimportant. Each church is regarded in this document as invested with all power essential to self-government. The office-bearers are declared to be pastors, teachers, elders, and deacons. Synodical authority is disclaimed, but the association of churches for union and mutual counsel is recommended. A fine spirit of forbearance, and at least an approach towards the doctrines of religious freedom, are perceptible in these documents. The preface, supposed to have been written by Owen, affirms, "that among all Christian states and Churches there ought to be a mutual forbearance and indulgence to saints of all persuasions that hold

fast the necessary foundations of faith and holiness." He goes still further: "All professing Christians with their errors which are purely spiritual, and entrench and overthrow not civil society, are to be borne with, and permitted to enjoy ordinances and privileges according to their light, as fully as any of their brethren who pretend to the greatest orthodoxy." Owen appears to have been the leader of the liberal party among the Independents; he was far beyond the best men of his age, in the catholicity of his principles. Yet he was a warm advocate of the union between Church and State, and at a much later period of his life he wrote strongly in favour of the magistrate's using coercive measures in matters of religion. In his "Enquiry into the Original of Evangelical Churches," published in 1681, he says, "It is granted that the magistrate may dispose of many outward concerns of the Churches, may impart his favour to them, or to any of them, as he sees cause; may prohibit the public exercise of worship, idolatrous or superstitious; may remove and take away all instruments of idolatry; may coerce, punish, and restrain, as there is occasion, persons who, under pretence of religion, do advance principles of sedition or promote any foreign interest opposite and destructive to his government, the welfare of the nation, and the truth of religion, with sundry things of the like nature. And herein lies an ample field, wherein the magistrate may exercise his power and discharge his duty" (pp. 1, 4, 5). The declaration was presented to Richard Cromwell, on behalf of the synod, by Dr. Thomas Goodwin. It is evident from his language that the Independents of that day regarded the chief magistrate as the secular head of the Church. But we prefer that his sentiments be expressed in his own words. "And now we present to your highness what we have done, and commit to your trust the common faith once delivered to the saints. The gospel, and the saving truths of it, being a national endowment bequeathed by Christ himself at his ascension, and committed to the trust of some in the nation's behalf (committed to my trust, saith Paul, in the name of the ministers); and we look at the magistrate as *custos utriusque tabulæ*, and so commit it to your trust, as our chief magistrate, to countenance and propagate." These sentiments prevailed throughout the Independent churches, and were repeated from time to time. After Richard's abdication,

when all parties were in a state of confusion, the ministers and delegates of the Congregational churches assembled in London, and passed a series of resolutions, in the first of which they express "a desire that such a parliament may be called as may preserve the interests of Christ in this nation." The second we give at length. "As touching the magistrate's power in matters of faith and worship, we have declared our judgment in our late confession; and though we greatly prize our Christian liberties, yet we profess our utter dislike and abhorrence of an universal toleration as being contrary to the mind of God in his word." Thirdly, they "protest against the taking away of tithes, until as full a maintenance be equally secured and legally settled upon the ministry." And fourthly, they say, "It is our desire that countenance be not given or trust reposed in the hand of Quakers, they being persons of such principles as are destructive to the gospel, and inconsistent with the peace of civil societies."

Mr. Fletcher, himself an Independent, in his history of Independency adds the following remark: "All these resolutions are utterly inconsistent with the hypothesis, of which modern Independents are too apt to boast,—that the leading Congregationalists of the Commonwealth period were advocates for a perfect liberty. The last of them in particular attaches a stigma to their names which nothing can remove," vol. iv., p. 182. It is well that the advocates of a system should deal honestly with its faults. In fairness, however, let it be added, that the Independents were, after all, imbued with a deeper sense of justice, and better understood the principles both of civil and religious liberty, than any party then existing in Great Britain.

With the Restoration in 1660, the Independents lost all their political importance, and as a religious body they soon fell into decay. They suffered much from the Act of Uniformity of 1662, the Conventicle Act of 1664, and the Five-mile Act of 1665, in common with other nonconformists. Their sufferings were increased, perhaps in some measure caused, by their want of a good understanding with the Presbyterians. Had the two bodies been united in favour of a general toleration, to which Charles himself was by no means indisposed at any period of his life, the consent of parliament to such a measure might possibly have been gained. But the Presbyterians were utterly averse to a toleration of the Papists, and the Independents were divided

amongst themselves. After the fire of London, in 1666, temporary places of worship, called Tabernacles, were set up among the ruins, and some of the nonconformists were permitted to collect large congregations; amongst whom we notice the now venerable names of Caryl, Brook, Goodwin, and Owen. Twenty years of persecution followed, and under it nonconformity of every kind declined. The Independents would seem however to have been, at this time, already more numerous than the Presbyterians. In 1673, Caryl was the minister of a church in London, of which Fleetwood, Desborough, Berry, heroes of the Commonwealth, Sir John Hartopp, Lord Haversham, and others of note were members. In 1674, of six dissenting chapels in Bristol, three were Baptists, two Independents, and one Presbyterian. Bristol has always been the Baptist metropolis; but with regard to the other sects, the proportion of Independents to Presbyterians probably indicates their relative strength in other places. At length the Revolution brought relief.

The Act of Toleration was passed in 1689; it is still regarded by dissenters as the charter of their religious freedom. The statute is entitled "An Act for exempting their Majesties' Protestant subjects dissenting from the Church of England, from the penalties of certain laws." After rescinding many penal statutes enacted at different periods since the accession of Queen Elizabeth, so far as they related to Protestants dissenting from the Church of England, this Act requires them to take the oath of allegiance; to declare their abhorrence of the pretended power of the Pope to depose princes; and to subscribe the thirty-nine articles of religion, except the thirty-fourth, thirty-fifth, thirty-sixth, and these words in the twentieth:—"The Church hath power to decree rites, or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith." The Baptists are exempted from subscribing part of the twenty-seventh article, respecting infant baptism; and the Quakers are required to declare their fidelity to King William and Queen Mary, their abhorrence of the pretended Papal power, their firm belief of the doctrines of the Trinity, and that the Holy Scriptures are of Divine inspiration. Under these conditions "Dissenters from the Church of England, having their places of assembly registered, are allowed, and protected in the public worship of Almighty God."

In 1691, heads of agreement were drawn up in order to an

accommodation between the Presbyterians and the Independents. The three denominations—Baptists, Presbyterians, and Independents—effected a more complete union in 1696, and afterwards about 1730. It is rather a political than religious compact, and formed the basis of other agreements. The three denominations still approach the throne as one body, and act together from time to time in defence of the rights or general interests of nonconformity. It appears from the agreement of 1691 that each party abandoned something of its former rigidity. The Presbyterians, as Neale observes, abandoned their servile doctrines, and appeared in defence of the civil and religious liberties of mankind. They admitted, too, the grand article of independency, that every congregation is to be governed by itself. The Independents gave up the theory of a ruling elder, an officer independent of the pastor. "Whereas," they say, "divers are of opinion, that there is also the office of ruling elders who labour not in word and doctrine, and others think otherwise, we agree that this difference make no breach amongst us." But the cause of dissent was losing ground. Their clergy, deprived of the advantages of Oxford and Cambridge, sunk in general esteem for want of learning; constant defections took place of their best preachers to the Church of England. Dissent in all its forms felt the depressing influences of an irreligious age. Internal dissensions broke out. Antinomianism destroyed some congregations; Arianism infected others. Yet the number of dissenters was still considerable. In a petition to parliament in 1714 they state their numbers at one million. From this period, that is from the close of the reign of Queen Anne, while Presbyterianism gradually declined in England, and became at length all but extinct, the Independent dissenters rallied. Under each of the Georges they gained fresh accessions of strength, and now stand at the head of Protestant nonconformity.

The renovation of the Independent cause from about this period may be partly traced to the peculiarities of the congregational system. Each assembly being perfectly free to act for itself, none of those difficulties are felt which operate so disadvantageously amongst other bodies. A few zealous men, without interference and without control, form themselves into a Church; and each new congregation, instead of creating a schism, adds another perfect church to the Independent brotherhood. The

machinery of Church government is always at hand and always inexpensive. In pushing forward the outworks of Christianity such a system possesses great advantages.

Another circumstance which tended to revive the drooping interest of dissent was the appearance, about this time, of several men equally distinguished for abilities, zeal and piety. Dr. Isaac Watts and Matthew Henry will occur to the reader's mind. Both of these were the children of persecuted nonconformists; both of them imbibed in their infancy, and retained through life, the strongest affection for what was now termed the dissenting interest; and both of them were free, to an extent rare indeed in those days amongst earnest men, from party spirit and its bigotry. Dr. Watts preached in a meeting-house in Mark-lane; Matthew Henry, for the greater part of his life, in Chester. They were both of them useful and impressive rather than eloquent, though at the time their preaching was much admired. It was by the pen they rendered such eminent service not only to the cause of nonconformity but to that of pure religion in the widest sense. Watts' theological writings were the first among dissenters in which the truths of the Gospel were displayed in a pure and classical style. He showed that, in order to be a faithful minister of Christ, it was not requisite to be quaint and vulgar on the one hand or pedantic on the other. He was the father of a new style of composition on sacred subjects. It is true his refinement is excessive, and that he often loses in force more than he gains in elegance. But those who rejoice that religion should be dis severed from barbarous taste and scholastic jargon, will always gratefully acknowledge the services of Dr. Isaac Watts. His metrical version of the Psalms and his hymns, produced a revolution in public worship. The nonconformist poet has reformed the psalmody, not only of every body of dissenters but of the Church of England. There are few parishes in which a collection of psalms and hymns, in addition to the authorized version, has not been introduced; and still fewer in which the greater proportion of the new psalmody is not the work of Dr. Watts. He lived to old age, and died in 1748. Matthew Henry possessed the genius which perceives the want of the age, and supplies it with something that is at once ready for immediate use and for the necessities of future generations. The dissenters, who read Steele and Addison and Pope during

the week, wanted something else than the old Puritan quartos on Sunday. Matthew Henry supplied the want in his Commentary on the Old and New Testament. It was read by all dissenters, and after a hundred and thirty years is still the popular commentary amongst all classes of Protestants. Henry died suddenly in 1714 in the midst of a vigorous and useful life.

To these men Philip Doddridge succeeded ; a correct and even elegant writer, and an accomplished though by no means a profound scholar. He too was a sacred poet, and we are indebted to him for a few of our best hymns. He wrote an exposition, with critical notes, of the New Testament, which is remarkable for piety and good sense. This work, and some practical treatises, particularly one on the Evidences of Christianity, have become standard books in divinity. The Evidences of Doddridge, and Watts' Logic, used to form part of the university course of reading at one, if not both, of our ancient Universities. To Doddridge the dissenters owe their academies ; and to these institutions, in no small measure, their success. Excluded by the tests, and by poverty, from the Universities, their youth brought nothing but zeal and good intentions to the ministerial work. Doddridge collected several promising young men under his roof, and gave them the elements of a sound education. Thus the Northampton academy originated, for the education of students for the sacred office. It was afterwards removed to Daventry, where it produced several divines and scholars of considerable note. Here Dr. Priestley received his education after the death of Doddridge, and the account he gives in his memoirs of its internal state leads irresistibly to the conclusion that the Independent leaders a century ago had ceased to attach much importance to the doctrinal creed of their fathers. " In my time," he says, " the Academy was in a state peculiarly favourable to the pursuit of truth, as the students were about equally divided upon every question of much importance ; such as liberty and necessity, the sleep of the soul, and all the articles of theological orthodoxy and heresy ; in consequence of which all these topics were the subject of continual discussion. Our tutors also were of different opinions, Dr. Ashworth taking the orthodox side of every question, and Mr. Clark, the sub-tutor, that of heresy ; though always with the greatest modesty." *Memoirs*, p. 17.

Priestley became a Socinian. Mr. Belsham, the theological tutor, also embraced the Socinian creed. Under him most of the pupils became Socinians, and the trustees at length determined to strike at the root of the evil and dissolved the Academy. Academies for the education of dissenting ministers, chiefly Independent, have been formed at various places; at Hoxton, and afterwards at Homerton and Highbury. For some years Dr. John Pye Smith presided over the academy at Homerton, Dr. Andrew Kippis and Dr. Abraham Rees, men of literary eminence, were also connected with an academy in London, of which Dr. Jennings was the principal; but heterodox principles once more broke up the institution. In short, all the academies of the last century appear to have shared the same fate, and perished under the influence of Socinianism. But with a returning spirit of deeper piety and zeal, new institutions sprung up. A second academy was founded at Hoxton in 1791, which at the beginning of the present century, under the care of Mr. Henry Foster Burder and others, tutors of evangelical principles, was in high repute. In 1812 nearly a hundred and fifty ministers had been educated at this institution, which has since been removed to Highbury. For many years an academy has existed at Rotherham; and at the present time, besides an academy near Birmingham, there is a flourishing college at Manchester. Since the foundation of the University of London, the students from these academies frequently graduate in arts, and their education resembles that which the clergy of the establishment receive at Cambridge and Oxford. But the University of Oxford is now accessible to dissenters, and it remains to be seen whether English dissent will gain more by the education of its ministers in that ancient seat of learning, or lose by the associations and influences of the place. This is a subject upon which thoughtful dissenters express some anxiety.

To resume the history of the Independents. The successes of Whitfield and the Wesleys in the middle of the last century were highly advantageous to their cause. The Wesleys, it is true, formed societies after a model of their own. The friends of Whitfield formed Lady Huntingdon's Connection, of which we have given a sketch. But the overflowing waters of this religious commotion were still sufficient to refresh and fill the reservoirs of the old dissent. From the period of Whitfield's

ministry, the Independents, in common with every other class of orthodox dissenters, received large accessions. A spirit of religious inquiry succeeded to a long period of indifference. The Church of England was supine, the dissenting leaders energetic, and the harvest fell into their hands. No technical difficulties interfered to prevent the erection of meeting-houses wherever a spot of ground could be had and funds obtained; and churches on the Congregational system sprung up in every market town, and every considerable parish. Many of these, especially in Wales, assumed a form of government slightly modified, trustees and managers being introduced in the place of deacons, or in addition to them. They bear the general name of Calvinistic Methodists, and the members amount, in Wales only, to about fifty thousand. The English followers of Whitfield, if not of Lady Huntingdon's Connection, have swelled the ranks of the Congregationalists.

The opinions of Dr. Priestley and his party were pushed so far and stated with so much warmth about this period that it became impossible for the orthodox dissenters any longer to observe even the appearance of neutrality. "The unlawful truce with error," say Drs. Bogue and Bennett, "which was too long the sin of many dissenters, and which did more mischief than any form of warfare, was broken. To Dr. Priestley, in a great degree, must be attributed the violation of the unholy league. Dr. Priestley's zeal exposed the folly of the orthodox in being induced by the sounds of charity, candour, and forbearance, to tolerate fatal errors; and, from this time, dissenters ceased to seek an equivocal middle course. This decided change was highly advantageous to the cause of evangelical dissenters."

At first the breach with these, the relics of the elder Presbyterians, was attended with considerable polemical asperity; but the orthodox dissenters, desisting from a worn-out controversy, now directed their energies to the diffusion of religion. They entered vigorously on the work of missions; and the London Missionary Society, formed at the close of the century, is a noble monument of their faith and zeal. It was intended, by the union of Christians of every orthodox communion, to make one grand and simultaneous effort for the conversion of the heathen. An Independent minister first called the attention of English Christians to the subject. The Independent churches and their pastors entered with great ardour into the project; they were joined by

the Calvinistic Methodists, a few Scotch Presbyterians, and by many distinguished laymen and clergymen of the Church of England. The scheme, as originally planned, was soon found impracticable: the members of the Church of England retired, in a friendly spirit, and formed the Church Missionary Society, and the Scotch Presbyterian Church, though not till after the lapse of more than twenty years, established missions of her own. The Baptists likewise, strict Independents in Church government, found it necessary to form a separate missionary society; and thus the original institution was left almost entirely in the hands of the Independents. Into the details of their missions we do not profess to enter. In zeal, or in success, perhaps no other institution of the same description has outrun them. They have civilized the islands of the South Pacific, and converted Otaheite to the Gospel. They have established vigorous missions in India, and their agents are working with success amongst the Mahomedans and the decayed churches in the East.

In the United States, to which the reader may expect that some reference should be made, the history of Independency has only been written as that of the Pilgrim Fathers, the Brownists, who settled at Boston in the reign of Charles I. Its progress, however, has afforded few important incidents, nor has its success been very great, except among the Baptists. Thus, by the seventh census of the United States recently published, while the Methodists have upwards of twelve thousand churches, accommodating upwards of four millions two hundred thousand persons, the Baptists have eight thousand seven hundred and ninety-one churches, with accommodation for upwards of three millions. But the Congregationalists, or Independents, have but sixteen hundred and seventy-four churches, accommodating only seven hundred and ninety-five thousand persons. This does not include the Unitarians, who are also Independents, and number upwards of two thousand churches. In Great Britain and Ireland, in 1842, the number of congregational churches was two thousand one hundred and seventy-three, and the number of ministers, exclusive of itinerant and lay agents, nineteen hundred and seventy-nine. The Baptists had in addition about two thousand places of worship. Nine years later, in the census of 1851, the Independents, exclusive of Baptists, made a return of three thousand two hundred and forty-four places of worship, accom-

modating one million and sixty-eight thousand persons. Thus in nine years Congregationalism added one-third to the number of its chapels. It may be supposed that the increase of worshippers was in the same proportion.

During the long reign of George III., the dissenters took a conspicuous place in English literature. The names of Priestley in science, of Dr. Aiken in polite literature, and of a host of others on the current politics and polemic theology of the day, were well known. But it seems to be a necessary consequence that in churches unendowed, the impoverishment of literature amongst the clergy should be in proportion to their increase of zeal and piety. The duties of the ministry properly discharged so occupy the time and thoughts, that except it be on questions of immediate interest, leisure is seldom found for the employment of the pen. At the present time the literature of dissent in England is chiefly displayed in criticism, and in the production of memoirs or historical sketches and reviews, which aim at nothing beyond an immediate sale and general usefulness. The "Eclectic" and the "British Quarterly" Reviews, the literary organs of dissenters, sustain a high reputation beyond the circle of their religious party. The general consent of all orthodox divines has admitted the "Scripture Testimony to the Divinity of the Messiah," by the late Dr. Pye Smith, into the first rank of critical theology. Of living writers, of course we may not speak, except it be to say that several of them are capable of higher flights than they have yet attempted; and that the great fault of the literature of dissent at present is its exclusive character. The ground which is common to all Christians is unoccupied, or only made subservient to the promotion of their private views. Nothing is wanted more than a generous spirit on their own part, to introduce some living authors to a far wider circle of readers, and a far wider influence, than as the mere exponents of dissent they can ever hope to gain.

See *Walker's History of the Independents*. *Works of John Owen, D.D.* *Hetherington's History of the Westminster Assembly*. *Fletcher's History of the Revival of Independency in England*. *Hanbury's Historical Memorials relating to the Independents*, 4 vols. *Bogue and Bennett's History of Protestant Dissenters*, 2 vols.

IRELAND, CHURCH OF.—Christianity has existed in Ireland from a very early period. St. Patrick, its reputed apostle, is supposed by Archbishop Ussher and others to have opened his mission about the year 432. The island was then occupied by colonists of different tribes, who probably spoke in various languages. And, if the accounts in which Irish historians love to indulge of the civilization of the country at a period still more remote be true, it was again relapsing into barbarism. A great change was undoubtedly wrought by St. Patrick, and considerable portions of the island embraced the faith. Beyond these simple facts we have little to relate; for the history of those times is distorted by fable or buried in obscurity. According to Nennius, who was abbot of Bangor in the seventh century, the name of Patricius or Patrick was given to him by Pope Celestine, by whom he was consecrated a bishop, and sent into Ireland. The form of Christianity which he introduced was most probably that which existed amongst the Picts and Britons. It embraced a few great facts, and founded upon these a moral code, imperfect indeed compared with the lofty standard of the New Testament, yet incalculably superior to the usages of barbarous and heathen tribes.

Centuries of darkness follow. The same causes which obscure the history of the Church in England, almost obliterate that of the sister country. Amidst frequent invasions of Danish pirates and increasing warfare between its native princes, religion decayed, and the native literature was lost. All that we seem to know with certainty is this, that the original constitution of the Church was episcopal. Indeed, in the earliest ages of its existence, its bishops are said to have exceeded three hundred; but many of these must have presided only over a cluster of hamlets, or a small district, and their number was soon reduced. Still in the year 1152, four hundred years before the Reformation, they assembled in a national synod to the number of thirty-four; of whom five were in the province of Dublin, ten in that of Armagh, seven in Tuam, and eleven in Cashel. Many of these had disappeared at the time of the Reformation.

It is also sufficiently attested, that, whether St. Patrick received his orders from Celestine or not, the pre-reformation Church of

Ireland maintained itself independent of the Church of Rome, at least till the middle of the twelfth century. The archbishops of Armagh were in spiritual things supreme, creating archbishops and erecting bishoprics without consulting the pope. The vacant bishoprics were filled by candidates chosen by the clergy or laity of the diocese, or by the influence or nomination of the civil power, still with the approbation of the clergy and people. Some parts of the Island, peopled by colonies from the North of Europe, regarded the English Normans as their countrymen, and sent their bishops to be consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury; but in every case, both appointments and consecrations were independent of the papal see.

The submission of the Irish Church to Rome was voluntary, although the motives which led to the step are uncertain. Malachy O'Morgair, Archbishop of Armagh, dissatisfied upon some account or other, resigned his post in 1137, and retired to the suffragan bishopric of Down. The question of the celibacy of the clergy had long agitated the whole of Christendom, and Rome now promoted to the utmost those views which she soon afterwards rigidly enforced. It is probable that O'Morgair wished to assimilate the usages of his native church to those of Rome, on this as well as some other points. He made a journey to Rome, and solicited from Pope Innocent II. the pallium or pall, an ensign of dignity which the pope had begun to confer on archbishops, for the see of Armagh, as well as for that of Cashel, which had just been erected into a metropolitan church. He was received with courtesy, and sent back as the pope's legate in Ireland. But, with regard to the palls, he was informed that a matter of so much importance must be conducted with great deliberation, and he was advised to call together, in his new capacity, a synod of his countrymen, at whose request alone the favour could be granted. O'Morgair obeyed his instructions with the zeal of a new proselyte, and in the year 1148, at a synod assembled at Holm-Patrick, fifteen bishops, two hundred priests and a considerable number of the inferior clergy are said to have joined in soliciting the pope for these badges of their own dependence. Eugenius III. now filled the papal chair, and to him the petition was addressed, and O'Morgair at his own request was deputed to convey it. The legate died upon his journey; but the opportunity for papal interposition was not

lost, nor were the proceedings delayed. John Paparo, a cardinal, was appointed apostolic legate from the pope in Ireland. He arrived in 1152 with four palls, which he was commanded to confer on the Archbishops of Dublin, Armagh, Cashel, and Tuam. On his arrival he convened a national synod at Kells. Some of the clergy refused to sanction the council by their presence; but the majority of the bishops obeyed the mandate, and conferred the pall on each of the four archbishops, recognizing Gelatius Archbishop of Armagh, in accordance with ancient usage, as the Primate of all Ireland.

The Irish Church followed the downward course of Christendom. But it does not appear that papal interference extended further than to bestow the pall, as sees fell vacant, for half a century. In 1172, Henry II. completed the conquest of Ireland, and in 1175 he exercised his power by giving the bishopric of Waterford to an Irishman named Augustine, whom he sent to the Archbishop of Cashel for consecration. In 1202, John had succeeded to the throne, and he plunged into one of those fruitless controversies with the papacy, a recurrence of which embittered and disgraced his whole life. The archbishopric of Armagh being vacant, there were several competitors. The king decided in favour of Humphrey de Tickhull, while the pope declared in favour of another candidate, Eugene MacGillivider. The king incensed sent mandatory letters to all the suffragan bishops of that province, forbidding them to acknowledge Eugene for their metropolitan; and circulated duplicates among all his faithful subjects of the province, imposing on them the like prohibitions. But the king's archbishop died, and he immediately confirmed the election of a third candidate, while MacGillivider hastened to Rome, and procured a formal ratification of his claim. On his return, the king was bribed by three hundred marks of silver, and three marks of gold, and was thus induced to acquiesce in the pope's pretensions. This is the first instance in which an archbishop of Armagh received his appointment from Rome.

In obedience to her usual policy, the advantage thus gained was turned by the papal court to the best account. The appointments in Ireland were often disputed. It was seldom that the sovereign, the people, and the clergy could agree. If the chapter, or cathedral body, elected without the king's license, or *congé d'élire*, he annulled the act, and commanded them to proceed to

a new election. If he named the person to be chosen, the chapter, supported by the suffrages of the people, elected some one else. The pope was ever on the watch for these quarrels, which he generally set at rest by placing a creature of his own in the vacant see, out of the plenitude of his apostolic power, and in equal contempt for the rights of both of the contending parties. At first he professed to control only the spiritualities of the sees he thus disposed of, leaving the temporal concerns entirely to the crown; but occasions presented themselves when the embarrassments of the sovereign invited further aggression, and the papal court began to hold at its disposal both the spiritual and the civil rights of the Irish prelates. In short, the encroachments which were resisted successfully in England, were tamely submitted to in the sister country. Thus, in 1258, when Henry III. was at war with his barons, Pope Alexander IV. commanded him to restore forthwith the temporalities of the archbishopric of Armagh, which he had conferred on O'Conellan, the archbishop, and which Henry had on some account withheld; and the king was obliged to consent. This contest was carried on with various success till the Reformation. The Irish bishops were obliged by the sovereign to receive consecration in England, and they were then compelled to renounce in person any claims prejudicial to the crown contained in the pope's bulls. In 1306, Edward II. withheld the temporalities from Walter, Archbishop of Armagh, until he had renounced the secular rights conferred upon him by the pope, and paid a fine of five thousand crowns for the misdemeanour. Success in this dispute depended on the vigour of the sovereign, on the one side, and on the cunning and pertinacity of the pope, on the other. One device of the papal see was to affect that a flaw existed in the title, owing to some informality in the election, or to other causes. The candidate, wearied with delay, was induced to resign his pretensions and then to receive his bishopric back again by donation from the pope. This occurred in the case of William de Birmingham, elected Archbishop of Tuam in 1289, who on his resignation of his lawful claim was reappointed by the pope.

In other respects the influence of the papal see was prejudicially felt in Ireland. First, in 1229, a tenth of all the moveables was demanded to assist the pope in his war against the emperor. In 1240, Pope Gregory demanded further, under pain of excom-

munication and other censures, a twentieth part of the whole land. In 1270, a nuncio was sent to claim the tithes of all spiritual preferments for three years to come. The power of Rome was now at its height; a fact in proof of which two curious instances are related. In 1329, the pope sent over a commission to the Dean of St. Patrick's, by which he was authorized to hear the Archbishop of Dublin's confession of certain crimes, at his own request; and the dean was empowered to remit all the sins which might be confessed by the archbishop, except contempt of the papal authority. And in 1394, Pope Boniface IX., to make room for a favourite of his own, degraded William O'Cormacain, against his will, from the archbishopric of Tuam and removed him to the bishopric of Clonfert. Thus presuming to do, as an Irish historian remarks, what the king could not do; namely, to deprive a man of his freehold without the judgment of his peers.

The example of the papal see at length infected the Irish clergy, and more especially those of rank and station. The two centuries before the Reformation were spent in an unceasing effort on their part to get rid of the supremacy of the English crown. We should be disposed to regard their conduct with more complaisance had they not shown, at the same time, a spirit of abject prostration to the pope. It was not a struggle for the independence of the Irish Church, but merely for the transfer of its allegiance from one master to another. Ireland was certainly governed at this time with a lenient hand; for had the same offences been committed in England by rebellious prelates, they would have been rewarded with imprisonment for life, or the more speedy justice of the halter. Thus, besides repeated efforts, made by the bishops in a body, to prevent their tenants from suing in the king's court without a license from the pope, the Bishop of Down claimed the right of pardoning felons; the Archbishop of Armagh seized the revenues of Dromore, the see being vacant; and soon afterwards, in 1291, openly placed himself at the head of a treasonable association. This confederacy included the three other archbishops, all the suffragan bishops, all the deans and chapters, and the other orders of the clergy, who bound themselves, not only under their hands and seals, but by the sanction of an oath, to the following articles. They swore, first, "that if they, or any of them, their churches, rights, jurisdictions,

liberties, or customs, should, by any lay power or jurisdiction whatever, be impeded, resisted, or grieved, they would at their common expense, in proportion to their respective incomes, support, maintain, and defend each other, in all courts, and before all judges, either ecclesiastical or secular." Secondly, "that if any of their messengers, proctors, or the executors of their orders, should suffer any loss or damage in the execution of their business, by any lay power or jurisdiction, they would amply and without delay, make up to them all such losses and damages, according to a rateable proportion of their revenues." Other articles of the agreement pledged them to mutual co-operation; others enforced sentences of excommunication; so that, if a person excommunicated in one diocese, should flee to another, the place where he continued should be put under an interdict; and they further laid every archbishop and bishop, who should be negligent in executing the agreement, under a penalty, respectively, of five hundred marks, and two hundred pounds to the pope. This agreement was executed in the Dominican convent at Trim, the Sunday after St. Matthew's day, and needs no comment.

The behaviour of the prelates, and their factious quarrels, not unaccompanied with frequent violence, bears a painful testimony to the wretched state of religion about this period. A controversy existed for three or four centuries between the archbishops of Armagh and Dublin as to the right of either to bear his cross erect in the province of the other. The contest was carried on by force and fraud; sometimes the obnoxious cross was carried off by stealth; more frequently the retainers of the offended prelate fell upon the bearers and blood was shed. The controversy was still raging when the Reformation put an end to it. A contention arose between the prelates of Waterford and Lismore about certain lands to which each of them laid claim; the question was referred to delegates appointed by the pope, who gave their decision in favour of the Bishop of Lismore. His episcopal rival formed a plot, with some of his dependents; seized him in his own cathedral during divine worship, tore off his episcopal robes, besides plundering the church, hurried him from place to place, and at length imprisoned him in irons in the castle of Dungarvan. He contrived to escape after seven weeks' confinement, having suffered cruelly, when he was again surprised

by one of the clergy of the diocese of Waterford, who drew his sword and attempted to cut off his head. In 1353, a strange contest arose between the Archbishop of Cashel and his suffragan the Bishop of Waterford. The latter, without the license of his Metropolitan, had committed two heretics to the flames. The archbishop took his revenge, came at midnight with a numerous body of men well armed, attacked the bishop in his apartments, robbed him, and retired, leaving him severely wounded. A few years afterwards, viz. 1369, matters were reversed, and now a Bishop of Limerick fell upon an Archbishop of Cashel. The former being cited upon the charge of violating certain privileges of the Franciscan friars, assaulted his Metropolitan, tore the citation from his hands with such force that he drew his blood, and threatened him and his attendants with further violence unless they instantly retreated. The archbishop fled from Limerick, and the bishop in his pontifical robes publicly excommunicated by bell, book, and candle, every citizen who had given him entertainment. The archbishop returning afterwards, to preach at Limerick, according to custom on a stated solemnity, the bishop, by proclamation, threatened with excommunication all who should hear the sermon, and did in fact proceed to excommunicate those who heard it. When the archbishop left the city the bishop sent his followers after him, who tore the bridle from his horse and otherwise insulted him.

The character of the inferior clergy was of course like that of their superiors. In the year 1307 the prior of New Town was accused of murdering one of his own canons and of assisting his brother in the murder of another. He evaded justice by the plea that he was a clerk, and not amenable to the civil courts—a plea, however, which, at that period, would have effectually secured him, even if the crime had been committed in England, or indeed in any part of western Christendom. In 1390, the king having issued Letters Patent to inquire into certain extortions and offences in the Cistercian Abbey of Dunbrody, the royal commissioner on his arrival was assaulted with violence by the abbot, his monks, and their associates. They seized and destroyed the king's letters, and imprisoned the commissioner until they had extorted an oath that he would not prosecute any of the persons concerned in the transaction. At a much later period, in 1529, the clergy of Limerick were again aroused to

violence. The occasion of the tumult was a canon, enacted in the provincial synod, giving authority to the mayor of Limerick to imprison clerks in orders until their debts were paid, without the risk of excommunication. A more expressive comment on the low condition of the Irish Church at the time just preceding the Reformation is not wanted.

In other respects the morals of the clergy were at the lowest ebb. Celibacy was introduced in the twelfth century, and from that date the clergy rapidly degenerated. Incontinence has never been the vice of the Irish character. The Irish clergy have been the only exception. It were needless, says Bishop Mant, in his *History of the Church of Ireland*, as it is revolting, to dwell on individual examples of this profligacy: its extensive prevalence appears even amongst the municipal regulations of the town of Galway, and we refer the reader to his pages for an extract from the records of that city, which painfully confirms the charge. John Bale, the first Protestant bishop of Ossory, relates that, when he arrived in Ireland, it was esteemed an honour to be the illegitimate offspring of a priest. In 1537, the grand jury of Clonmel charged several of the regular priests before the king's commissioners, for living in adultery. And in the Irish Statute Book there is an Act (11 Elizabeth, chapter 6, anno 1569) to put an end to "the great abuse of the clergy of Munster and Connaught, in admitting unworthy persons to ecclesiastical dignities, which had not lawfulness of birth; but were descended from unchaste and unmarried abbots, priors, deans, chapters, and such like; getting into the said dignities either with force, simony, friendship, or other corrupt means, to the great overthrow of God's holy Church, and the evil example of all honest congregations."

The intellectual condition of the clergy was on a level with their morals. The seculars were not able to say mass, or even to pronounce the words in the Latin tongue. A college existed at Armagh where a few of the higher clergy received their education; and an attempt had been made to found a university in Dublin. A bull was obtained from Clement the Fifth by the archbishop for that purpose in the year 1311, but his death occurred soon after, and the project failed. It was revived by his successor in 1320; and a divinity lecture was founded by King Edward the Third; but from the want of sufficient endowments, and the poverty of

the country, the college fell into decay and had ceased to exist in the time of Henry the Eighth. Monastic institutions however abounded, and feebly supplied the place of colleges and schools. The number of monks was almost incredible. They are said at one time to have equalled all the other inhabitants of the kingdom. Archdall, in his "*Monasticon Hibernicum*," gives an account of about eleven hundred religious houses; to which Grose, in his "*Irish Antiquities*," adds three hundred more. Many of these were very obscure, and had gradually perished. The number suppressed at the Reformation did not exceed five hundred. Compared with the magnificent abbeys of England these institutions were poor; yet fourteen abbots and ten priors sat amongst the Lords of the Irish Parliament.

The finest qualities of the Irish character, its susceptibility to religious impressions, together with the absence of that cunning which teaches men to suspect deceit in others, laid it open to the artifices of a designing priesthood. In consequence, superstition has made Ireland her chosen home. Legends and miracles, the most extravagant, adorn, or disfigure, almost every well and river, and glade and mountain-side. Of these traditions some have at least poetical beauty to commend them, others are destitute even of this redeeming feature. Of the former class is the story of Saint Nesson who dwelt in Ireland's Eye, or Saint Nesson's Island, where he gave himself to prayer and fasting. In this place the evil spirit appeared to him in the form of a very black man: the saint pursued him, holding a bunch of hyssop full of holy water, and the tempter fled out upon the sea. Nesson followed, walking safely on the waters, overtook his adversary, and chased him to a cavern in the Hill of Howth, at the mouth of which may still be seen his image in the native rock. In his pursuit the saint lost his copy of the Gospels in the deep: it was found long afterwards, without a stain, by some fisherman; and for ages Saint Nesson's Gospel was held in such reverence that no false witness would venture to make oath upon it; for the perjurer fell instantly before the Divine vengeance. No Church was more rich in relics. A catalogue of those of the cathedral of Christ Church, Dublin, has been preserved in the library of Trinity College. It is a singular proof of ignorance and credulity. Besides the bones of innumerable saints, there was an image of the Saviour which had spoken twice; his staff, conferred by an

angel on St. Patrick; a thorn from the crown; the cloak in which he lay in the manger: also the girdle of the Virgin, and some of her milk; the stone upon which the law was given to Moses; parts of the sepulchre of Lazarus, and of that of the Virgin Mary; and, lastly, the stone altar of St. Patrick, on which a leper had been miraculously transported from Ireland to the Welsh coast. In England, penances were comparatively rare; a pilgrimage to the shrine of Saint Thomas of Canterbury always savoured of making holiday; but in Ireland penances were at once severe and general. These we need not describe, because they are practised to this day, and known to every reader. The tens of thousands of both sexes who crawl, bare-legged and bleeding, around Saint Patrick's purgatory, on the Island of Lough Dourg, represent the tens of thousands who performed the same penances upon the same spot long before the Reformation dawned. Lough Dourg indeed had already gained its scandalous notoriety; and the pilgrims who had lacerated themselves by day, consoled themselves by debaucheries at night. Pope Alexander the Sixth, in 1497, commanded the destruction of the "station;" but the interest of the priests, who thrived upon the sufferings of the deluded people, was stronger than the Papal arm; and Lough Dourg exhibits in the nineteenth century, fanatical superstitions scarcely to be equalled in any, at least, of the Transalpine dependencies of Rome.

We now take our leave of the Church of Rome in Ireland to trace the progress of the Reformation, and the fortunes of the Protestant Church, as it was by law established.

The first step was taken in 1537, when Henry the Eighth asserted his supremacy. The consequences of this claim were at once perceived, and the adherents of the Papal Church determined to resist it. They were led by Cromar, Archbishop of Armagh, a prelate of gravity, learning, and popular manners. He had lately held the high office of Lord Chancellor of Ireland; his influence was great; and he made use of it with success amongst the suffragan bishops and inferior clergy; urging them to support the pope's supremacy in despite of the pretensions of the king. Such contumacy Henry would not have endured in England from the proudest of his prelates. But, either indifferent or afraid, he temporized in Ireland. Cromar, though primate of all Ireland, was permitted to retain his post, and thus the Reformation was

crippled from its birth. The first Protestant archbishop was George Brown, promoted to the metropolitan see of Dublin in 1535. A man of learning and piety, educated at Oxford, and formerly president, or provincial, of the order of Augustine Friars in England. He had been for some time known as a student of Luther's writings and a friend of the Reformation; he had even taught his Augustine monks to forsake the worship of the Virgin, and address their prayers to Christ alone. He was consecrated by Cranmer, now Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by Shaxton and Fisher, Bishops of Salisbury and Rochester; and a commission was issued, about the same time, to confer with the government in Ireland for the removal of the pope's authority. Bills were introduced into the Irish parliament declaring the king's supremacy over the Church in Ireland, and taking away the authority of the bishop of Rome. They were strongly opposed, particularly in the upper house; but through the influence of the archbishop were passed. The first fruits, by another act, were given to the king. Thirteen religious houses were suppressed; the twentieth of the profits of all spiritual promotions was ordered to be paid yearly to the king for ever; and the payment of Peter-pence or other fees to the bishop of Rome was forbidden. Another act was passed of which the effect has been unfortunate. It forbade spiritual promotions "only to such as could speak English," unless after four proclamations in the next market-town such could not be had; and an oath was to be administered to every person in orders, that he would endeavour to learn the English tongue, and speak the same to all under his care, and preach the word of God in English, if a preacher. The statute was no doubt well meant; but its fruits have been disastrous. It was hoped that the native Irish, forgetting their mother-tongue, would forsake its superstitions. But the result has been, that the reformed clergy have always been regarded as aliens, and the national Church a foreign institution.

The Protestant Archbishop of Dublin appears to have entered upon his arduous duties in a temper at once sincere and moderate. But his success was slow; and in 1537 an angry letter was addressed to him by Henry's command, in which he was threatened with the king's displeasure on account of the tardy progress of the Reformation. The fault lay chiefly with the king himself. Cromar, the primate, was at the head of the

Popish party, and if he did not openly defy the king's authority, he secretly countermined it. The Archbishop of Dublin attempted to remove the images and relics from his cathedral. The Archbishop of Tuam protested against the sacrilege, and sought assistance from the Pope. Backed by such authority, the prior of the cathedral, and the Dean of St. Patrick, were encouraged to resist their own diocesan. From a letter addressed by the Archbishop of Dublin to Lord Cromwell, dated January 8th, 1538, and preserved at Lambeth, it is evident that the Reformation was already blighted in the bud. He complains that while, upon the one hand, he was insulted and imprisoned by the Lord Deputy, as a man who had fallen beneath the king's displeasure, he was left, on the other, to fight the battle of the Reformation single handed. The clergy were utterly refractory; not one of them could he induce "either to preach the word of God, or to own the just title of our most illustrious prince." They would not even remove the name of the bishop of Rome out of the mass-books; while a general pardon for disobedience to the king from the pope of Rome was publicly received. "George, my brother of Armagh," he says in a subsequent letter, "doth underhand occasion quarrels; and is not active to execute his Highness's orders in his diocese." The pope issued his bull of excommunication against all heretics; and especially such as denied supremacy to him and his successors in all things, spiritual as well as temporal. A rebellion instantly broke out, headed by O'Neal, a Papist, which was defeated with much bloodshed. The Lord Deputy himself was a favourer of image worship. A commission was at last issued from London at the archbishop's request, and a visitation was made in some parts of Ireland. In the presence of the commissioners two archbishops and eight bishops took the oath of supremacy. The dissolution of the monasteries now proceeded; that of the Holy Trinity in Dublin was converted into a dean and chapter, and is since known as the cathedral of Christ Church. In 1536, three hundred and seventy religious houses were suppressed, of the yearly value of 32,000*l*. Their chattels were rated at 100,000*l*. These comprehended all the monastic establishments of importance, although a few still remained which were suppressed afterwards. Their value, in so poor a country, was considerable. In England the Church was possessed at the Reformation, of at least one-third of the whole property of the

kingdom. It seems probable that in Ireland the proportion was at least as great; and yet the people remained in a state of utter barbarism. Their clergy were illiterate; "many of them knowing," as the Archbishop of Dublin says in one of his letters, "no more Latin than might be taught to a bird," and repeating a service the words of which they pronounced with difficulty. It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the religious houses were the receptacles of sloth, and if so, beyond a doubt of vice and disorder.

Under Edward the Sixth the Reformation made some progress. Protestant bishops were appointed in 1550 to five vacant sees, as well as to the archbishopric of Armagh. The English Bible and liturgy were introduced in 1551. A Bible and liturgy in the Irish tongue might have saved Ireland from three hundred years of disgrace and wretchedness. But in that age of sagacious statesmen and dauntless reformers, the importance of the measure was not felt. Bishop Burnet says that no attempt was made to introduce the Bible or the Prayer-book in the Irish language. The diligent research of Bishop Mant has discovered that this is not strictly true. Some steps were taken with a view to the translation of the liturgy, but nothing was effected. Turner, being nominated by the king, was urged by Cranmer to fill the see of Armagh. He showed the utmost repugnance to accept it; if he went thither, he said, he must preach to stone walls and empty benches; for the people understood no English. Cranmer urged him to learn the Irish tongue; wisely adding that both his person and his doctrine would be more acceptable, not only to his diocese, but through the whole of Ireland; but Turner was resolute in his refusal, and the vacant see was given to Hugh Goodacre, the fifth person to whom it had been offered. So reluctant were the English clergy to enter upon this missionary work. Of the new bishops, Bale of Ossory seems to have possessed in a high degree all the qualifications, except a knowledge of the Irish language, for his arduous post. Divine worship was performed for the first time in the cathedral church of Dublin, according to the English liturgy, on Easter-day, 1551, before the viceroy and the civic authorities. Dowdall, now Archbishop of Armagh, like his predecessor, was opposed to the Reformation. He was either deprived, or retiring in disgust a voluntary exile, the primacy was conferred on the Archbishop of Dublin.

King Edward died, the Reformation was again suspended, and popery was at once restored. Mary issued a commission in April 1554 to Dowdall, now again Archbishop of Armagh, whom she had also reinstated in the primacy, and other delegates, for restoring the ancient faith, and punishing those clergymen who had been guilty of violating the law of celibacy by marriage. The Archbishop of Dublin, and the other Protestant bishops, were deprived; most of them fled; Bale was surrounded in his house by a rabble led by the popish priests; five of his servants were killed before his face, and his own life was saved by the opportune arrival of a military force. After many perils he reached Basle, which was then filled with English fugitives, and he remained there till the death of Mary. He is one of the seven prelates named in the warrant for the consecration of Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1559, after the accession of Elizabeth; but he was not restored to his Irish diocese, and died a prebend of Canterbury. Probably advancing years indisposed him to return to the scene of his former labours. No Protestants were burnt in Ireland, but a commission is said to have been issued for that purpose, when the death of Mary, happily for the world, occurred, and prevented its execution. Archbishop Ussher and others, relate, that Dr. Cole, a furious papist, was entrusted with this commission, and had arrived at Chester on his way to Ireland with it. Here his vanity led him to boast, in the hearing of his hostess, that he carried that in his bag which would lash the Protestants of Ireland. The woman was a Protestant, having a brother a citizen of Dublin; much troubled at the doctor's words, she watched her opportunity to open the box and take the commission out of it, placing in lieu thereof a sheet of paper with a pack of cards, and the knave of clubs placed uppermost. Cole arrived in Dublin on the 7th of October, 1558, and immediately waited on Lord FitzWalter, the Lord Deputy, and the Privy Council. Here he first discovered his loss, but not till he had made a speech and presented the box in which the commission had been enclosed. The Lord Lieutenant seems to have enjoyed the embarrassment of the Queen's messenger, being probably averse to the fanatical measure. "Let us have another commission," he said, "and we will shuffle the cards in the meanwhile." "The doctor, being troubled in his mind, went his way and returned into England,

and coming to the court obtained another commission; but staying for the wind at the water-side, news came to him that the Queen Mary was dead."

Nearly a year passed after the accession of Elizabeth before any measures were taken to complete the reformation of the Irish Church. In January, 1560, an act was passed in the Irish parliament which restored the supremacy to the Crown in things spiritual, and by a second act the Prayer-book, as revised in 1559, was legally enforced. The second Prayer-book of King Edward had not been introduced, and it deserves to be remarked that, while in England the penalty for nonconformity was excommunication, in Ireland the punishment was deprivation and imprisonment, in the case of the clergy,—in that of the laity fine and imprisonment, according to the number of offences. It seems as if the court were unwilling to enforce the dreaded sentence of excommunication amongst a superstitious and irascible people. Another concession, far less excusable, was made by the Irish parliament. On the plea that ministers who could officiate in English were not to be found, and that the service could not be conducted in the native language, "as well for difficulty to get it printed as that few in the whole realm could read the Irish letters," (which resemble the Anglo-Saxon characters) it was therefore allowed "to say and use the Matins, even song, celebration of the Lord's Supper, and administration of each of the Sacraments, and all the common prayer, in the Latin tongue, in such form and order as is set forth in the said book established by this act." Nothing could more forcibly express the heartlessness of those to whom the reformation of the Irish Church was entrusted. Edward the Sixth's instructions were, that the liturgy should be used in the Irish tongue "in places where it was needed." No pains, it seems, had been taken either to print an Irish Prayer-book or to instruct a native clergy in the vernacular tongue. Of Latin they were at least as ignorant, and the permission to read the Protestant Prayer-book in the Latin language was a shameless concession to popery. By other acts of the parliament in Dublin, the twentieth, and the first-fruits, were restored to the Crown, the mass abolished, popish ceremonies forbidden, and the right of conferring bishoprics vested in the Crown without election of deans and chapters, or the issue of a writ of *congé d'élire*.

Adam Loftus was appointed to the primacy in 1563, and the care of the infant cause of Protestantism in its most delicate and sickly form, was committed to an inexperienced head, fresh from Cambridge, of whom historians are not agreed whether he was in the eight-and-twentieth or thirtieth year of his age. He was one of Elizabeth's favourites, of an ancient family and a graceful person, and skilled in disputation, and she permitted him to hold the deanery of St. Patrick in commendam. The archbishopric, it appears, at this time, in common with all the bishoprics in Ireland, had been greatly impoverished by the frauds of previous occupants. From various returns made in the reign of Elizabeth it seems that, whilst all of them were poor, to some nothing whatever had been left.

In 1566 a synod was held in Dublin, consisting of the archbishops, bishops, and others, her Majesty's high commissioners, for causes ecclesiastical for the same realm, which issued a book of articles. They have been long since superseded and are scarcely known. They are twelve in number, evidently drawn up by those who took the articles of the Church of England for their guide. They display the same moderation, and sometimes adopt the same expressions. The first and second articles assert the doctrine of the Trinity, the sufficiency of Holy Scripture, and the truth of the three creeds. The third, upon the authority of the Church, is as follows: "I acknowledge, also, the Church to be the spouse of Christ, wherein the word of God is truly taught, the sacraments orderly ministered according to Christ's institution, and the authority of the keys duly used. And that every such particular Church hath authority to institute, to change, to clean put away ceremonies, and other ecclesiastical rites, as they take to be superfluous, or be abused, and to constitute other, making more to seemliness, to order, or to edification." The sixth article on the papacy simply declares, "the authority of the bishop of Rome to be no more than that of other bishops in their respective dioceses." His holiness made but an indifferent return for this forbearance in excommunicating the queen, and stirring up a fierce and bloody rebellion in Ireland.

The condition of the country was deplorable. It was not immorality and irreligion that prevailed, but heathenism and the habits of savage life. The viceroy reported in 1565 that even

the Pale, a part of Ireland so called, which had long been tenanted by Scotch and English colonists, was overrun with robbers and soldiers of fortune, who lived upon the people. Leinster was harassed by the factions of the O'Tooles, Cavanaghs, O'Moores, and others; and Kilkenny was almost desolate from similar causes. Munster was ruined by the fights and quarrels of the Earls of Desmond and Ormond; and the barony of Ormond was overrun by Pierce Grace, an adventurer. Thomond was desolated by the wars between Sir Daniel O'Brien and the Earl of Thomond. Connaught was almost wasted by the feuds between the Earls of Clanricarde and Outer; to say nothing of lesser contests between other chiefs. Ulster, which for some time had been the magazine of all the plunder of the other provinces, and so was richer than the rest, was in open rebellion under Shane O'Neill, supported by the papists. They had sent the brother of the Earl of Desmond, with two of their titular bishops, Cashel and Emly, to the pope and to the King of Spain, to solicit assistance, and to rescue their church and country from the hands of Queen Elizabeth.

From a letter addressed to Elizabeth in 1575, by the lord-lieutenant Sir Henry Sidney, these general statements receive a distressing confirmation. He reports that in the bishopric of Meath, the most populous part of the country, there were two hundred and twenty-four parish churches. Of these, one hundred and five were impropriated, leased out for years, or held in fee-farm; no parson or vicar being resident on any one of them, "and a very simple or sorry curate, for the most part, appointed to serve them; among which number of curates only eighteen were found able to speak English; the rest Irish priests, or rather Irish rogues, having very little Latin, less learning or civility." The faithful deputy proceeds to tell her Majesty, that such being the condition of the best-peopled diocese, and the best-governed county in the realm, she may easily conjecture the condition of the rest. "Your Majesty may believe it, that upon the face of the earth there is not a Church in so miserable a case." He does not hesitate to blame the queen herself for something of this misery, "which consisteth," he says, "in these particulars; the ruin of the very temples themselves, the want of good ministers to serve in them, when they shall be re-edified, and competent living for the ministers, being well chosen." Sir

Henry Sidney writes like a statesman, and a wise and zealous reformer. Would that Elizabeth had listened to his counsels! The dilapidation of the churches might easily be repaired if the queen would restore the revenues she had seized, and compel inferior delinquents to follow her example. Good ministers might be found, if the stipends were restored, who could speak in Irish; for these men search should be made in the universities: "Let them be sent here, though somewhat to your highness's charge, and, on the peril of my life, it shall be restored again before three years be expired;" or if the universities failed her Majesty, "she might write to the regent of Scotland where there were many honest, zealous, and learned men of the Reformed Church that could speak this language." There were many other enormities which ought to be remedied. "Cause the bishops," he exclaims, "of that your realm of England, to undertake this apostleship, and that on their own charges. They be rich enough; and if either they be thankful to your Majesty for your immense bounty done to them, or zealous to increase the Christian flock, they will not refuse this honourable and religious travail; and I will undertake their guidance and guarding, honourably and safely, from place to place." But other cares engaged the attention of Elizabeth and her privy council; even the wise Burleigh had few thoughts to spare upon the ecclesiastical affairs of a remote and barbarous dependency. The opportunity was lost, and the Reformation halted in its progress.

During the remainder of the long reign of Elizabeth few bright spots adorned the annals of the Irish Church. The foundation of the University of Trinity College, Dublin, however, deserves notice. It was opened for the admission of students, the 9th of January 1593. Cecil, lord Burleigh, was its first chancellor; Loftus, archbishop of Dublin, the first provost; and amongst the first three scholars, is the distinguished name of James Ussher, afterwards lord primate of Ireland. It has been the singular good fortune of this institution to stand out in brilliant contrast, the resort of letters and the abode of solid learning, when all around presented one dismal void of abject superstitions; and, though its disadvantages are not few, it justly claims a place amongst the great schools of Europe in the nineteenth century. It was originally endowed with the suppressed

abbey of Allhallows, of the yearly value of twenty pounds ; and the charter empowered the provost and three fellows, of whom the foundation originally consisted, to accept of lands or contributions to the amount of four hundred pounds per annum. The appointment of Henry Ussher to the archbishopric of Armagh in 1595, was also an occurrence of moment in the history of the Irish Church. Through his influence and labours the new University was founded and endowed ; and his name would have descended as one of the greatest benefactors of the Protestant cause in Ireland had it not been partially eclipsed by that of his still more illustrious nephew.

James Ussher was scarcely in orders, when his piety, learning, and eloquence secured for him the foremost place in the controversy, then raging with great heat on both sides, between the Jesuits in Ireland and the Protestant Church. In the year 1600 he was appointed to preach regularly before the court in Dublin ; and though a mere youth, he gave lectures on the principles of religion, and in opposition to the errors of popery, in the university. The Court of High Commission had been established in Ireland in 1593. Its method of promoting uniformity was the same which it had enforced in London, only that papists were treated with a degree of consideration unknown to English Puritans. In 1590 an order was issued by the government, in submission to its instructions, compelling the Papists to attend Divine service in the parish churches, under a fine of twelve pence. As a measure of policy it was not altogether inexcusable. Ireland, always in rebellion, was looking for assistance from the Spaniards, who landed soon after, and were beaten at Kinsale, December 24, 1601. Had they succeeded, a massacre of the Protestants was to have ensued. A compulsory attendance at the parish church was a weekly muster of the disaffected. But the Protestants of those days would have sought for no such excuses. Strangely ignorant of human nature, they believed that a compulsory attendance would end in a sound conversion. The churches were crowded ; and the Papists, alarmed by their defeat at Kinsale, and awed by the terrors of the High Commission, appeared to be diligent and punctual in their attendance. But Lord Mountjoy succeeded the Earl of Essex as lord-deputy, and he adopted a milder policy, being resolved, he said, to deal moderately in the great matter of religion. Even Ussher was

alarmed. He availed himself of a special opportunity, when preaching before the viceregal court, at the cathedral of Christ Church, to protest against what he considered a dangerous and sinful toleration of popery. Choosing for his text Ezekiel iv. 6, where the prophet, lying on his side, was to bear the iniquity of the house of Judah forty days, a day for a year. "From this year," he exclaimed, "will I reckon the sin of Ireland, that those whom you now embrace shall be your ruin, and you shall bear their iniquity." In 1641 the massacre broke out, in which at least one hundred thousand Protestants were slaughtered. The coincidence was remarkable: though no prescience was required to foresee that the Papists would again rebel, or that Irish rebels would, if possible, exterminate their foes. On the strength of this prediction, the Protestants long revered the memory of Ussher as a prophet.

A convocation was held in Dublin in the year 1615, whose proceedings were unfortunate. So far, the Irish clergy had, in every important point, adopted the forms and confessions of the English Church. Since the year 1562 they had subscribed the English articles on their admission to orders, and on their appointment to a cure of souls. They now determined to assert an independent character, and frame articles of religion of their own. In this attempt they followed the continental reformers in their diffuse systems of divinity, rather than the English Church in the conciseness and simplicity of her thirty-nine articles. The Irish articles of 1615 consist of one hundred and four sections, in nineteen chapters. Some of them are discursive and too diffuse. Subjects are introduced, such as the fall of angels, the primeval state of man, and the condition of the soul after death, on which some diversity of opinion has always existed amongst the orthodox. Above all, the nine Lambeth Articles of 1595,* which Whitgift had drawn up and unsuccessfully attempted to enforce at Cambridge, were introduced. The biographers of Ussher, on his behalf, have undertaken the defence of the Lambeth Articles: it is probable, therefore, that he was a chief party to their introduction. A decree of the synod was annexed, forbidding any minister, of whatsoever degree or quality, publicly to teach any doctrine contrary to these articles; "after

* For which see vol. i, page 253.

due admonition, if he do not conform himself, and cease to disturb the peace of the Church, let him be silenced and deprived." The articles were signed by Jones, Archbishop of Dublin, being then Lord Chancellor of Ireland, by the speakers of the two Houses of Convocation, and by the Lord Deputy, with the authority of King James I.

It has been often said, that in adopting these articles, the Church of Ireland placed herself in opposition to the Church of England. This is an overstatement. The Church of England has left to those who subscribe her articles, a certain latitude of private judgment on the Calvinistic points. Archbishop Whitgift, when he wrote, and Ussher and his friends, when they adopted, the articles of 1595, intended nothing more than a full and accurate exposition of doctrines which, as understood by them, were already taught in the seventeenth of the thirty-nine articles, and elsewhere, by the Church of England. The Arminian controversy, however, partly in consequence of the Lambeth articles themselves, was raging furiously in 1615, and why the Irish clergy should have taken upon themselves to import the quarrel into their native land, and to exclude Arminians of every shade from the service of a Church so much wanting recruits, is, we confess, a perplexing question. The facility with which the sanction of James was obtained is no less remarkable. In England he had cast off his Calvinistic prepossessions, and was drawing round him the heads of the Arminian party. Just at the beginning of this century, a large colony of Presbyterians from Scotland had been settled in Ulster; and it has been suggested, that the Lambeth articles were introduced in order to conciliate the disciples of Knox, by making the creed of the national Church expound more accurately the views of the Scotch reformer and his great master Calvin.

The Irish Convocation met again in 1636. Laud was now Archbishop of London, and Ussher Archbishop of Dublin, though no longer primate; for in the year 1626, after ages of controversy, it was decided by the crown that the primacy of Ireland had pertained from the remotest antiquity to the see of Armagh, and should there remain. Laud, violent in his Arminianism, was anxious to rescind the articles of 1615. The Court of London forwarded his views, not merely from regard to his theology, but on account of the political inconveniences which were already

apparent from the two standards of faith of two sister churches. Strafford, Lord Wentworth, was Viceroy, the pliant agent of Laud and Charles. At their suggestion he proposed to the Irish bishops that the articles of the English Church should be introduced, and those of Ireland quietly superseded; or to use his own words, "silenced without noise." Bramhall, Bishop of Derry, introduced the matter to the Irish Convocation, in a speech of great moderation. "It were to be wished," he said, "that articles might be framed in which all orthodox Christians could agree. The two Churches were in reality of the same opinions: the sense of their articles was the same—though their adversaries clamoured that they were dissonant. The articles of every national Church should be worded with that latitude that persons dissenting on those things that concerned not the Christian faith might subscribe, and the Church not lose the benefit of their labours for the sake of an opinion which, it might be, they could not help." The Convocation, with a single dissentient voice, received the English articles.

But thus the Church of Ireland had two standards of faith, or at least two sets of articles. Heylin, Collyer, and other Arminian writers have affirmed, that the Irish articles were now abrogated and repealed; and even Fuller speaks of them as being "utterly excluded;" but these statements are incorrect. They profess indeed no better foundation than that which is inferentially supplied, on the supposition that the two codes are inconsistent with each other: a supposition which the Dublin Convocation of 1636 was so far from admitting, that the very canon by which the thirty nine articles are accepted declares, "that it was done for the manifestation of their agreement with the Church of England in the same Christian faith." In fact Ussher, and several other Irish bishops, required of their clergy for some years afterwards subscription to both sets of articles. By degrees those of 1615 fell into neglect; subscription to two confessions, which one party in the Church believed to be contradictory, seemed to be scandalous. On the Irish rebellion in 1641 the Church fell into decay: then came the protectorate of Cromwell, and the abolition of episcopacy; and after the Restoration the Irish articles came into neglect. At the same Convocation canons were framed for the government of the Irish Church. Laud had great influence in Ireland, and his friends

proposed the adoption of the English canons. To this the Irish primate was averse, not merely because the circumstances of the two Churches were different, but further, too, lest the Church of England should seem to be permitted to usurp authority over the Church of Ireland. The eighth canon is the most important, and unfortunately the most neglected of the whole. It is now, and ever has been, a dead letter. It enjoins that the confession, absolution, and communion-service to the homily or sermon, when the people are all or most Irish, shall be used in English first, and after in Irish. Even this was but scanty justice to the natives, who were still doomed to listen to a sermon in an unknown tongue. And the boon, such as it was, lost much of its value by the permission, granted in canon 86, to the parish clerk, "where the minister is an Englishman," to read the Irish portions of the service. Had the native Irish accepted the reformed faith under allurements such as these, they would have exhibited an indifference to their ancient creed, and a passionate fondness for abstract religious truth, such as no nation on earth has ever yet displayed!

We do not relate the dismal tragedy of the Irish massacre. It broke out in 1641, and raged with little intermission for twelve years, when it was finally put down, and righteously avenged, by the iron hand of Cromwell. The rebels formed a disciplined army, acting under a commission from the pope. To exterminate heresy, and of course to annihilate the reformed Church, was their avowed intention. Henrietta, the wife of Charles the First, was undoubtedly their friend, and his own memory is not cleared from the imputation of conniving at their rebellion, partly to conciliate the pope, whose aid he was imploring against his puritanical parliament, and still more, perhaps, to propitiate the queen.

In 1642 the rebels, in a general assembly, headed by their lords temporal and spiritual, and other representatives of the confederates, decreed that the possessions of the Protestant clergy belonged, in right of the Church, to the Roman Catholics, and the Papal hierarchy was at once restored. In 1645 Innocent the Tenth instructed them, through his nuncio, to prosecute the war till popery should be established, the decrees of the Council of Trent acknowledged, and Ireland placed under a lord-lieutenant of the true faith. It is by no means clear that Charles

would not have conceded even these demands. Bishop Mant has published a letter from the Marquis of Ormond, then lord-lieutenant, to Lord Digby, Charles's confidential adviser, dated 25th December, 1646, which betrays the misgivings of one who, devoted in his loyalty, was still painfully conscious of the duplicity and the weakness of his royal master. "I shall beseech you to be careful of one thing ; which is, to take order that the commands that shall be directed to me touching this people, if any be, thwart not the grounds I have laid to myself in point of religion, for in that and in that only, I shall resort to the liberty left to a subject, to obey by suffering : and particularly that there be no concession to the papists to perpetuate churches or church-livings to them, or to take ecclesiastical jurisdiction from us. And as for other freedoms from penalties for the quiet exercise of their religion, I am clear of opinion, it not only may, but ought to be given them, if his majesty shall find cause to own them for anything but rebels."—p. 575.

In this dark period the Irish prelacy, as a body, command our high respect. A bishopric in a barbarous country, where intestine warfare never ceased, was not an object of ambition to aspiring churchmen. These posts were left to men cast in another mould, whose noble ambition it was to extend the boundaries of the pure Church of Christ. Yet they achieved but little ; embarrassed, as we have seen they were, by circumstances over which they had little influence. Some of them appear to have thoroughly understood their work ; others were of that large class who work well beneath specific instructions, but have not the power of fashioning new enterprises. Ussher did not feel his episcopal office degraded by preaching in the sessions house at Drogheda to Roman Catholics, whose prejudices forbade them to listen to him in a church. The rebellion drove him from his post, to which he never returned ; and we know him rather as a great divine than as an enterprising bishop. The latter character belongs to Bedell, provost of Trinity College, and afterwards Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh, to which he was consecrated in 1630. He found his diocese, "saving a few British planters here and there, and these not a tenth part of the remnant, entirely popish." He determined to attempt their conversion ; and, as the readiest way to the hearts of the people, began with the priests. Their ignorance was profound ; but with several of them

he succeeded. A convent of friars was induced to listen to his instructions, and read his books, and some sense of religion dawned amongst them. Prayers were read in Irish in his cathedral: a short catechism, some prayers, and a few pregnant texts of Scripture, were printed on a sheet in English and Irish, and thankfully received throughout the diocese. The New Testament and the book of Common Prayer were now translated. He began too a version of the Old Testament, having made himself acquainted with the language on purpose; nor was he ashamed to ask the assistance of Irish scholars more competent than himself. Arrangements were already made for printing this great work, when the rebellion broke out. Bedell was seized and imprisoned in a small castle, or rather dungeon, in the centre of Lough Outer, and died shortly after his release from the effects of sorrow and ill-usage. The rebel chieftains followed him to the grave, and there they discharged a volley over the best and last of the English bishops; exclaiming in Latin "Requiescat in pace—ultimus Anglorum!" May the last of the English rest in peace.

Jeremy Taylor was appointed Bishop of Down and Connor, after the Restoration, in 1660. He is known to the world as an eloquent preacher and writer, and a somewhat fanciful divine. But he left no impression on the Irish Church. The courtly preacher, whom Laud patronized and Charles flattered, felt himself lost in honourable exile in an Irish diocese. At the request of the clergy he drew up his "Dissuasive from Popery;" but neither his style, nor the language in which he wrote, commended his labours either to Irish priests or to an Irish peasantry. He seems, from his letters, to have looked round him with dismay upon the degraded state of his adopted land, and to have acquiesced in the conclusion of his own helplessness.

The accession of James the Second gave another triumph to the Papal party. Determined that Ireland should be at once restored to the see of Rome, he introduced a Romish viceroy, Lord Tyrconnel, who filled up every place of trust with Roman Catholics. The Protestant soldiers were disbanded, and the officers, on various pretences, cashiered. The clergy were insulted in the streets, the revenues of most of the bishoprics sequestered, and the bishops themselves compelled to fly. Everything portended a general massacre. The priests interdicted their people from the mass, unless each of them came furnished with a dagger

and a large half-pike, under the penalty of excommunication ; and they were enjoined to be ready, at a moment's warning, for any service for which the priests might need them. Fourteen hundred Protestant families left the country. Happily, the Revolution of 1688 occurred at this crisis ; but, after a short retreat in France, the exiled king landed at Kinsale, 12th March, 1689. He entered Dublin in great pomp on the 24th, preceded by the host, and attended by the Romish hierarchy, and welcomed by the acclamations of the people. A parliament was called in Dublin, in which it was easily contrived that the papal influence should preponderate. Under various pretexts the Protestant nobility, prelates, and gentry were attainted, and their estates forfeited. The property of absentees was seized and vested in the king. The jurisdiction of the Protestant Church was annulled, and tithes, fees, and other Church property, as well as the churches themselves, were granted to the Papists. The cathedral of Christ Church was closed, and a senior fellow who was a Papist was thrust upon Trinity College. The Provost and Fellows protesting, the buildings were seized and the chapel was converted into a magazine, the courts and chambers were used for a garrison, and the foundation itself was promised to the Jesuits. The Protestant party was utterly ruined by confiscations ; which, besides all the nobility and the prelates of Ireland, included three thousand private gentlemen. And their case was hopeless ; for in the act of attainder, a clause had been introduced by which the king himself was forbidden to grant a pardon. Protestant worship was now forbidden ; more than five Protestants were not allowed to meet together in the street ; and Ireland was once more purged of heresy. Happily the battle of the Boyne followed, when James was finally defeated by his son-in-law, and fled into exile ; the Protestant Church was reinstated ; and the tyrannical acts of the Popish parliament of Dublin were repealed.

For more than a century we have little to relate. The eccentricities and vices of Dean Swift forbid us to make honourable mention of his name. He was presented to the deanery of St. Patrick's in 1713, as a reward for political services, and to secure his caustic pen for the ministry of the day. That Swift was not quite destitute of piety has been charitably argued by Dr. Johnson, and succeeding biographers ; that he promoted the

cause of real religion, whether by his life or his pen, has never been seriously maintained. Many of his writings were held, even in that age, to be disgraceful to his profession, and are now banished with disgust. The zeal of the early Methodists made scarcely any impression in Ireland, though Wesley went over and formed a few societies. Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne, would have adorned the brightest annals of the Christian Church; and many exemplary men conducted, each in his obscure sphere, a laborious and faithful ministry in dark times. But Protestantism won no triumphs, contented supinely to retain her own. There were two races and two religions; and the highest ambition of both parties, or at least of Protestants, was to slumber undisturbed. At the close of the nineteenth century the population of Ireland was about five millions; the number of Protestant churchmen about six hundred thousand. There was an equal number of Presbyterians in Ulster.

By the Act of Union, which came into effect on the 1st of January, 1801, the national Churches were "united in all matters of doctrine, worship, and discipline," under the title of the United Church of England and Ireland. By this measure the English Canons do not, however, seem to have become the law of the Irish Church. Indeed, having no legal authority at home, they could not be legally imposed elsewhere by a mere act of incorporation with the Church of England. The 32nd of the Irish Canons of 1636 imposes subscription, for orders in Ireland, to the first four of those Canons; and of these four the first adopts the English Articles. The Irish bishops do not consider themselves at liberty to impose any other test. The Irish Act of Uniformity (xvii. and xviii. Car. II.) also requires subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles. And this is the latest parliamentary enactment on the subject of subscription in Ireland.

During the last half century the progress of the Church of Ireland has been gratifying. The education of the native Irish has been at length undertaken in their own tongue. Several societies were formed thirty years ago for conveying instruction, through the means of day-schools, Sunday-schools, the circulation of the Irish Scriptures, and the introduction of controversial lectures on the subjects in dispute between Protestants and Roman Catholics. As an inevitable consequence irritation followed; and the Romish priesthood resolved, if possible, to

overthrow the national Church. The payment of the church cess, and of all tithes and dues, was denounced; and the Protestant clergy, under a reign of terror instituted by O'Connell, were in great distress. In 1833, Lord Grey, the prime minister, brought the condition of the Irish establishment before Parliament, with a view to the removal of existing abuses. An Act was passed (iii. and iv. of William IV. chap. 37.) the merits of which are matters of keen discussion. It is still affirmed, on the one hand, that the measure was salutary, while at the same time it was inevitable; and on the other, that it was, to use the words which have since become a proverb, a heavy blow and a great discouragement to the Protestant cause in Ireland, dealt out to propitiate O'Connell and his party. Briefly, the provisions of the Act were these: the payment of first fruits to the Crown, an imposition against which the Irish Clergy had long protested, was abolished; but in lieu of it, an annual tax was imposed, upon a graduated scale, of from two and a half to fifteen per cent. upon benefices; and from five to fifteen per cent. on episcopal revenues. And, we may here add, that, by a subsequent Act, a reduction of twenty-five per cent. was made upon the tithes payable throughout Ireland. The incomes of the sees of Armagh and Derry were reduced; ten bishoprics were suppressed; and the deanery of St. Patrick's was united with that of Christ Church, Dublin. The funds obtained from the suppressed bishoprics, as well as the annual tax, was applied to "the building and repairing of churches, the augmentation of small livings, and such other purposes as may conduce to the advancement of religion." For the management of these funds, and other purposes, an ecclesiastical commission for Ireland was appointed, with perpetual succession, to consist of the Lord Primate, the Lord Chancellor of Ireland and the Lord Chief Justice, the Archbishop of Dublin, with four Irish Archbishops or Bishops. The following were the sees suppressed:—

Cashel (Archbishopric) united to	Armagh.
Tuam (ditto)	Dublin.
Dromore (Bishopric)	Down.
Raphoe	Derry.
Clogher	Armagh.
Elphin	Kilmore.

Killaloe and Achonry	.	.	.	Tuam.
Clonfert and Kilmacduagh	.	.	.	Killaloe.
Kildare	.	.	.	Dublin.
Ossory	.	.	.	Ferns and Leighlin.
Waterford and Lismore	.	.	.	Cashel and Emly.
Cork and Ross	.	.	.	Cloyne.

The period since the passing of this Act has been one of still increasing vigour in the Irish Church. Assuming at length her true character, as a great missionary institution, she seems to have undertaken with earnest zeal the work of conversion. Large parishes, nay whole districts, such as Doon, Achill, and Connemara, have embraced the reformed faith; and we have the testimony of the several prelates in whose dioceses the conversions have taken place, that the change in the habits of the people is of the happiest character. The work is chiefly carried on through the agency of different societies. At the head of these stands the Society for promoting Irish Church Missions, whose income, for the year 1854, amounts to upwards of 39,000*l*. Of this sum the greater part is raised in England. All the Irish Societies are mainly indebted for support to English contributions. Ireland, vexed with intestine broils and smitten with a grievous famine, has been reduced, within the last few years, to an extremity of wretchedness unknown for ages to the rest of Europe. Emigration and disease have, within ten years, swept away nearly three millions of her people. These, being the poorest, were chiefly Roman Catholics. At the same time, so great has been the number of converts, and such, too, the influx of Scotch and English settlers, that the Protestants are now two millions. The Roman Catholics are computed at less than four millions, these are wasting away from daily desertions, and an emigration, which has been compared to the restless movement which compelled Huns and Visigoths to forsake their homes, when they poured down upon the plains of Southern Europe. In short, after a long course of misfortune and disgrace, of which one great cause has ever been the neglect, or the injustice, of the English government, the Irish Church displays those high gifts of piety, vigour, learning and discretion, which seem to justify the warmest hopes in those who look for the regeneration of Ireland through the introduction of a pure faith.

The number of parishes is about one thousand : this may not be exact, for many ancient parishes have been formed into unions, while others have been subdivided. Her income is also uncertain. By her opponents it has been stated at 1,000,000*l.* sterling per annum. Unless this include the great tithes in the hands of lay impropriators, which are lost to the Church, it is, we conceive, an exaggerated statement.

Carte's Life of Ormond. Fuller's Church History. Ware's Irish History and Antiquities, Vol. I. Life and Works of Archbishop Ussher. Ditto of Bishop Jeremy Taylor. Mant's History of the Church of Ireland, etc. Statutes of the Irish Parliament. Statutes at large.

IRVINGITES.—The followers of the Rev. Edward Irving designate themselves the Catholic Apostolic Church. No one section of the Universal Church, however sound it were, is entitled exclusively to this distinction ; we therefore use the title which is at once the more appropriate and the more generally employed. The Irvingites declare, however, that they make no exclusive claim to this name ; they simply object to be called by any other. They do not profess to be separatists from the Church established, or from the general body of Christians. And far from professing to be another sect, in addition to the numerous sects already dividing the Church, or to be the one Church, to the exclusion of all other bodies, they believe that their special mission is to reunite the scattered members of the one body of Christ. Yet their peculiarities are those of Edward Irving ; he is justly entitled to be regarded as their founder ; and we shall preface the history of their tenets and their progress with a brief outline of his life.

Mr. Irving was born at Annan in 1792, and was educated at the University of Edinburgh with a view to the ministry of the Church of Scotland. He was a youth of solitary studies, but his early career was by no means brilliant. He is said to have excelled in mathematics and classics, and to have been well acquainted with modern languages and literature ; and he made some attainments in natural philosophy. But he had arrived at the mature age of thirty without “a call” from any presbytery or patron, and consequently without employment in the Church. He was indeed invited to preach on trial in various places ; but

the result was constantly the same ; he got no second invitation. He is represented, even by his admirers, as obstinate, wayward, and somewhat overbearing ; and "he had fed his soul," says one of them, "with the words of Chrysostom, the Christian Plato ; of Jeremy Taylor, the English Chrysostom ; and of Hooker, the Bacon of the Church, till he had come to regard as of mean speech and feeble thought all living preachers and theologians, with the exception of Chalmers," who had started into favour just about this time. Finding no employment congenial to him, he had formed, in 1819, a romantic scheme of travelling through Europe, penetrating into the East, and working alone as a missionary in Persia ; and, with his usual energy, had begun to qualify himself for this arduous enterprise by a course of appropriate study. At this juncture he received an invitation to preach for Dr. Andrew Thomson, of Edinburgh, with an intimation that Dr. Chalmers, who was in want of an assistant, would be present. This led to an engagement with Chalmers, as assistant-minister of St. John's, Glasgow ; and the Oriental mission was abandoned. Here he remained three years, when he received a call to London. He took leave of the church at Glasgow in a sermon which displays an independent spirit, rather, as it seems to us, than a deeply-thinking or a deeply-pious one. It is a cutting diatribe against the style of preaching then prevalent in the Scottish Church, and an almost arrogant defence of his own pretensions. In force of thought, and in composition, this sermon, however, his first essay in print, is equal to any of his later writings. "We plead and exhort," says the eloquent declaimer, "not in defence of ourselves, but in behalf of our brotherhood, and of the ancient liberty of prophesying, against those narrow prescriptive tastes, bred not of knowledge, nor derived from the better days of the Church, but in the conventicle bred ; and fitted perhaps for keeping together a school of Christians, but totally unfit for the wide necessities of the world (else why this alienation of the influential of the world from the cause ?) We are pleading against those shibboleths of a sect, those forms of words, which do not now feed the soul with understanding, but are, in truth, as the time-worn and bare trunks of those trees from which the Church was formerly nourished, and which have now in them neither sap nor nourishment. We are pleading for a more natural style of preaching, in which the

various moral and religious wants of men shall be met, artlessly met, with the simple truths of revelation, delivered as ultimate facts not to be reasoned on, and expressed as Scripture expresses them; which conjunction being made, and crowned with prayer for the divine blessing, the preacher has fulfilled the true spirit of his office." This is a fair specimen of Mr. Irving's best manner. An accident had brought him acquainted with a work, little read at any time in Scotland, Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity," when he was but a boy. His taste was formed upon this model; and he was bold enough, in an age when they were utterly neglected, "to assert," as he expresses it, and as far as he could to imitate, "the splendour of those lasting forms of speech which Hooker, Bacon, and Milton chose for the covering of their everlasting thoughts."

In 1821 Irving came up to London, warmly invited, as a candidate for the Caledonian Church in Cross-street, Hatton Garden. It was not till July in the following year that he fairly entered on his ministry in the metropolis. The congregation did not muster more than fifty, and it was with apprehension that they ventured to invite a minister whose stipend they could scarcely secure. But within the first quarter of a year the fifty seat-holders increased to fifteen hundred. A blaze of popularity welcomed the stranger from the north, which threw in some respects even the triumphs of Whitfield into the shade. Members of the royal family, the statesmen of the day, wits, authors, the leaders of the world of fashion, to say nothing of men of piety of every sect, besieged the doors, and were admitted by tickets into the obscure chapel in Hatton Garden. Mackintosh, Canning, Brougham, and Wilberforce heard him, and were loud in his praise. The enthusiasm was too passionate to last. Within two years it entirely died away; but a steady congregation remained, who built a new church for their pastor in Regent's-square, St. Pancras, of which he took possession in 1827.

In 1825 he published a discourse on the Revelation, entitled "Babylon Foredoomed." England was then anxious and restless: the subject of Catholic emancipation was uppermost in every mind; and thoughtful men distinctly foresaw that great social and political changes were at hand. These subjects fired the imagination of Mr. Irving, and henceforth he stands in a new character before the world. His scheme of prophetic interpreta-

tion presented little or nothing that was original. But it surprised the world by the singularity of its style, and the confidence of its assertions. The subordinate parts are contradictory in many points; the work was hastily thrown together, and was popular chiefly because it was peremptory. The battle of Armageddon he declared to be at hand. "In 1846," he says, "the sanctuary will be cleansed in Jerusalem; and the power which now polluteth it will be scattered; so that, some time before that period, the battle of Armageddon will have been finished." "In 1867 the millennium is to commence, and the resurrection of the righteous to take place," p. 219. Soon afterwards he published a translation from the Spanish of "The Coming of the Messiah in Glory and Majesty," by Juan Joshephat Ben Ezra, a converted Jew. The subject of the second coming of Christ, and his personal reign on earth, now dazzled him. In May, 1828, he went to Edinburgh, chiefly for the purpose of delivering a series of lectures on the book of Revelation: he dwelt especially on all those prophecies which concern the millennial state of the earth, and the promises of glory and triumph to the Church. "He is drawing," writes Chalmers, "prodigious crowds. We attempted this morning to force our way into St. Andrew's Church, but it was all in vain. He changes to the West Church for the accommodation of the public." Again, Chalmers records: "Monday 26th. For the first time heard Mr. Irving in the evening; I have no hesitation in saying that it is quite woful. There is power and richness, and gleams of exquisite beauty; but withal a mysticism and extreme allegorization which, I am sure, must be pernicious to the general cause. This is the impression of every clergyman I have met; and some think of making a friendly remonstrance with him upon the subject."

About the year 1827 Mr. Irving was observed to speak in a new strain concerning the human nature of Jesus Christ; and his friends became alarmed for the soundness of his faith. He maintained, in opposition to all the reformed Churches and to the Church of Rome, that "our Lord took upon him fallen and sinful flesh, with like appetites and desires as are found in us." It would have been strange if such a doctrine had not aroused the suspicions of the whole Church, or even its indignation. Mr. Irving was vigorously assailed by many pens, and from many pulpits. But unfortunately opposition, from whatever quarter it

proceeded, only strengthened his resolution. His mind was scarcely open at any time to the conviction that he might have erred. He spoke, and wrote, and acted, as if he were infallible. The controversy gave him an opportunity, in which he seemed to glory, of stating the obnoxious doctrine in the most offensive terms. In a sermon he declared that our Lord's body was "devil possessed." And in a paper in the "Morning Watch," he asserts, "that every variety of human wickedness which hath been realized, or is possible to be realized, was inherent in his humanity" (vol. i., p. 164). These evil propensities were of course restrained by the power of the Holy Spirit, so that, in fact, Christ did no sin. Mr. Irving, on a visit to Scotland in 1829, preached these doctrines. Mr. J. A. Haldane denounced them as heresy, and published "A Refutation of the Heretical Doctrine promulgated by the Rev. Edward Irving, respecting the Person and Atonement of the Lord Jesus Christ." During the years 1830 and 1831, numerous discussions took place before the Scotch presbytery in London, and amongst the members of the Church, on the subject, now a familiar topic, of the sinfulness of Christ's humanity. Mr. Scott, a Presbyterian clergyman of Woolwich, imbibed the doctrine, and publicly defended it. The subject was brought before the General Assembly of Scotland, and immediately taken up by the presbytery in London. But while the agitation was at its height, the world was startled with a new phenomenon. Mr. Irving's followers declared themselves to be in the possession of miraculous powers. The gift of speaking with tongues, they said, was now restored to the Church.

The gifts first broke out in Scotland, in the person of a young woman under the instruction of Mr. Scott, whose name has been already mentioned. These "utterances," as they were named, were soon after heard in London, in the year 1830. We shall make no attempt to describe, what is still in the recollection of many of our readers, the astonishment, the joy, the grief, the hope, the shame, with which these gifts were witnessed or described by various parties. The chief, if not the only, miracle was that of the unknown tongues. Sometimes the utterances were in English: those who were gifted with utterance would rise up on a sudden in the congregation, and pronounce a few sentences in an extraordinary power of voice, accompanied by a most unnatural expression of countenance. The utterances in

the tongues were unintelligible. The sounds were taken down from the lips of the speakers on several occasions, and submitted to the most learned linguists, amongst others to Professor Lee, of Cambridge, who agreed in thinking them a mere jargon, a collection of incoherent sounds. The tongues were chiefly uttered, it was noticed, by females. When they spoke in English, the prophets testified of the nearness of the coming of Christ, and the judgments which would immediately precede it. Another subject of the utterances was the sinfulness of Christ's human nature: in fact, the utterances bore testimony in confirmation of all the peculiarities of Mr. Irving's creed. Mr. Baxter, who, after having implicitly received these utterances, and indeed shared in them himself, left the Church, and published a recantation of his errors, writes thus: "The effect of the utterance upon those who received it, as from God, was to raise the highest expectations. The bestowal of miraculous powers was daily expected. The judgments upon Christendom, and the second advent of Christ, were constantly predicted. It was declared that the persons speaking in power, or gifted with the utterances, were the two witnesses of the eleventh of Revelation, who are said to prophecy three years and a half, and then be slain and raised again, and caught up to heaven. Another step was, the prophecy that at the end of three years and a half, when the witnesses were raised again, all living believers would be translated into heaven, and the earth be given over to judgment. We were also promised, that after the close of three years and a half of testimony to the world, commencing from the 14th of January, 1832, the Lord Jesus would come again in glory; the living saints would be caught up to meet him; the dead saints would be raised; and the world would be given over to judgment for an appointed season." Mr. Irving, in his preaching, repeated these as unquestionable predictions, of which God was the author. "He set forth also, that the gift of tongues was but the lowest of all gifts, and that very shortly larger miraculous endowments would be granted."

On the other hand, let the reader peruse a description of these utterances from the eloquent pen of Mr. Irving himself. "The words uttered in English are as much by power supernatural, and by the same power supernatural, as the words uttered in the language unknown. But no one hearing and observing the utterance could for a moment doubt it; inas-

much as the whole utterance, from the beginning to the ending of it, is with a power, and strength, and fulness, and sometimes rapidity of voice, altogether different from the person's ordinary utterance in any mood; and, I would say, both in its form and in its effects upon a simple mind, quite supernatural. There is a power in the voice to thrill the heart and overawe the spirit, after a manner which I have never felt. There is a march and a majesty, and a sustained grandeur in the voice, especially of those who prophecy, which I have never heard even a resemblance to, except now and then in the sublimest and most impassioned moods of Mrs. Siddons and Miss O'Neill. It is a mere abandonment of all truth to call it screaming or crying; it is the most majestic and divine utterance which I have ever heard; some parts of which I never heard equalled, and no part of it surpassed, by the finest execution of genius and of art exhibited at the oratorios in the Concerts of Ancient Music. And when the speech utters itself in the way of a psalm or spiritual song, it is the likeliest to some of the most simple and ancient chants in the cathedral service; insomuch that I have been often led to think that those chants, of which some can be traced up as high as the days of Ambrose, are recollections and transmissions of the inspired utterances in the primitive Church. Most frequently the silence is broken by utterance in a tongue, and this continues for a longer or shorter period; sometimes only occupying a few words, as it were filling the first gust of sound; sometimes extending to five minutes, or even more, of earnest and deep-felt discourse, with which the heart and soul of the speaker are manifestly much moved, to tears and sighs, and unutterable groanings, to joy and mirth and exultation, and even laughter of the heart. So far from being unmeaning gibberish, as the thoughtless and heedless sons of Belial have said, it is regularly-formed, well-proportioned, deeply-felt discourse, which evidently wanteth only the ear of him whose native tongue it is, to make it a very masterpiece of powerful speech. But as the apostle declareth it is not spoken to the ear of man, but to the ear of God. 'He that speaketh in a tongue speaketh not unto men, but unto God; for no man understandeth' (1 Cor. xiv. 2). We ought to stand in awe, and endeavour to enter into spiritual communion with that member of Christ who is the mouth of the whole Church unto God."

But, after all, few of Mr. Irving's congregation could be won over either to his doctrine of the humanity of Christ or to believe in the miraculous gifts. The former was brought incidentally before the notice of the General Assembly in 1831, and by them condemned, on behalf of the Church of Scotland, in the strongest terms. The trustees of the church in London, in the course of the same year, laid a complaint before the London presbytery, and prayed for Mr. Irving's deposition from his living. Omitting the question of false doctrine, they confined themselves to the single charge, that he had allowed the service of God to be interrupted and disturbed by unauthorized persons, neither ministers nor licentiates of the Church of Scotland, some of them being females, "for said persons to exercise the supposed gifts with which they professed to be endowed." The court was unanimous; its decision was, that the Rev. Edward Irving had rendered himself unfit to remain the minister of the Caledonian church, Regent-square, and ought to be removed therefrom. The General Assembly in Edinburgh now took up the question of his doctrine, and directed the presbytery of Annan, where Mr. Irving had been ordained, to investigate the charge. The trial came on in 1833; Irving defended himself with great vehemence; the presbytery seem to have thought, with arrogance. The members of the court were of one mind, and Mr. Irving was deposed from the ministry of the Scottish Church. Before the sentence was pronounced, Mr. Irving hurried out of the church, exclaimed to the crowd, "Stand forth! stand forth! as many as will obey the Holy Ghost, let them depart!" and in his absence the sentence was pronounced.

Driven from the kirk as well as from his flock in London, Mr. Irving removed, with a small part of his once vast congregation, to a room which had been used as a horse bazaar, in Gray's Inn-lane, and soon afterwards to a smaller but more convenient apartment in Newman-street, once the studio of Benjamin West; and here the Irvingite Church was formed.

On the removal into Newman-street all the arrangements were made in obedience to utterances supposed to be inspired. The room was fitted up with pews and galleries. Instead of a pulpit there was a raised platform, to contain about fifty persons. The ascent was by several steps, and in front of the platform were seven seats; that in the centre was filled by the angel or

bishop ; those on each side by the six elders. Below these were seven other seats for the prophets, the centre seat being allotted to Mr. Taplin, lately the missionary of the church in Regent-square, as the chief of the prophets. Four of the prophets were females. Still lower were seven other seats appropriated to the deacons ; that in the middle occupied, as before, by the chief deacon. " This threefold cord of a sevenfold ministry was adopted under direction of the utterance." There were also twelve apostles, several of whom were prophets. The body of the chapel was appropriated to the members of the church, and the galleries were open to strangers. The angel ordered the service, and the preaching and expounding were generally conducted by the elders, in order. The prophets, speaking in utterance, came after them. There were also sixty evangelists, whose name was taken from the New Testament, while their number was taken from the old. " The sixty evangelists " (says the author of a ' Chronicle of certain Events, which have taken place in the Church of Christ,' &c.) " were antitypical to the sixty pillars of the court of the tabernacle." The church was at first compared to the candlestick in the holy place of the tabernacle ; the prophets interpreted the shaft to represent the pastor and people, and the branches the elders. Afterwards the favourite comparison was with the tabernacle, of which, while the sixty pillars prescribed the number of evangelists, the pillars, the curtains, the taches, were represented by living men ; and any person who was brought into the congregation in Newman-street was said to be brought in by the pillars, and brought up to those who represent the altar and the laver ; other individuals were supposed to represent the holy place, and the vessels therein ; in short, the whole building and all its parts being appropriated to individual representation. The tabernacle was now said to be duly pitched. The service of the communion was changed soon after the removal to Newman-street, by substituting unleavened for leavened bread, by direction of an utterance. The bread and wine were given by the angel to the elders, by the elders to the deacons, who administered to the people kneeling, contrary to the usage of the Church of Scotland.

The church in Newman-street was scarcely completed when its head expired. At the early age of forty-two, on the 8th of December, 1834, Edward Irving died. A man of brilliant ima-

gination, of fair attainments, of a stout and resolute heart, and, until his judgment was obscured, and, in failing health and blighted hopes, he abandoned himself to the dictation of those whom he had himself, in the first instance, contributed so greatly to mislead, of spotless integrity and truth. In private life he was playful, affectionate, and artless, until he felt it necessary to assume a character, and to act the part of an Elijah or a Knox. His person was tall, his hair luxuriant and dark, his eye and brow commanding, his features full and well-proportioned, his voice, in its lower tones, was music. He wrote much; but his style was redundant, turgid, and often barbarous. Except from curiosity he was never much read beyond the circle of his personal admirers. Sometimes his sentences remind us of the prose of Milton, but the weighty thoughts are wanting. It is no great achievement either, to imitate the style of the best writers of the fifteenth century. Let the man who aspires to the fame of Milton or Hooker write as such men would have written had they been living now, and the world will not be slow to acknowledge his supremacy. Of Irving's eloquence, if we may speak from our own recollections of it, we should say, that it was at once grand and barbarous. The charm consisted chiefly in the manliness of the action and the music of the voice. His declamation bordered on invective; his argument wanted clearness, force, and brevity; his illustrations were often good, sometimes extremely felicitous, but they were taken from a narrow field—his early associations, and the scenes, or the story of his native land. To that mighty power, which the Christian orator should chiefly cultivate, of so grappling with each man's conscience that the hearer shall be startled with the suspicion that his private thoughts have been betrayed to the preacher, he was a stranger. All his statements were general, so were his denunciations. The hearer was allowed to retire strongly impressed with the wickedness of the times perhaps, but still with a very fair opinion of himself. Whether in his last days Mr. Irving felt that he had been misled is uncertain. Two letters were published in the Gospel Magazine for May 1835, written while he was in Scotland, expecting the hour of his dissolution. They certainly contain strong expressions of penitential sorrow. "I tremble when I think of the awful, perilous place, into which I was thrust." And again, "I confess to myself that I was very

slow, yea, and reluctant, to turn back from my evil way." But as no particular sins are specified these expressions are somewhat vague. "I cannot but grieve," said Dr. Cumming, in a funeral sermon at the Scotch Church, Crown-court, Covent-garden, on the 14th of December 1834, "at the awful eclipse under which he came, and the early tomb he has found. He is gone to the grave, *I have reason to believe, with a broken heart.*"

The death of Mr. Irving did not seriously affect the church in Newman-street. An angel was appointed in his place, and the work went on. In 1835 other congregations had been formed in London to the number of seven. They were called "The Seven Churches," and now the system was complete. The apostles were commanded by an utterance to go into all the world and preach; but afterwards, by the same authority, they were remanded to Albury, there to remain for study and consultation. The Church, being guided by utterances which are supposed to be divine, is of necessity open to fresh influences from year to year. Thus in 1832 the apostles were appointed; and it was revealed that the right mode of ordination was by the imposition of their hands upon those angels who had been designated to the office by the prophets. Under this revelation there was ordained an angel, or chief pastor, of the church at Albury; and Mr. Irving, now deprived of his ministry in the Church of Scotland, was reordained angel of Newman-street. In the course of the next few years, churches were formed in several of the great provincial towns. The proper times and modes of worship, the right of the priesthood to a tenth part of the income of the laity, the authority of the angels to govern, and to interpret the tongues, were thus communicated through the "prophetic word." In 1836 a council was established, the symbol of which was shown, in the word of prophecy, to have been given in the construction of the tabernacle of Moses, where also, as in a figure, the true and spiritual worship of God was set forth. In 1836 a testimony or protest, prepared by the apostles, was presented to the Archbishop of Canterbury and most of the bishops, as well as to the clergy of those places in which churches had been formed. A similar testimony was presented to the king, and many of the privy council; and afterwards a Catholic testimony was presented to the sovereigns of Europe, to many of the bishops and patriarchs, and through Cardinal Acton, to the pope. In 1838 the

apostles, in obedience to another prophecy, departed for the continent, and visited, for two years, most of the European countries, with the object of remarking closely the condition of the general Church, and gleaning from each portion its peculiar inheritance of truth. They, in 1840, were recalled to settle some disputes which had arisen in their absence, with respect to the comparative authority of the apostles and the council above referred to. The apostles stilled these symptoms of dissension by asserting their supremacy; and the meetings of the council were suspended, and have not yet been revived. These measures led moreover to the secession of one of the apostles, whose successor has not yet been named. Seven of the remaining eleven again dispersed themselves in foreign parts, to be again recalled in 1835, in order to determine what liturgical formalities should be observed. This settled, they once more proceeded to their work abroad; the senior apostles, who remained at Albury, having the charge of all the London churches (now reduced to six). The principal work of recent years has been the gradual completion of the ritual of the Church. In 1842 a liturgy had been framed, "combining the excellences of all preceding liturgies." In this a portion of the service was allotted to each of the four ministers already mentioned—the angels, prophets, priests, and deacons. The communion had for some time been received before the altar, kneeling; and now the consecrated elements, before their distribution, were offered as an oblation before the Lord. Simultaneously, appropriate vestments were prescribed—the alb and girdle, stole and chasuble, for services connected with the altar; and a surplice, rochette, and mosette for preaching and other offices. In 1847 considerable additions to the liturgy were made, and the use of consecrated oil was permitted in the visitation of the sick. In 1850 it was ordered that a certain portion of the consecrated bread and wine should be kept in an appropriate ark or tabernacle, placed upon the altar, to be taken by the angel, at the morning and evening services, and "proposed" as a symbol before the Lord. The latest ceremonial additions were adopted in 1852, when lights—two of which were placed upon, and seven before the altar—were prescribed, and incense was commanded to be burnt while prayers were being offered.

The Church is said to have made considerable progress during

the last few years. In England there are about thirty congregations, comprising nearly six thousand communicants, and the number is gradually on the increase. There are also congregations in Scotland and Ireland, a considerable number in Germany, and several in France, Switzerland, and America.

A magnificent structure in Gordon Square, equal in size and beauty to the choirs of our old cathedrals, from which it seems to have been modelled, was opened in 1853 for the congregation which had hitherto met in Newman Street. As the building is magnificent, still more gorgeous was the ceremonial of its consecration. The service commenced at ten o'clock, at which hour, the chief officer of the Church, the angel, entered, magnificently clad, wearing a purple cap, the colour denoting authority. Then followed the next order of the ministry, designated prophets, with blue stoles, typical of the skies, whence they draw their inspiration. Following these were evangelists, habited in red, the colour denoting the blood which flowed from the cross. Then came pastors, elders, and the other officers. A sermon was preached by one of the elders. A "Gloria in Excelsis" was given on a splendid organ, which has been erected in the south aisle. Attached to the church is a small chapel, which is used on rare occasions, and which we are informed by a tablet placed therein, was raised by the piety of two ladies, who contributed the munificent sum of 4,000*l.* in aid of the work. The chief feature of the church, however, is the altar, which is carved out of various kinds of coloured marble, and is superbly decorated.

The only standards of faith recognised, are the three creeds of the Catholic Church—the Apostle's creed, the Nicene, and the Athanasian. They are distinguished from other Christian communities, in that they hold apostles, prophets, evangelists, and pastors, to be abiding ministries in the Church; and that these ministries, together with the power and gifts of the Holy Ghost, dispensed and distributed among her members, are necessary for preparing the Church for the second advent of the Lord. They believe that supreme rule in the Church ought to be exercised as at the first, by twelve apostles, not elected or ordained by men, but called and sent forth immediately by God. The direct, or as we should say, miraculous intervention of God in the affairs of the Church, is of course implied in the selection of the apostles. The priests, in like manner, are first called to their office by the

voice of inspiration, uttered by the prophets. The angels or bishops are chosen, by a like call and ordination, from among the priests. The deacons are chosen by the congregation. With regard to the holy Eucharist, the Irvingites hold the doctrine of a real presence ; whether by transubstantiation or otherwise we are uncertain. It is administered every Lord's day, and more or less frequently during the week according to the number of priests in each congregation. Their zeal and fervour are remarkable. Where the congregations are large, the first and last hour of each day, that is from six to seven both morning and evening, are appointed for divine worship ; and, if there be a sufficient number of ministers, there are daily prayers at nine and three, with other services for the more especial object of teaching and preaching.

Nothing now remains which would indicate the presbyterian origin of this community. The simplicity of the Church of Scotland, its free prayer, its studied avoidance of the slightest approach to the forms of popery, are superseded by a pomp and splendour nowhere to be found except at Rome or Constantinople. In their ritual observances and offices of worship, material symbols have an important place. They contend, indeed, that as through the washing of water men are admitted into the Christian covenant, and as bread and wine duly consecrated are ordained, not merely for spiritual food, but for purposes of sacramental and symbolic agency, so too the use of other material things—oil, lights, incense, robes, and vestments, as exponents of spiritual realities, belongs to the dispensation of the Gospel.

"The Catholic and Apostolic Church" numbers amongst its adherents a large proportion of men of wealth and station. No Christian community in England of equal size can boast of so many families of rank and wealth, or, we must add, upon the other hand, has made so little progress amongst the poor. At present it does not feel the want of endowments. Besides free will offerings, every member of the Church dedicates to its service the tenth of his increase, including income of every description. It is regarded as a sacred duty that tithes should be dedicated to the service of God, and by them the ministry is supported.

Thirty Sermons by the Rev. Edward Irving, preached in London during the first three years of his residence. Life of

the Rev. Edward Irving, M.A., by William Jones, M.A. Edward Irving; An Ecclesiastical Biography: by Washington Wilks, 1854. Irvingism; Its Rise, Progress, and Present State: by Robert Baxter, 1836. A Letter to the Gifted Persons. A Letter to the Rev. E. Irving, of Newman Street, London, by M. D. A Chronicle of certain Events which have taken place in the Church of Christ, principally in England, between the years 1826 and 1852. Dr. Chalmers' Life and Letters, by D. Hannay, 1852. Report on Religious Worship, in Census of 1851.

LUTHERANS. Martin Luther, the founder of the Church which bears his name, was born in humble life, at Isleben in Saxony, in 1483. He was well educated for the times, at the school of Eisenach and the university of Erfurt. In 1505, the death of a fellow-student, who was killed by lightning at his side, first gave to his mind that solemn tone by which he was ever after distinguished. He became a monk and was ordained in 1507, choosing the order of the Augustines. We need not describe a character the features of which are so well known. Luther, profoundly superstitious and entirely devoted to the papacy, had a force of mind, a moral and physical courage, and an earnestness in the pursuit of truth which seldom meet in the same person. He became professor of divinity in the university recently erected at Wittemburg, in 1508, and was sent to Rome on business connected with his order soon after. Leo X. occupied the papal chair; at heart an infidel; the patron of the fine arts and a polished scholar; but a sensualist who scarcely condescended to wear the mask of a professional religion. Luxury and vice met Luther's eye at every turn, and the clergy in private conversation scoffed at the religion they taught in public. Luther came home abashed and wondering, and the seeds of the Reformation were already planted in his inmost soul.

In 1517, Tetzel, a Dominican friar, came through Germany to sell indulgences. Leo was building St. Peter's, and by such means the funds were to be raised. Tetzel, who had been created archbishop of Metz to give the more influence to his mission, disposed of his spiritual wares with a low and impudent audacity. The accounts which are given of his proceedings in

fairs and market-places through the towns and villages of Germany, remind us of the similar exhibitions of mountebanks and quack doctors. Tetzel does not seem to have been a whit more refined or more scrupulous. He stooped to the lowest buffoonery, and dealt in the most extravagant deceptions. Luther, shocked with his profanity, first remonstrated, and then publicly denounced the gigantic fraud. He denied the right of the pope himself to pardon sin; he denied that indulgences were of any other value than as a release from the censures of the Church. These, with various other propositions to the same effect, Luther drew up in the form of scholastic theses, nailed them to the door of the church at Wittemburg on the 31st of October, 1517, and added a challenge to Tetzel and all other adherents of the papal system, to confute them. Almost all Germany took up his cause, partly from disgust with Tetzel's conduct, and, in no small degree, out of admiration of their countryman. Tetzel and the Dominicans were furious; they denounced Luther and burnt his theses; the students of Wittemburg in return burnt a copy of Tetzel's commission from the pope. After the slumber of ages, Germany was now agitated with religious controversy. As the conflict spread, divines of the greatest renown were drawn into it. Melancthon and Carlostadt came to the aid of Luther, and Eckius, professor of divinity at Ingoldstadt, challenged Carlostadt to a public disputation. The rumour of these quarrels was carried to Rome, where Leo at first received it with polite indifference. It was the squabble of a few German monks, he thought, and brother Luther had shown a fine spirit. But he was soon convinced that the affair was too serious for a jest, and Cardinal Cajetan, a Dominican, was despatched as the papal legate to Augsburg, to examine and decide the matters in dispute. Cajetan was ill fitted for the task. Instead of persuasion and argument, he assumed a haughty bearing, and commanded Luther to yield implicit submission to the Church's infallible head. Luther, no doubt anticipating violence, quietly retired from Augsburg. Cajetan returned to Rome, and represented to the pope how Tetzel, and Eckius, and he himself had been set at naught by the bold monk of Wittemburg. Leo's pride got the better of his prudence, and he drove his opponent at once to the alternative of resistance or despair. On the 15th of June, 1520 a bull was issued in which forty-one heresies

taken from Luther's writings, were condemned ; his books were ordered to be publicly burnt, and he was again summoned, on pain of excommunication, to confess and retract his errors, and throw himself on the mercy of the sovereign pontiff. Luther's mode of reply was characteristic of the man. On the 10th of December, 1520, he erected a huge pile of wood without the walls of Wittemburg, and there, in the presence of an immense multitude of people of all ranks, he threw into the flames both the bull and sundry canons and decretals, which set forth the papal supremacy. By this act he renounced the communion of Rome ; and the Lutheran Church dates its origin from this transaction. Leo merely displayed his own want of temper by a second bull of the 6th of January, 1521, in which Luther was excommunicated with the usual parade of threats and cursings.

The German princes were no indifferent spectators of the contest between Luther and the pope. Frederic, elector of Saxony, from political motives, warmly supported his courageous subject against a power which no independent sovereign could regard without alarm ; and moreover the principles of the Reformation had already taken hold of his own mind. Charles V. succeeded to the empire in 1519 ; he was a devoted papist ; and Leo, reminding him of his high titles of advocate and defender of the Church, demanded from him the exemplary punishment of the rebellious Luther. But Charles himself was, in a great measure, indebted to Frederic's support for his own election, against so formidable a rival as Francis I. of France who had also been a candidate for the imperial throne. It was, therefore, resolved that Luther should not be at once condemned unheard ; and a diet was assembled at Worms in 1521, before which Luther was commanded to appear and plead his cause. It may seem strange that a great religious question should be discussed and determined in a public diet. But these diets, in which the archbishops, bishops, and abbots had their seats as well as the princes of the empire, were not only political assemblies, but also provincial councils for the whole of Germany ; and to their jurisdiction, by the ancient canon law, such causes as that of Luther properly belonged.

Luther's conduct before the diet is one of the noblest instances on record of moral courage made sublime by religious principle. He obtained a safe conduct from the emperor, and repaired

immediately to Worms against the remonstrances of his more timid friends. "The cause is God's," said he, "and I will go if there are as many devils in the place as there are tiles upon the houses." He was now the head of a large party; he was supported by patriots who were jealous for the independence of Germany, and reformers who could no longer bow in blind submission to the pope. He entered Worms in a kind of triumph, escorted by a vast multitude, who joined with him in singing a psalm, afterwards known as Luther's hymn, which, from this circumstance, became at once a national melody. Luther pleaded his cause with great firmness and address, though with all the respect that was due to so august a tribunal. Being asked whether he would maintain those propositions in his writings which had been offensive to the pope, he requested time for consideration, and the next day replied in substance thus:—That of the doctrines he had advanced he retracted nothing; that the accusations he had levelled against the papacy were true; but that being a man, infirm and sinful, it was possible he might have expressed himself in an unbecoming manner; he appealed to the Scriptures, they were his only rule, for popes and councils contradicted one another, and both were liable to error. If the diet could prove him wrong from Scripture, his own hand should commit his writings to the flames. If not, he could neither abandon his opinions nor alter his conduct. Threats and promises were tried in vain, when argument failed; and Luther left the diet under a safe conduct from the emperor, for one-and-twenty days, when the sentence was to be pronounced. On the 8th of May, 1521, he was condemned as a notorious and obstinate heretic, and the severest punishments were denounced in the usual terms against all those who should countenance his errors or continue to befriend him. His patron, the Elector Frederic, determined that Luther should not perish as a heretic in the flames, had him seized while riding through a wood, by armed men disguised in masks, and carried to his own castle at Wartzburg. Here he lay concealed ten months maturing his plans, and writing tracts against the papacy. Thus the imperial edict was frustrated. Indeed, there is some reason to believe that the Emperor Charles himself, having pacified the pope, was not unwilling that Luther should escape. The edict was most unpopular in Germany; its severity was

hateful. Luther had not yet been heard at Rome where he had a right to make his appeal ; his doctrines had not been calmly discussed and refuted at Worms, but rather denounced and execrated. Again, the emperor had pronounced an authoritative sentence against the doctrine of Luther, and doing so had assumed the infallibility of the Roman pontiff, points which should have been decided by a general council ; and, above all, many German princes, the Electors of Cologne, Saxony, the Palatinate, and other sovereigns, had not been present at the diet, nor did they approve of the edict. Thus the thunders of this formidable court rolled harmless over Luther's head. Leo X. died while he was concealed at Wartzberg, and the Reformation spread with astonishing rapidity through Saxony by means of his writings. In 1522, Luther published his German version of the New Testament. It was followed by the whole Bible, which was published in short portions as the work advanced. The effect of this sudden burst of light was marvellous. Hundreds of the monks renounced their vows ; images were demolished, and at Wittemberg the mass was abolished. But some evils attend all sudden changes which affect the multitude, and the difficulties of the Reformation were now beginning.

Luther heard in his retreat of the proceedings of some of his friends with great uneasiness ; and at the hazard of his life returned to Wittemberg. Carlostadt, professor of divinity there, was rash and weak ; he led on the populace in their attacks upon the images in the churches ; and Luther, at this period at least, was by no means averse to the use of images. A still more serious difference arose soon afterwards which insulated the Lutheran Church from Protestant Christendom, and left it, of all the Churches of the Reformation, the nearest to the Church of Rome. A curious and instructive lesson—the most violent of the reformers achieved the most imperfect of the reformations.

Luther, in 1524, had rejected the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation, and in its place substituted that of impanition or consubstantiation, which is still the peculiar feature of Lutheranism. Under these terms the presence of the real body and blood of Christ in the sacrament is held as fully as by the Church of Rome, the difference being only as to the mode in

which it exists. While the Church of Rome teaches that the bread and wine lose their natural qualities, the Lutherans hold that they retain them, both agreeing in the real presence in the same sense of those words. The method of this union was a mystery which, however, Luther endeavoured to explain by the following illustration: "As in a red-hot iron two distinct substances, iron and heat, are united, so is the body of Christ joined with the bread in the Eucharist." Carlostadt now went to the other extreme; he forsook Luther and embraced the doctrine of Zuingli and those Swiss reformers who afterwards opposed Calvin on this as well as some other doctrines. They taught that the bread and wine were nothing more than external signs or symbols, without any presence, real or spiritual, whether in the elements or the recipient. The sacrament was not a means of grace, but merely a commemorative rite.

The Anabaptists, under the enthusiast M  nzer, rose in arms in 1525. Their violence was, of course, charged upon Luther and his doctrines by the papists; but, in truth, it was an insurrection of the serfs against the lords of the soil, resembling the rebellions of our own Cade and Tyler, and arising out of the same causes. Vassalage, another term for slavery, was expiring, and these were its convulsive throes. Religion was merely the pretext, and naturally so, when all men's minds were inflamed upon the subject. The insurrection was still raging when the Elector Frederic died. He is charged by German writers, devoted to the Lutheran cause, with indecision and a want of courage, but his sincerity is unquestioned. His successor was a man of greater resolution; he threw off the authority of Rome, and established the Reformation in his dominions in 1527. A code of ecclesiastical government was drawn up by Luther and Melancthon for his dominions, and the same forms of worship and discipline were immediately copied by the other states of Germany where the sovereigns favoured the Reformation. But some of the states were unprepared for so great a change, and, in consequence, Germany became a divided people, partly Romish and partly Protestant, and such it still remains.

We do not profess to give the history of the various fortunes of Luther and his followers, still less that of the German states, through the stormy period which followed. A diet was held at Spires in 1526, at which the German princes, in opposition to

the wish of the emperor, resolved not to insist upon the rigorous execution of the edict of Worms. Each state was left at liberty to conduct its own ecclesiastical affairs, and the reformers made use of this brief interval of sunshine to diffuse their principles. But a second diet was held at Spires in 1529, and the decisions of the former were revoked. A general council, it was said, alone had power to settle their religious differences; and, until it should be called, all changes in doctrine, discipline, or worship were declared unlawful. Against this iniquitous decree a solemn protest was made on the 19th of April, 1529, in these words: "We protest publicly before God, our only Creator, Preserver, Redeemer, and Saviour, who, as the only Searcher of all our hearts, judgeth righteously, and we also protest before all the world, that both for ourselves and for all our connections and subjects, we do not consent to, nor agree with any resolutions or acts contained in the last decree of Spires above referred to, which, in the great concern of religion, are contrary to God and to his holy word, injurious to our soul's salvation, and also in direct opposition to the dictates of our conscience, as well as to the decree issued by an imperial diet of Spires; and we hereby solemnly declare that, from reasons already assigned, and from other weighty considerations, we regard all such resolutions or acts as null and void." The protest was signed, besides the Elector of Saxony, by the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, the Prince of Anhalt, the Duke of Brunswick, and his brother Ernest the Confessor, hereditary prince of Saxony, and others of high rank; they were supported by thirteen imperial towns, and also by Luther and Melancthon, by whom the protest was prepared. The reformers ever since have taken the name of Protestants.

The Protestant leaders appealed to the emperor, who was now in Spain. He seized their ambassador, and assumed a hostile bearing; and they, alarmed for their safety, formed a solemn confederacy at Smalcald, binding themselves to assist each other. Charles perceived that menaces would not subdue the spirit of the Reformation, and for actual warfare he was not prepared. He first attempted to persuade the pope to call a general council; but the angry pontiff thought of nothing but force and chastisement. With a view of terminating the disputes which threatened the empire with destruction, the emperor once more called together the diet. It met at Augsburg in 1530. Charles

himself knew little of the merits of the case ; he had been absent from the previous diets, engaged in foreign wars, and indeed, had he been present, it was still true that Luther had been condemned unheard. The Elector of Saxony, therefore, requested Luther and other divines to prepare, in order to lay before the diet, a summary of their creed, and of the differences which compelled them to forsake the Church of Rome. These were drawn up and presented to the elector in 1529. They were called the Articles of Torgau, from being presented to the elector at the town so named. They were reviewed before the Protestant princes, and it being thought desirable that they should be extended and enlarged, the work was assigned to Melancthon ; and thus was completed the famous confession of Augsburg, the standard of faith in all the Lutheran churches. When read before the diet by the Chancellor of Saxony, in the presence of the emperor and the assembled princes, it produced a deep impression. Of the Romish party, some were surprised to find that the sentiments of Luther, which they had been taught to regard as fanatical and vile, were pure and rational, and in accordance with the word of God. History has long ago determined that the Augsburg confession, marked with the strong sense of Luther, and the classic taste of Melancthon, should take a high rank amongst a class of documents the fewest in number, the most difficult, and, excepting the sacred canon, the most important in existence. It was signed by four princes of the empire, by the imperial cities of Nuremberg and Reutlingen, and by the Elector of Saxony. The Romish clergy present at the diet—Faber, Eckius, and Cochläus—drew up a refutation which was publicly read in the diet, the emperor demanding the acquiescence of the Protestants ; for he was now determined to insist on their submission, and to close the dispute. This they refused. The emperor again took counsel with the pope, and the result was an imperial edict, commanding the princes, states, and cities which had thrown off the papal yoke, to return to their duty, on pain of incurring the displeasure of the emperor as the patron and defender of the holy see. Then came the league of Smalcald in 1531, when the Protestant sovereigns of Germany formed a religious alliance, to which they invited England, Denmark, and other states in which the Reformation had now dawned. In 1532, the peace of Nuremberg composed for a time the

differences between the emperor and the reformers; the Lutherans were permitted the free exercise of their worship, until a general council or another diet should finally determine the faith of continental Christendom. In 1535, the pope, Paul III., proposed to summon a general council at Mantua. The Protestants of Germany, well satisfied that no advantages would result from such a synod, assembled at Smalcald in 1537, and published a solemn protest against the constitution of the council as partial and corrupt. To this they added a summary of their doctrine, drawn up by Luther, in order to present it to the council, if the pope should persist in calling it together. This summary, which was distinguished by the title of the Articles of Smalcald, is generally joined with the creeds and confessions of the Lutheran Church. The pope, however, died, and the council at Mantua was postponed. New projects were raised, with the vain hope of setting at rest the spirit of religious freedom by which all Germany was now disturbed. The emperor summoned a conference at Worms in 1541, and Melancthon disputed for three days with Eckius on the points at issue. A diet followed at Ratisbon, another at Spire in 1542, and a third at Worms in 1545; the emperor vainly attempting to intimidate the Protestants, or to induce their leaders to consent to a general council to be summoned by the pope. But their resolution was fixed; they denied the pope's right to summon a general council; they regarded the proposal as a snare, and treated it with scorn. The Council of Trent met in 1546, but no Protestant representatives appeared. It thundered its decrees, and the Protestant princes of Germany bade it defiance. The emperor, exasperated by their resistance, and stimulated by the pope, assembled his forces, resolved to crush the spirit he could not otherwise subdue. All Germany was arming in defence of Protestantism or in submission to the emperor, and the storm darkened on every side. Such was the state of Germany when Luther died. Full of faith and charity, and confident in the truth of his cause, he left the world in peace, February 18th, 1546, at Isleben, where he was born.

A religious war now broke out. The emperor was victorious, and the Interim followed. This was an imperial edict, issued in 1547, granting certain concessions, more specious than really important, to the Protestants, until the decisions of a general council should be taken. It satisfied neither party, and the war

soon raged anew. The Emperor was defeated by the German confederates, under Maurice of Saxony, in 1552, and the pacification of Passau followed. At last, in 1555, the diet of Augsburg met, peace was restored, and the Protestant states of Germany secured their independence. It was decreed that the Protestants who embraced the Confession of Augsburg should be entirely exempted from the jurisdiction of the Romish pontiff, and from the authority and interference of his bishops. They were free to enact laws for the regulation of their own religion in every point, whether of discipline or doctrine. Every subject of the German empire was allowed the right of private judgment, and might unite himself to that Church which he preferred; and those who should prosecute others under the pretext of religion were declared enemies of the common peace.

The Lutheran Church, as thus at length established, professed no other rule of faith than holy Scripture. Such at least is the statement of its learned defender and historian, Dr. Mosheim, himself a Lutheran. The Confession of Augsburg, with Melancthon's defence of it, the Articles of Smalcald, and the larger and smaller Catechisms, are generally received as containing the principal points of doctrine, arranged, for the sake of method and perspicuity, in their natural order; but these books have no authority but that which they derive from the Scriptures; nor may the Lutheran clergy so interpret them as to draw from them any proposition inconsistent with the express declarations of the word of God. The only point of much importance on which the Augsburg Confession is different from that of Calvin and the Reformed Church is the real presence in the Eucharist. It is to be noted, however, that while this is maintained, it is denied that the mass is a sacrifice, or that it ought to be worshipped or adored. On the Arminian question the Confession of Augsburg carefully avoids the explicitness of Calvin, and sets an example of moderation which was probably copied by the framers of our Thirty-Nine Articles: "Like as the preaching of repentance is general, even so the promise of grace is general, and willeth all men to receive the benefit of Christ; as Christ himself saith, 'Come unto me all ye that are laden,' &c." In practice the Lutheran Church has always leaned towards the extreme of low Arminianism.

The constitution of the Church is simple, and in its form of

worship studiously plain. It is a modified presbyterianism. The head of the state is acknowledged as the supreme visible ruler of the Church. It is governed by a consistory, composed of divines and civilians, frequently appointed by the sovereign himself. The German Lutherans reject Episcopacy; but as the Reformation extended, Sweden and Denmark, embracing the Lutheran faith, retained the Episcopal government, and these kingdoms are governed by bishops and superintendents, under the authority of the sovereign. The archbishop of Upsal, primate of Sweden, is the only archbishop amongst the Lutherans. The incomes of these prelates are extremely moderate. The archbishop's revenue is less than 1000*l.*; those of the bishops about 400*l.* per annum.

The forms of worship vary. Each state has a Liturgy of its own, which may, or may not, agree verbally with that of neighbouring churches. The Lutherans claim in this the same liberty which is exercised in the Church of England in our various selections of psalms and hymns. Festivals in commemoration of the great events of the Gospel history were once observed, as well as some few saints' days, but they are now suffered to pass almost unnoticed. Ecclesiastical discipline is almost unknown, and religion itself has long, it must be confessed, been at a low ebb in most of the Lutheran churches.

Luther himself foresaw, and frequently predicted, the decline of Lutheranism. "Our cause," he said, "will go on as long as its living advocates—Melancthon and the rest, survive; after their death, there will be a sad falling off." Seckendorf describes him as the Jeremiah of his own church, constantly bewailing the sins, and predicting the sorrows of his people. And both Seckendorf and Mosheim, devoted Lutherans, admit that his forebodings were but too correct. Luther anticipated danger from the growth of the sectarians—Anabaptists, Antinomians, and Sacramentarians. But more grievous perils were at hand from other sources. The great Lutheran historians admit that there was an immediate relapse into vice and irreligion. Within a few years of the death of the great reformer, the lives of those who professed his principles were a disgrace to the Reformation. The German states which had embraced, were not more virtuous or more devout than those which had rejected, the doctrines of Luther. The confession is painful, but still it must not be con-

ceased that zeal and fervent piety almost forsook the Lutherans when Luther died. Ponderous learning, recondite criticism, and historians, laborious, if not eloquent and philosophical, the Lutheran Church can boast, and but little more. It has never grappled with the warm affections of an ardent people, or subdued and governed the intelligence of a thoughtful race. It has been for centuries a state machine from which little was expected, and by which little has been done. Sharing deeply in the collapse of Protestantism in other lands, it has scarcely shared in any of its revivals. Its career has been monotonous and undisturbed. When its children have woken up to a due sense of the importance of religion they have forsaken its communion. Thus, Zinzendorf, in the middle of the last century, replenished the Moravian Church with Lutherans. But, amongst themselves, there has not, at any time, been a marked revival of religious power and life such as those with which all other Churches of the Reformation have been visited.

Nor is it difficult to explain the causes of this want of success. In the first place the Lutheran Church, in the judgment of the Reformation, was still tainted with one of the great errors of the Church of Rome, the doctrine of the real presence in the mass. Consubstantiation excluded the Lutherans from the fellowship, and in a great extent from the affections, of all the reformed churches. It must have had another effect; agreeing upon a point so vital with Rome, the Lutheran Church occupied a midway position between her and other Protestant churches, and so became the antagonist of both. Against the Church of Rome it was difficult to maintain its favourite dogma, which either conceded or refused too much; against other Protestants it was still more difficult to maintain either its peculiar creed or its insulated position. The Lutheran divines, with almost one consent, abandoned the field of dogmatic theology and buried themselves in antiquarian researches or philological speculations.

Again, the defection of several of the German princes crippled the Lutheran Church in its infancy. Maurice, Landgrave of Hesse, forsook Lutheranism and joined the reformed or Calvinistic church, in 1604, removing the Lutheran professors from the University of Marburg, and the clergy from their churches. In 1614 Sigismund, Elector of Brandenburg, followed his example. Contests arose between the professors of the rival

churches, and the strength which should have been spent in assaults on popery, or in advancing pure religion amongst themselves, was wasted in these unnatural conflicts. In Brandenburg disputes ran high, and the peace of the state was in danger. At first a "form of concord" was enacted, and the two communions were invited to dwell in peace. But the Lutherans of Saxony were outrageous in their violence. The form of concord was in consequence suppressed, and the subjects of Brandenburg were prohibited from studying divinity in the University of Wittemberg. The repeated attempts which have since been made to unite the Calvinists and Lutherans in Prussia, and other states of Germany, have been already mentioned.—(See CALVINISTS.)

A third cause of the little success which has blessed the Lutheran Churches is to be found in the metaphysical subtleties by which the simple theology of Luther was soon displaced. We utterly despair of putting the reader in possession of these disputes, some of which are long since forgotten, while others form the basis of those speculations both in metaphysics and theology with which Germany is now distracted. In the seventeenth century the German Churches repeated most of the follies of the early Christians. There was the same attempt to clothe Christianity in philosophical forms; to divest it of the marvellous; and to present it as a code of ethics, instead of a revelation of grace. At the head of this school of divines was Calixtus, a minister of Schleswick: his followers took the name of Syncretists; their chief aim was to promote union, and, if possible, to reunite in one body all the Protestant Churches, or even, as some assert, the whole of Christendom, including the Church of Rome. Whether Calixtus was a sound divine and a wise diplomatist, is a question to be dug out of many a folio of hard divinity. To us it has but little interest. From his times, if not from his teaching, arose that succession of philosophical divines in Germany which is now represented by the great Neologian or Rationalistic party. Opposed to these Spener appeared at Francfort, the leader of the Pietists, about the year 1670. It is admitted, even by his opponents, that his intentions were good, and that he was a man of piety. His own followers claimed for him far higher praise. They look upon him as the restorer of true religion in a dark and profligate age. The Syncretists treated revelation with some degree of levity; Spener with profound reverence. He

formed societies for the devout study of the Bible, promoted scriptural expositions and lectures in the churches, and social meetings for prayer and devotional exercises. The Pietists made a great impression. Their meetings were crowded, their converts multiplied. But severe charges were brought against them, and in 1695 Spener was punished as a preacher of dangerous and erroneous tenets. Amongst general accusations of enthusiasm and extravagance, of obscuring the sublime truths of religion by a gloomy kind of jargon, of believing themselves to be under a divine impulse, and the like—charges which, in every age, encounter the friends of pure and earnest religion—there are scattered some few accusations of a graver sort. It is said that some at least of the Pietists assumed the authority of prophets, terrified the people with pretended visions, denounced existing institutions, and proclaimed the millenium at hand as a carnal paradise. But these, if true, were but passing foibles. A great religious movement sweeps along with it a number of the vain, the ignorant, and the fanatical, who are no more to be confounded with it than the rabble of sutlers and thieves who follow a well-disciplined army with the soldier in the ranks. A graver accusation still remains. Spener and his followers, the old Pietists, indulged to a great extent in that dreaming mysticism, that sentimental piety, which, if not fatal to religion, is one of its worst maladies. Mosheim writes the history of the Pietists in a severe strain: he says they despised philosophy and learning, and placed the whole of their theology in certain vague and incoherent declamations. No doubt there was much extravagance, which was carried to its extreme height by Petersen, a pastor in Lunenburg. Of this he gave a painful specimen in 1691, publicly maintaining that Rosamond Juliana, countess of Asseburg, was honoured with a vision of the Deity, and commissioned to make a new declaration of his will to man. Yet the instances which Mosheim furnishes will scarcely be thought to support the charge of vagueness and incoherence in the theology of the Pietists. With respect to morals, they taught, he says, that no person who was not himself a model of piety and divine love was qualified to be a public teacher of piety, or a guide to others in the way of salvation. They forbade dancing, public sports, and theatrical diversions. With respect to doctrine, they are accused of denying justification by faith alone,

without good works. But this, if true in some few instances, is to be received, with regard to the Pietists in general, as an extravagant assertion. They insisted much upon works of charity and holiness of life, and were therefore charged with a denial of the doctrine that men are accounted righteous before God for the sake of Christ, and by virtue of his atonement.

The history of the Lutheran Church since the beginning of the eighteenth century presents few points of interest. Two subjects for a long time absorbed all her energies. These were, the growth of infidelity and the project of a union with the Calvinists. The former has at length terminated, so far as the Rationalists or anti-Evangelical party are concerned, in what we can only term a compromise. The attempts to effect an union with the Calvinists were frequently renewed, and ended at length in the fusion of the two Churches in Prussia, and the establishment of the Evangelical Church of that kingdom in 1817.—(See CALVINISTS.)

At present Lutheranism is most powerful in Denmark and Sweden. In Denmark the whole population, which amounts to two millions, with the exception of less than twenty thousand dissenters of various creeds, is Lutheran. There are eight bishops and about fifteen hundred clergy. At Copenhagen there has existed since 1714 a Missionary college, and from about that period must be dated the origin of the Danish Mission at Tranquebar. To the Lutheran Church belongs the honour of having been the first of Protestant communities in missionary enterprises. Each of the great missionary societies of the Church of England has been thankful to accept the services of Lutheran missionaries; the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in India, and the Church Missionary Society, till a very recent period, in all her missions. The people of Sweden, upwards of three millions, are Lutheran with a few exceptions, as in Denmark. The constitution of these Churches is episcopal. In the Protestant states of Germany and in Holland the Lutheran is, upon the whole, the prevailing faith, though the proportion of Roman Catholics is often great. In some of the states Catholics and Protestants are equally divided, and we fear it must be added that in few of them does the Lutheran Church present that aspect of wisdom, zeal, and piety which is calculated to win over the subjects

of the Pope. In France the Lutherans have about two hundred and fifty congregations.

Seckendorf, Historia Lutheranismi: Leipsic, 1692. Mosheim, Ecclesiastical History. Life of Martin Luther. Luther's Table-Talk, edited by John Aurifaber; 1569. Dr. J. Merle D'Aubigné, History of the Reformation in Germany. Scott's continuation of Milner's Church History.

MORMONITES, OR LATTER DAY SAINTS.—Mormonism is not entitled to be termed a Christian sect. It stands in the same relationship to Christianity with Mahomedanism. In both instances the founder of a new faith professed himself the author of a new revelation; while at the same time the Holy Scriptures were treated with a certain measure of respect. The reader unacquainted with the peculiarities of Mormonism may, however, have referred to our pages for information; and under this protest we shall narrate, with the utmost brevity, the strange story of the Mormons.

The sect first appeared in America, and Joseph Smith was its founder. He was born at Sharon, in the state of Vermont, in 1805, being the son of a small farmer. When about fifteen years of age he was present at one of those religious revivals which have become so frequent in some of the transatlantic churches. Whether from insanity, enthusiasm, or sheer hypocrisy, the lad professed to have been favoured, while in prayer, with a miraculous vision. "A pillar of light above the brightness of the sun gradually descended upon me," he says, "and I saw two personages, whose brightness and glory defy all description, standing above me in the air." They assured him that his sins were forgiven, and forbade him to join any Christian Church, since all existing Churches were alike in error. His vanity led him to proclaim his vision, and the persecution which he says he met with in consequence, from professors of religion, made him only the more obstinate. He admits that, as he grew up, he led a vagrant life. By the help of a divining-rod he pretended to be able to discover treasures buried in the earth, and was known as "the money-digger." He earned a precarious living by this and similar contrivances till 1823, when he had a second revelation, and an angel directed him to a spot near Palmyra, in Ontario

county, where he found, engraved on thin plates of gold, certain records prophetic and historical. They were written in the "reformed Egyptian character," and had once belonged to the American Indians, who were a remnant of the Israelites; and they contained the necessary instructions for the formation of a pure Church. Besides the record engraved on the gold plates, he found with them two stones, or lenses, set in silver; these were the Urim and Thummim of the ancient seers, by means of which he was enabled to translate the book. It was not till 1827 that Smith was permitted by the angel to remove his treasure, though he continued to receive supernatural instructions during the interval. Such was Smith's story. In 1830 the book was published under the title of the book of Mormon.

The real history of the book of Mormon has been ascertained, beyond a doubt, to be this:—Solomon Spalding, a Presbyterian minister of little note and imperfect education, who had retired from the ministry and engaged without success in business, attempted the composition of an historical romance. He chose for his subject the history of the native American Indians. He represented them as the descendants of the patriarch Joseph, and traced their history from the time of Zedekiah, king of Judah, for a period of a thousand years. It was written in rude imitation of the style and language of the Old Testament. The author was so illiterate that chronology, history, and the simplest rules of grammar, were outraged on every page. Spalding is said to have tried in vain to persuade any publisher or printer to undertake the publication of the book. He died, leaving the manuscript in his widow's possession; and as she lived in the neighbourhood of Smith's parents it came, about twelve years after the author's death, by what means is uncertain, into Joseph Smith's possession. He prefixed the title by which it has since been known, "The Book of Mormon," and pretended that it contained a translation of the characters engraven upon the golden tablets, to which he had been directed by the angel. "An exposé of Mormonism" was published at Boston in 1842, in which are given the depositions of Spalding's brother, of his widow, and of Lake, his partner in business, all of whom assert that the Book of Mormon is no other than this historical romance, which they had often seen and read. Smith himself is said at first to have laughed at the deception he was practising; but the

seriousness with which the imposture was received, seems to have suggested to him the facility with which the credulity of his neighbours could be made to contribute to his fortunes, far beyond the mere sale of a few editions of a stupid literary imposture. The story of the revelation, written upon tablets of gold, was widely circulated: it is not pretended that, except by ten or twelve chosen witnesses, who of course were Smith's coadjutors, the gold plates were ever seen by mortal eye; indeed, "the angel in a short time resumed them, and has them," says Smith, in his autobiography, "in his charge till this day." Harris, a neighbouring farmer, who had been induced to advance money to Joseph Smith for the expenses of printing, was favoured with a fac-simile of one of the gold plates. Finding himself impoverished by the speculation, he quarrelled with Smith, renounced Mormonism, and carried the fac-simile to Professor Anson of New York, who published, in February 1837, a letter, in which he describes the engraving as "the work of an artist who probably had before him a book containing alphabets in various languages. It consists of Greek and Hebrew letters, crosses, and flourishes, Roman letters inverted or placed sideways, the whole ending in the rude delineation of a circle copied from the Mexican calendar, given by Humboldt, but copied in such a way as not to betray the source from whence it was derived. I am thus particular," he adds, "as to the contents of the paper, inasmuch as I have frequently conversed with my friends upon the subject since the Mormon excitement began, and well remember that the paper contained anything else but 'Egyptian hieroglyphics.'"

It is to be noticed that the Book of Mormon is free from heretical statements or novel dogmas, if we except the denial of infant baptism. It asserts the perpetuity of miracles in the Church; and on this account the Irvingites were induced to send a deputation, in the early stages of Mormonism, to express their sympathy with Joseph Smith. For a short time they too were the dupes of his imposture. According to Smith, Mormon was the name of a prophet who lived in the fourth century, and who engraved on plates of gold a summary of the history of the American tribes, which had now become degenerate, and were soon afterwards extinct. These plates were buried for safety by his son Maroni, in the spot to which Smith was directed by the angel, about the year A.D. 420. The evidence of the Spaldings

declares that Mormon and Moroni were conspicuous personages in the historical romance of their deceased relation.

At first the imposture, like that of Mahomet, moved slowly, but a few converts were made, and in 1830 the Mormon Church, or, as Smith named it, the Church of Latter Day Saints, was formed. As the Book of Mormon forbade infant baptism, Smith began to baptize a few of his converts, amongst whom were his own father and other members of his family. About the same time he appears to have been joined by Sidney Rigdon. Rigdon was a printer; he had been employed in an office to which the historical romance had been offered during the life of Spalding, and is supposed to have made himself acquainted with its contents, and to have been the instrument of placing it in the hands of Joseph Smith. He had been a preacher, in what sect we are not informed, but having some smattering of theology he was the better qualified to carry out the scheme in which he now embarked. Smith announced him as his prophet; for whenever occasion required, a revelation through the angel gave fresh powers to the Mormon leader; and Rigdon signalized his entrance upon office by the production of an inspired code of "doctrines and covenants" for the more complete guidance of the Church. Its outward constitution was now finally arranged, of course by revelation. The priesthood was two-fold; there was the order of Aaron and the order of Melchisedek. All the officers of the primitive Church were revived; prophets, evangelists, apostles, bishops, priests, and deacons.

The pretensions of Smith were received by his neighbours, who were acquainted with his previous character, with general contempt; which, as he gained a few converts, was exchanged for indignation. He found it expedient to remove; and in 1831, in company with Rigdon, he took up his abode at Kertland, in Ohio. Here they formed a mercantile house in their capacity of stewards for the consecrated property of the Mormonites. They also purchased goods on credit to a large extent; and, in order still further to increase their profits, opened a bank and issued promissory notes. The credit of the bank was suspected, and the holders of its notes were of course anxious to discover the amount of capital possessed by the bankers. The Mormon leader had prepared for this emergency; he filled one box with dollars and about two hundred others with stones and iron. Having

assembled his creditors, he showed them the two hundred boxes, each marked "1000 dollars," and satisfied their curiosity by opening that which contained the only treasure he possessed. The trick answered for a time. The notes were passed off by the elders of the Mormon Church, who obtained, some of them twenty, some even forty thousand dollars in this way; boasting that they had "sucked the milk of the Gentiles." But the bank failed; many of the Mormonites, not in the secret of their leaders, were pillaged, and they denounced the prophet for a swindler. He was seized by the populace, tarred and feathered, and narrowly escaped with his life. He took his revenge in denouncing his creditors as wicked dissenters, wanting faith, on whom the vengeance of heaven was about to fall and the earth to swallow them up, like Korah, Dathan, and Abiram.—*'Gleanings by the Way,'* by the Rev. J. A. Clarke, D.D., Philadelphia.

Soon afterwards Smith and his companions removed to a settlement on the banks of the Missouri. Here the new community built the town, or city, of Zion; and in 1832 the settlement was tenanted by no fewer than twelve hundred Mormonites. But the indignation of the old settlers was again aroused; partly by the immoral practices which already began to be charged on the sect, and still more perhaps by their vaunts and arrogance. For they boasted they should soon possess the whole country, and that the infidels would be rooted out. A public meeting was held in the county, and the Mormonites were commanded to depart. Resistance was in vain. Nor could they obtain redress from the legal tribunals. Zion was abandoned, and the Mormonites, who now amounted to twelve thousand, crossed the Mississippi in 1837, and took refuge in the state of Illinois. Here they built Nauvoo, which, according to the Book of Mormon, signifies beautiful. The compact order, the voluntary obedience, above all the intense fanaticism of the Mormonites, wrought in a short time astonishing effects. In eighteen months Nauvoo contained two thousand houses. The proselytes numbered fifteen thousand. A flourishing commonwealth existed, and Joseph Smith presided, with more than the power of an oriental despot, over willing subjects. A magnificent temple was begun in 1841, the foundations of which were laid with civic and military pomp; for the Mormonites had now a well-trained militia of their own body; and a mansion was begun in which Joseph Smith and his family were to reside at the public cost. A solemn revelation was an-

nounced, in which the faithful were commanded to build the house; and it was declared to be the will of God that Smith and his family should dwell in it for ever without charge or cost, supported by the offerings of the Church. A mission had been sent to England, and already their tenets were making rapid progress. Within five years they had baptized ten thousand British subjects.

Again the popular indignation broke out against the Mormonites. In truth, they were formidable neighbours. They had now, in 1842, an army of four thousand men, in a state of great efficiency, commanded by a general who had served in the army in the United States. In 1844, Smith offered himself as a candidate for the office of President of the United States, a proceeding which has been regarded as mere bravado, but one, at the same time, in which a true patriot might reasonably feel ground for some alarm. But what most of all aroused the vengeance of his countrymen was the audacity with which Smith now invoked religion as the minister of his profligacy. In July, 1843, he announced a revelation (which is printed in full in the 'Millennial Star,' No. XV., p. 5, the organ of Mormonism) authorising him and all those whom he should license, to take an unlimited number of wives. At first the revelation was kept a profound secret, or communicated only to the leaders of the party; but the infamous conduct of Smith and his apostles to the females in Nauvoo, produced a strong remonstrance from a local newspaper, called the 'Expositor,' which published in its first number the affidavits of sixteen women, who alleged that Smith, Rigdon, Young, and others, had invited them to enter into a secret and illicit connexion, under the title of spiritual marriage. Smith commanded the office of the 'Expositor' to be levelled to the ground. His mandate was instantly carried into effect, and the obnoxious editors fled for their lives. They obtained a writ from the authorities of the state of Illinois against Smith and his brother. The execution of the warrant was resisted in Nauvoo, and Smith ordered the officer entrusted with it to be driven away; but the militia of the state were in motion, and it was perceived that hostilities were hopeless against an overwhelming force of 60,000 men. Smith and his brother surrendered, and were committed to the county jail at Carthage, to take their trial for treason against the state. A mob broke into the prison, armed with pistols, and the two brothers were despatched. Joseph Smith

was shot, June the 7th, 1844, in the thirty-ninth year of his age.

His vacant office was eagerly contested by several competitors. "The apostolic college" elected Brigham Young, in opposition to Sidney Rigdon, who, disputing the election, was himself excommunicated and expelled. Brigham Young is now president of the Latter Day Saints, and of the territory of Utah. Rigdon had already quarrelled with Smith, and having now no further interest in the imposture which he had helped to frame, he threw off the mask, and denounced his associates. Bennet, who had been mayor of Nauvoo, and a disciple, but forsook the Mormons on account of the infamous conduct of Smith, explains the secession of Rigdon thus: "Smith," he says, "taught that the blessings of Jacob were granted to him, and, consequently, that he had divine authority and permission for indulging in unrestrained polygamy. He had thus induced several English and American women, whose husbands and fathers had been sent on distant missions by the prophet, to become his spiritual wives. But having attempted to add to their number the daughter of Sidney Rigdon, the feelings of the father were too strong to permit such an abomination; and Rigdon, who had accompanied the prophet in his long and hateful course of imposture and hypocrisy, at once dissolved all connexion with this abandoned wretch, and exposed his infamous proceedings in several newspapers. He spoke of him, as well he might, in terms of unmeasured severity, as one polluted mass of corruption, iniquity, and fraud."—(Prof. Caswall, 'Prophet of the Nineteenth Century,' who quotes the above from the 'St. Louis' newspaper.) Yet after this, it seems, Rigdon was a candidate for the office of Mormon chief, left vacant by Smith's death!

Nauvoo prospered once more. The magnificent temple rose upon the summit of a hill, as if in defiance, and the number of converts still increased. The jealousy of the neighbouring settlers had never slumbered; the Mormons were regarded with a hatred not unmixed with fear, and a league was formed for their extermination from the soil. They wisely resolved to bow before the tempest, abandon the territory of the United States, and find another home in the recesses of the wilderness. In 1846 Nauvoo was forsaken; but it was not till after a march of a whole year, across the Rocky Mountains, that the first

detachment reached their new settlement in the basin of the great Salt Lake, in Upper California. A second and a third party followed, suffering dreadful hardships on the way, and losing thousands by hunger and distress. Only about four thousand of the twenty thousand inhabitants of Nauvoo reached the region of the Salt Lake, their new abode.

But it seemed as if, until some mysterious purpose were fulfilled, no disasters and no disgraces could affect the progress of the Mormon cause. The career of the new commonwealth has been one of boundless prosperity. The descriptions of the scenery of the valley of the Salt Lake, and the character of the new institutions there, forcibly remind us of the glowing accounts of Mexico, which have been left by the companions of Cortes. A lake, fifty miles in length, studded with beautiful islands, washes on all sides a plain of marvellous fertility. This is girded round with mountains, whose peaks of perpetual snow are burnished by a dazzling sun. The valley is entered only by a deep ravine, five miles in length, through which a river winds its way. Nature has rendered the spot impregnable. Its entire seclusion from the world, its exquisite beauty and genial clime, its prolific soil, and its safety from the attacks of enemies, have suggested to the Mormons a new fable. The territory of Utah, as it is termed, is the land of promise. Their city is the true Zion, and its foundations are eternal. To this spot the promises of God pertain, as well as the more questionable predictions of the Mormon seers.

By a treaty between the United States and Mexico, the region of the Salt Lake was annexed, in 1848, to the territory of the former power. The Mormonites requested the Congress to admit them into the number of sovereign states, as the state of Deseret. This was refused; but in 1850 the Mormon district was formed into a territory, the governor of which is appointed by the president of the United States. At present the head of the Mormon Church holds that distinction.

But it is not difficult to foresee the dangers which threaten the very existence of Mormonism in the United States. In other countries it is a foreign institution, and every zealous member of it feels himself an exile. In America it aspires, not merely to independence, but to sovereignty. Its prophets are loud and clamorous in their predictions; and those predictions are the

same which Hebrew prophets denounced against the enemies of God. At its present rate of progress, Deseret (the name was taken from the Book of Mormon, under prophetic instruction) may claim, within seven years, to be an independent state in the great American republic; for this distinction is granted to a new territory when its population amounts to 60,000. The number of inhabitants now probably exceeds 40,000; and in 1851 not fewer than 3,000 emigrants arrived. An emigration fund, amounting to 35,000 dollars per annum, is liberally spent upon poor Mormons who may be anxious, but unable, to reach the mother colony. It is probable that the demand to be admitted into the federal union, as an independent state, will be rejected. It will be received by a vast number of the citizens of the great republic with feelings of strong aversion. The subject of polygamy is full of peril. It is illegal; the children are illegitimate; and the courts of law throughout the republic are already apprehensive of the consequences when the question shall come before them. Meanwhile the indignation of the states is gathering force daily, excited alike by the arrogance of the Mormons, and their immorality. A portion of the American press has begun, not only to denounce polygamy, but to call upon Congress to put down, even by force of arms, "this abominable domestic institution." It is questionable whether the Mormonites will be more dangerous as one of the United States, or as an independent government; for, if their claim be rejected, they will, no doubt, proclaim themselves a sovereign state. They may be crushed, or perhaps exterminated; but it seems not beyond the reach of probability that they may long continue to hang on the outskirts of civilization, to spoil and devastate,—the Mahomedans of the Western world.

The doctrines of a sect whose boast it is that their system is progressive, and that they daily receive new revelations, cannot, of course, be accurately described. The real tenets of Mormonism are rendered the more obscure, because, in the first place, the initiated have a creed the mysteries of which the new converts and the unbelieving world are not permitted to explore. Polygamy furnishes an example. Only three years ago, it was indignantly denied in the official Mormon publications intended for the public eye; it is now as openly avowed. Orson Pratt, who has since appeared as its advocate in print, then spoke of it

with abhorrence, and his "letter to the Saints" was brought forward, even by writers professing to be unprejudiced, as a triumphant vindication of a maligned sect. And again, the doctrines maintained as fundamental at one time, have been repeatedly set aside by counter revelations at another. The Mormon creed, printed for general circulation, omits most of the questionable points both of their faith and practice. It is as follows:—

"We believe in God the eternal Father, and in his Son, Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Ghost.

"We believe that men will be punished for their own sins, and not for Adam's transgressions.

"We believe that, through the atonement of Christ, all mankind may be saved by obedience to the laws and ordinances of the Gospel.

"We believe that these ordinances are—1st. Faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. 2nd. Repentance. 3rd. Baptism, by immersion, for the remission of sins. 4th. Laying on of hands for the gift of the Holy Spirit. 5th. The Lord's Supper.

"We believe that men must be called of God by inspiration, and by laying on of hands by those who are duly commissioned to preach the Gospel, and administer in the ordinances thereof.

"We believe in the same organization that existed in the primitive Church, viz., apostles, prophets, pastors, teachers, evangelists, &c.

"We believe in the powers and gifts of the everlasting Gospel—viz., the gift of faith, discerning of spirits, prophecy, revelation, visions, healing, tongues and the interpretation of tongues, wisdom, charity, brotherly love, &c.

"We believe in the word of God, recorded in the Bible. We also believe the word of God recorded in the Book of Mormon, and in all other good books.

"We believe all that God has revealed, all that he does now reveal; and we believe that he will yet reveal many more great and important things pertaining to the kingdom of God and Messiah's second coming.

"We believe in the literal gathering of Israel, and in the restoration of the ten tribes; that Zion will be established upon the Western continent; that Christ will reign personally upon the earth one thousand years; and that the earth will be renewed and receive its paradisaical glory.

"We believe in the literal resurrection of the body, and that the dead in Christ will rise first, and that the rest of the dead live not again until the thousand years are expired.

"We claim the privilege of worshipping Almighty God according to the dictates of our conscience, unmolested, and allow all men the same privilege, let them worship how or where they may.

"We believe in being subject to kings, queens, presidents, rulers, and magistrates, in obeying, honouring, and sustaining the law.

"We believe in being honest, true, chaste, temperate, benevolent, virtuous, and upright, and in doing good to all men; indeed, we may say that we follow the admonition of Paul, we 'believe all things,' we 'hope all things,' we have endured very many things, and hope to be able to 'endure all things.' Everything virtuous, lovely, praiseworthy, and of good report we seek after, looking forward to the 'recompense of reward.'"

But many of the doctrines taught in the accredited Mormon books are irreconcilable with this creed. Some of them are such as a devout Christian must regard with abhorrence, and others are childish and absurd. Of the former class are the descriptions of the Deity. In the "Millennial Star," volume vi., Joseph Smith himself teaches the following blasphemies:—The Deity is a material person with human passions. He is a material, organized intelligence, possessing both body and parts. He is in form of man, and is, in fact, of the same species. He eats, he drinks, he loves and hates; he goes from place to place. His omnipresence is denied; he cannot be in two places at once. He was once a man, and from manhood by continual progression became God. Man, likewise, is a creature of continual progression, and will in time possess more power, more subjects, and more glory, than is now possessed by Jesus Christ or his Father; while at the same time they will have had their dominion, kingdom, and subjects increased in the same proportion. In the "Book of Doctrines and Covenants," (page 87, third European edition,) the reader is informed, that unless he receive baptism by Mormon hands he shall perish everlastingly. From the same source, (page 318,) we learn that the multitude, who, from our Lord's time have died believing the gospel, are in purgatory. These, without one exception, continued to suffer torment till

the year 1830, when Mormon baptism was instituted ; and the only method of escape is by the vicarious substitution of a Mormon saint, who receives on their behalf what is termed "baptism for the dead." In this revelation, Smith has given explicit directions for the appointment of clerks or recorders to keep the books in the Mormonite temple at Nauvoo, in which the names of those deceased persons shall be entered on whose behalf any living man receives "baptism for the dead." Notwithstanding the fair professions of benevolence and philanthropy in the creed, 'The Book of Doctrines and Covenants,' is filled with bitter denunciations against unbelievers, and revenge is inculcated as a duty. "And it shall come to pass that whosoever shall lay hands on you by violence ye shall command to be smitten in my name, and behold I will smite them according to your words." The doctrine of spiritual marriage, as recently set forth in the 'Seer,' and the 'Millennial Star,' is this : No marriage is lawful without the sanction of the Mormon priesthood, by whom it may also be dissolved. Polygamy is the privilege of the faithful, and the Mahomedan paradise, with its sensual indulgences, is distinctly taught. Indeed the grovelling sensuality with which Mormonism invests a future state of being is the climax, at once hideous and most appropriate, to the most transparent, and yet hitherto the most successful system of imposture which ever duped the credulity of man.

Besides the great Mormon tribe, as they may be termed, in North California, the sect is now to be found in many states of Europe, in the Sandwich Islands, and in the East Indies. Its success, we are ashamed to say, has been great in England. In 1851, the census reports 222 places of worship belonging to this body, most of them, however, being only rooms. The number of sittings in those places was about 30,000. From an official census of their own, published half yearly, we learn that in July, 1853, the British Mormonites amounted to 30,690. The number of those who bear office is a large proportion of the whole, about one in five, and to this circumstance their success no doubt is much indebted. The officers of the Church in England numbered 40 Seventies, 10 High-priests, 2,578 Elders, 1,854 Priests, 1,460 Teachers, and 834 Deacons. The most numerous body in England is in Manchester, where the Mormon Church contains 3,166 members. The excitable character of the Welsh pea-

santry has afforded some of its greatest triumphs to the Mormon cause: thousands have emigrated; but the Church at Merthyr Tydvil still contains 2,338 members.

See the following publications of the Mormonites:—1. *Book of Mormon, American edition*, 1830. 2. *The Book of Doctrines and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints; selected from the Revelations of God, by Joseph Smith, President; second European edition: Liverpool*, 1849. 3. *The Millennial Star; a weekly periodical: Liverpool*. 4. *Patriarchal Order, or Plurality of Wives, by Orson Spencer, Chancellor of the University of Deseret: Liverpool*, 1853. See too, *The Doctrines of Mormonism: London*, 1854. *Edinburgh Review*, No. 202, Article, *Mormonism*. *Report on Religious Worship, Census 1851*. *The Mormons, or Latter Day Saints, a contemporary history: London*, 1852.

NESTORIANS.—In the fifth century Nestorius, a Syrian, was bishop of Constantinople. The Arian controversy was now growing extinct. Out of its ashes had arisen new fires. In their zeal to establish the deity of the Son of God, the Alexandrians and Copts had begun to speak of the Virgin Mary in terms hitherto unknown. They called her Theotokos, or Mother of God. Apollinaris, bishop of Laodicea, is said to have introduced the phrase, and the use of it was defended by Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, the rival of Nestorius. Anastatius, a presbyter of Constantinople, declaimed against the attempt to invest the Virgin with a title which seemed to convey at once the ideas of blasphemy and idolatry, and he was warmly supported by his bishop, Nestorius. Cyril obtained the assistance of Celestinus, bishop of Rome, assembled a council in Alexandria, A. D. 430, and anathematized Nestorius.

The Eastern empire was in flames with the quarrel of the rival patriarchs, for Nestorius and his opponent are both described as haughty, bold, and resolute; the emperor Theodosius was, therefore, induced to assemble a council at Ephesus. This was the third general or oecumenical council, and it met in the year 431.

Two disputes, the one theological, the other historical, arose

out of the proceedings of this council: they are in agitation to this very day.

First, as to the title itself: it is disputed whether it was understood to affect the Virgin or the Virgin's Son; to exalt the mother, or simply to declare that her offspring was divine. The Church of Rome, and some Anglican divines, affirm that both meanings were intended. Was it simply a question as to the divinity of our Lord, or did the opponents of Nestorius covertly intend to exalt the Virgin? or, in the heat of controversy, was it that they obstinately clung to an expression which they had, in the first instance, rashly adopted? The term *Theotokos* is not in use among the apostolic fathers in their genuine epistles, or in those that are attributed to them, of which the authorship is uncertain, although they are full and clear on the doctrine of the union of the divine and human natures in one Christ. Before the Council of Ephesus, the original sense in which the word *Theotokos* was used was as a protest against the Apollinarian and Arian heresies. It does not occur in the remains of Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, or any other Greek writer, before Origen. Tertullian and Cyprian appear to be equally ignorant of *Deipara*, *Dei genetrix*, and *Mater Dei*; and it is certain that no one of these terms was generally acknowledged by the Church before the Council of Ephesus. The word was used, however, as Bishop Pearson has shown, before this time, by Origen, Dionysius, Alexandrinus, Alexander bishop of Alexandria, Eusebius, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, and Athanasius: and Socrates, the ecclesiastical historian, tells us that the use of it was confirmed in the time of Justinian, by the synod of Constantinople. And it was by the denial of this term, he adds, that the heresy of Nestorius was first discovered, not in himself, but in his presbyter, Anastatius, who first in a sermon authoritatively delivered that no one should call Mary *Theotokos*, because she was but a woman, and that God could not be born of a woman.—*Eccl. Hist.*, lib. vii., ch. 132.

Again, the question is not yet determined whether Nestorius was fairly treated by the council. Cyril, his powerful adversary, presided, and was at once the judge and the accuser. Nestorius remonstrated in vain against the precipitation with which Cyril, as he affirmed, was urging on the case, without waiting for the arrival of the Eastern bishops. According to Socrates, Cyril

refused to hear his explanation, although he offered to concede the title of Mother of God to the Virgin Mary, provided that nothing else were meant thereby but that the child born of her was united to the Godhead. On the other hand, he is charged with levity and presumption. He was accused by his opponents of dividing the nature of Christ into two distinct persons. This he denied; and Luther, and after him many German divines especially, have concluded that the doctrine of Nestorius, and that of the council which condemned him, was, in fact, the same; that their difference was only one of words; and, consequently, that the whole of the blame is to be charged on the turbulent spirit of Cyril and his hatred of Nestorius. In short, Nestorius was condemned in his absence, and that of the Eastern bishops, on the charge of blasphemy. He was deprived of his bishopric, and banished, first to Petrea, in Arabia, and afterwards to Oasis, in the deserts of Egypt, where he died about the year 439.

The Eastern prelates, resenting the affront which Cyril had shown them, took part with Nestorius. They met at Ephesus, and excommunicated Cyril. Retiring eastward, the disciples and friends of Nestorius carried his doctrines with them, and diffused them in all directions. The Christians in Persia maintained, when the tidings reached them, that he had been unjustly condemned at Ephesus, and charged Cyril with confounding the two natures of Christ. Schools were erected; zealous preachers advocated the cause; the Persian king was induced to espouse their interests, and before the close of the fifth century the Nestorians were the only Christians to be found in Persia. Within the next century they spread themselves through parts of Egypt, Syria, India, and Tartary, and they are said to have made some converts even in China. Several ages of darkness follow, and we know scarcely anything of the state of the Nestorians. The ancient Chaldea seems to have been their proper home, and from hence they diffused some faint knowledge of Christianity amongst Turks and Tartars.

The story of Prester John belongs to the tenth century. About that time, a Tartar prince, if the tradition may be received, was converted by the Nestorians to the Christian faith, and took, at his baptism, the name of John, to which he added, instead of other titles, the humble designation of Presbyter. The suc-

cessors of this monarch retained the name until the time of Genghiz Khan, in the thirteenth century. In the middle ages a Christian sovereign was supposed by all Christendom to reside somewhere in the centre of Asia, and the report appears to have originated amongst the Nestorians, whose missionaries were probably protected by some powerful sovereign. Oungh Khan, a Tartar chief, was defeated by Genghiz Khan, and died in battle A. D. 1202. He was reported in Europe to be a Christian, and to have taken priest's orders, and letters were published, said to have been addressed by him to the Pope, the king of France, and others, in which he is made to style himself John the High Priest. Several missionaries were sent out at different times from France, with a view of discovering the remote nation governed by a priestly sovereign. Their inquiries were always fruitless, but the story continued to be believed in western Europe till the close of the fifteenth century.

In the sixteenth century a schism arose among the Nestorians, which ended in the subjection of one party to the Church of Rome. Two rival patriarchs were nominated by two contending factions. Sulaka, one of the candidates, sought the aid of Rome, which was cheerfully granted on the terms which the sovereign pontiff invariably exacts, namely, the promise of unlimited submission to the papal see. He was consecrated patriarch of the Chaldean Church by Pope Julius the Third, A. D. 1553, receiving the name of John, a badge of his disgraceful subjection to a foreign power. He returned, attended by several monks, skilled in the Syriac language, by whose aid the papal faction was firmly established in the Nestorian Church. Since this period the Nestorians have continued to exist as two separate churches—the ancient disciples of Nestorius, and the Chaldeans, who are members of the Church of Rome. When the Portuguese, in the sixteenth century, invaded the Coromandel coast of India, they found there a Nestorian Church, who called themselves the Christians of St. Thomas, and held traditionally that the apostle Thomas was their founder. They were living in purity and simplicity, retaining the Holy Scriptures in the Syriac language, using two sacraments, and exhibiting many of the features of primitive Christianity; and they were governed by bishops under a metropolitan. They had been once an independent nation, for when Vasco de Gama arrived at Cochin, on

the Malabar coast, in the year 1503, he was shown the sceptre of the last Christian king ; he had lately died without issue, and his throne had devolved upon one of the native princes.

The Portuguese, to their surprise, found upwards of a hundred Christian churches on the coast of Malabar. "These churches," said they, "belong to the pope." "Who is the pope?" said the natives, "we never heard of him." De Gama's chaplains were yet more alarmed when they found that these Indians maintained the discipline of an Episcopal Church, and that for thirteen hundred years they boasted of a succession of bishops appointed by the patriarch of Antioch. When their power became sufficient for the purpose, they invaded these tranquil churches, seized some of the clergy, and put them to the death of heretics. The inquisition was introduced at Goa, and there its fires were lighted. They seized the Syrian bishop, Mar Joseph, and sent him a prisoner to Lisbon ; and then convened a synod at one of the Syrian churches called Diamper, near Cochin, at which the Romish archbishop, Menezies, presided. At this compulsory synod one hundred and fifty of the Syrian clergy appeared. They were accused of the following practices and opinions :—That they had married wives ; that they owned but two sacraments, baptism and the Lord's supper ; that they neither invoked saints, nor worshipped images, nor believed in purgatory ; and that they had no other orders or names of dignity in the church than bishop, priest, and deacon. These tenets they were called on to abjure, or to suffer suspension from all church benefices. It was also decreed that all the Syrian books on ecclesiastical subjects that could be found should be burned ; in order, said the inquisitors, that no pretended apostolical monuments may remain. The churches on the sea-coast were thus compelled to acknowledge the supremacy of the pope ; but they refused to pray in Latin, and insisted on using their own language and liturgy. The pope submitted to a compromise. They still retain the Syriac language in their public worship, though the primitive liturgy has been altered in some points to suit the views of the papacy, and they still have a Syriac college. The churches in the interior resisted. After a show of submission for awhile, they proclaimed eternal war against the Inquisition, hid their books, fled to the mountains, and sought the protection of the native princes

Two centuries had elapsed without any particular information concerning the Nestorian Christians in the interior of India. It was doubted by many if they were still in existence, when they were visited by Dr. Claudius Buchanan, in 1807. He found in the neighbourhood of Travancore the Syrian metropolitan and his clergy. They were much depressed, but they still numbered fifty-five churches. They made use of the liturgy of Antioch, in the Syrian language. They had many old and valuable copies of the Scriptures. One of these, a Syrian manuscript of high antiquity, they presented to Dr. Buchanan, by whom it was placed in the university library at Cambridge. He describes the doctrines of the Syrian Christians as few in number, but pure, and agreeing in essential points with those of the Church of England. There were then, he computed, 200,000 Syrian Christians in the south of India; besides the Indians who speak the Malabar language, and are subject to the Church of Rome. Dr. Buchanan thus describes the appearance of Mar Dionysius the metropolitan:—"He was dressed in a vestment of dark red silk, a large golden cross hung from his neck, and his venerable beard reached below his girdle. On public occasions he wears the episcopal mitre, and a muslin robe is thrown over his under garment; and in his hand he bears the crosier, or pastoral staff. He is a man of highly respectable character in his Church; eminent for his piety, and for the attention he devotes to his sacred functions." Later visitors speak in less glowing terms of this interesting people. Their general ignorance seems to have been much greater than Dr. Buchanan was led to suppose, and they observed superstitions with which he does not appear to have been made acquainted. In quitting the subject we may add that this Syrian branch of the Nestorian Church still retains its independence, and that its metropolitan holds friendly intercourse, on equal terms, with the English prelates in India. It has been supplied with copies of the Scriptures in abundance by the agency of the British societies.

We now return to the Nestorians of Persia and the neighbouring countries. They, too, had perished from the sight and knowledge of European Christendom, and their existence was forgotten. Within the last twenty years they have, however, been visited by many travellers, especially by clergymen, both English and American, sent out on purpose to ascertain their state, and if

possible to establish missions amongst them. From these sources we have derived the following statements.

Dividing the Turkish from the Persian empire is a wild range of mountains, now called Kourdistan, which includes within its boundaries portions of the ancient Assyria, Media, and Armenia. In the most accessible parts of this district the Nestorians dwell. They are still governed by melicks, or kings, chosen from their own people by the popular voice irregularly expressed. The office of these chiefs is usually hereditary, in the same family. The Turkish government, however, is making vigorous efforts, through the agency of the neighbouring Koords, to reduce these independent Nestorians to a state of vassalage. Dwelling in these mountainous recesses their independence is dearly purchased; they find it difficult to obtain a bare subsistence, and many of them are miserably poor; numbers travel abroad and beg as a profession. Their fare is coarse and their manners rude. During the summer many of them descend to the plains of Oroomiah, at the foot of the Kourdistan range, and here a considerable body of Nestorian Christians have fixed their residence. They have a tradition that their ancestors came down from the mountains to live on the plain five or six hundred years ago. It is probable that they were entirely swept away from this province during the devastations of Timourlane, but there are monuments of their residence here at an earlier period. The oldest mosque in the city of Oroomiah was once a Christian church. The Nestorians of the plain partake in their manners of the urbanity of the Persians, and they themselves denominate their fellow Christians, the mountaineers, wild men. Though suffering oppression and extortion from the Mahomedans, their circumstances are tolerable for a people in bondage. The country is fertile, and the industrious among them are surrounded with plenty. Their character is bold, generous, kind, and artless; oppression has not broke their spirit. They are still brave and restless; and, so far as a subject people can be, independent. The Nestorians of the mountains, with all their rudeness and even ferocity, possess the same traits of kindness and generosity. The hungry man will divide his last morsel of bread with a stranger, or even with a foe. The Nestorians of the plain, as a matter of calculation, lay in liberal stores for their poor countrymen of Kourdistan, when, pinched with want, they come down in the winter to seek subsistence.

The total number of the Nestorian Christians, exclusive of the Jacobites or Monophysite Syrians, and the Chaldeans or converts to the Romish faith, was computed by the American missionaries, in 1840, at one hundred and forty thousand; one hundred thousand in the mountains, and thirty or forty thousand in the plain. Later travellers confirm this statement.

The patriarch of the Nestorian Church resides at Diz, a village in one of the most inaccessible parts of the Kourdish mountains. In early times, the patriarch resided at Seleucia; after A. D. 752 at Bagdad and Elkoosh. Since the quarrel of the rival candidates and the defection of the Chaldeans to Rome, about the close of the sixteenth century, the patriarch has taken refuge in the mountains. The patriarch professes only to wield spiritual power, but amongst the mountaineers his word is law, both in matters spiritual and temporal. Amongst the Nestorians of Oroomiah his power is more limited; he seldom ventures to come amongst them; and being thus beyond the reach of the full exercise of his authority, the people have become lax in their regard for his spiritual prerogatives; still they look up to him with respect and veneration. The patriarch does not receive the imposition of hands at his consecration, since it cannot be performed by his inferiors; but all orders of the clergy, from the deacon to the metropolian, are ordained by him with the imposition of hands. Under the Nestorian patriarch are eighteen bishops, four of whom reside in the province of Oroomiah. A diocese varies in size from a single village to twenty or thirty. The bishops ordain the inferior clergy, make annual visitations, and superintend the diocese. Besides deacons and priests there are archdeacons, subdeacons, and readers. The office of metran or metropolitan, is distinct from that of the patriarch, although, it is true, they are often united in the same person. The canons of the Nestorian Church require celibacy, but only from the episcopal orders, from whom they also demand abstinence from animal food, even from their infancy. The mother of the candidate for the episcopate or patriarchate must observe the same abstinence while she nurses the infant. The Nestorian bishops do not defend these practices from Scripture, but only as matters of propriety. Neither celibacy nor abstinence from animal food are required of the inferior clergy, nor do monasteries or convents exist among the Nestorians. The clergy are

usually poor. They cultivate the ground, or teach a few scholars, or gain a small pittance by marriage fees and small contributions. It can be no matter of surprise that some of them can scarcely read. When visited by the American missionaries in 1833, a majority of them could merely chant their devotions in the ancient Syriac, and even some of the bishops were in the same predicament. The Syriac Bible has since been distributed freely amongst them, and the state of general knowledge is improved. The patriarch receives an annual contribution, collected for him by the bishops; it seldom exceeds three hundred dollars. The Romish agents leave no measures untried, of force or fraud, to seduce the Nestorian Church and even its patriarchs. A few years ago a Jesuit offered to the Nestorian patriarch ten thousand dollars, it is said, on condition that he would acknowledge the papal supremacy. He made answer in the words that Simon Peter once addressed to Simon Magus, "Thy money perish with thee." A more adroit overture was made afterwards, though with as little success, in the offer to canonize Nestorius.

Religion, in the proper sense, is in a low condition. The vice of lying is almost universal among clergy and laity; intemperance is very prevalent. The Sunday is to a great extent regarded only as a holiday, and profaneness and some other vices are very common. Still a venerable remnant exists of a primitive Church, founded, as they invariably maintain, not by Nestorius, but in apostolic times, by Thomas the Apostle. It is beset with dangers on every side. The artifices of the Jesuits are unceasing and sometimes successful. Recently a patriarch was bought over by violence to the Church of Rome. On the other hand, the Mahomedans attempt to proselyte. Nestorian girls are occasionally kidnapped or decoyed away, and become the wives of the followers of the false prophet. Some hardened culprits apostatize for the sake of escaping punishment, but these are all the triumphs of which the Mahomedans can boast.

The sword of the Moslem has not spared the Nestorians. Grievously oppressed and ground down with taxes and impositions, the lofty spirit of the mountaineers at length ventured to rebel, and an indiscriminate massacre was the penalty. "What can we do?" said they to the European visitors who enquired the cause of their rebellion; "if we descend into the plains,

build villages, plant vineyards, and till the barren soil, we are so overwhelmed with taxations and impositions of every kind that our labour, though blessed of God, is of no profit to ourselves. If we take refuge in the mountains, even here we are liable every year to be hunted like partridges. Such is our lot; but God is merciful." Mr. Badger, who visited the Koords, on behalf of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, relates, that as he passed through Marden, a village on one of the summits of the mountain range, in 1843, he saw in the market place several human heads rolling in the dust which had been brought in as trophies by the soldiers of Mahommed Pasha. "The next day," he says, "I saw a large number of horses, asses, mules, and even cows, laden with booty taken from the same people, the Koords of a neighbouring district. Amongst these, there were loads of human heads, and a number of prisoners, some of whom were to be impaled on the morrow. The collector of taxes in the district had embezzled a sum of money, and the Koords were ordered to make good the deficiency. As they were unable or unwilling to comply, a troop of Albanians was sent against them, who plundered the refractory villages, massacred about a hundred and fifty persons, and committed other excesses too horrible to relate. Such was the Ottoman rule."

The Nestorians have been termed, with some propriety, the Protestants of Asia. Their creed and practice is more simple and more scriptural than those of the Greek or any other Oriental Church. They entertain the deepest abhorrence of image worship, auricular confession, and purgatory. Their doctrinal tenets lie under suspicion; yet the American missionaries do not hesitate to vouch for their correctness. Mr. Perkins was sent out by the American Board of Foreign Missions, and lived amongst them six years, labouring apparently with considerable success. "On the momentous subject of the divinity of Christ," he says, "in relation to which the charge of heresy is so violently thrown upon them by the papal and other Oriental sects; their belief is orthodox and scriptural." Mr. Badger also judges favourably of their orthodoxy. He thinks that, although in error with respect to the language in which they express their belief with regard to the second person in the Trinity, the Nestorians hold, nevertheless, in effect the true Catholic doctrine as it is revealed in holy Scripture, and as it was set forth by the council of Ephesus.

Several writers have lately placed translations of the Nestorian rituals within the reach of English Christians. These, however, are so overlaid with Oriental figure and sentiment that to ascertain their exact meaning on the points at issue, is by no means an easy task. We make a single extract from a service for the holy Nativity: "Blessed art thou, O Virgin, daughter of David, since in thee all the promises made to the righteous have been fulfilled; and in thee the race of prophecy has found rest; for after a wonderful manner thou didst conceive as a virgin, without marriage, and in a wonderful way thou didst bring forth the Messiah, the Son of God; as it is written, the Holy Spirit formed Him in thee, and the word dwelt in him by union without conversion or confusion, the natures continuing to subsist unchanged, and the Persons also, by their essential attributes, the divinity and humanity subsisting in one *Parsopa* of Filiation. For the Lord is one, the power is one, the dominion ruling over all is one, and He is the ruler and disposer of all by the mysterious power of his divinity, whom we ought ever to thank and worship, saying; Blessed is the righteous One, who clothed himself with Adam's (humanity) and made him Lord in heaven and earth."—*Badger*, vol. ii., page 34.

The Nestorians receive instruction gladly, and seem to view the labours of missionaries who have once gained their confidence with generous satisfaction, well satisfied with any attempts to improve their Church, so long as its discipline is not invaded. The Nestorians are the only Church, except the Moravians, and those which appeared at the Reformation, which acknowledges the supreme authority of holy Scripture, holding, with ourselves, no doctrine or practice essential to salvation which may not be proved therefrom. The reverence in which the inspired volume is held, has made them the fortunate possessors of some of the most ancient and valuable manuscripts in existence. Their ancient language was the Syriac, of which the modern vernacular is a dialect, corrupted by contractions and inversions and a great number of Persian and Turkish words. Amongst their books are some very ancient copies of the Scriptures in Syriac. Several of these are at least six hundred years old; and the missionaries were shown a copy of the New Testament which purports to be fifteen hundred years old. These copies are regarded by the Nestorians with much veneration,

and used with great care; they are wrapped in several covers, and when taken into the hands are reverently kissed. The Bible has recently been introduced amongst them, in the Peschito or pure Syriac, and by the American missionaries, in the modern vernacular Syriac. Their other books are few. Dr. Grant found in the library of the patriarch not more than sixty volumes, all in manuscript, and a part of these were duplicates. They have no works of value, except on devotional subjects. Once an educated people, the Nestorians are now perfectly illiterate. The only books they possess are the Church rituals; to be able to read these, and to write fairly, is considered a high education, and is all that is desired, even from candidates for holy orders. Except the priests, few or none can read. The laity are regular in attendance at church, where they hear a liturgy of great beauty, partly chaunted and partly mumbled. The New Testament is read in the old Syriac; but this differs considerably from the dialect in common use, and it is read withal in such a manner as to be almost unintelligible. Certain prayers are familiar to all ranks, and persons devoutly disposed are often seen retiring to a corner of the church to pray in secret. There is no sermon to arouse reflection or to sustain faith, by impressing the conscience and the understanding; no lecture to expound the difficulties of Scripture. Thus the main body of the Nestorians are only nominal Christians, and such they must probably remain until more favoured nations come to their relief. The existence of such a people for seventeen hundred years, amongst hostile nations and circumstances so disastrous; and their own preservation, too, of so much of the pure doctrine of the gospel as they still retain, seems to be an intimation from the sovereign ruler of the Church that the Nestorians are not utterly rejected, but that days of spiritual glory and prosperity yet await them.

Dr. Grant, a learned American missionary, has recently put forth an argument to show that the Nestorians are the descendants of the lost tribes of Israel. He insists strongly on their Jewish physiognomy, on the frequency of those proper names which occur in the Old Testament, on the peculiarities of their customs, and on other points of resemblance. His proofs are not regarded as satisfactory by his co-missionaries, nor by Mr. Badger, who contests his facts. It is a question, however, of detail and

research, and we refer the reader to Dr. Grant's volume, and to the discussions it has provoked.

One service of the Nestorian Church certainly partakes much more of a Jewish than a Christian character: this is a commemoration for the dead celebrated in all the mountain villages once a year, on some Saturday in the month of October. For some days previous to the festival each family prepares its offerings. These consist of lambs and bread, which are carried into the churchyard. After the people have partaken of the holy Eucharist, the priest goes out, cuts several locks of wool off the fleeces, and throws them into a censer. While a deacon swings this to and fro in the presence of the guests the priest recites an anthem, in which the oblation is offered to the Lord, and prayers are offered both for the living and the dead. The service concluded, the lambs and bread are divided amongst the company. Many come from distant villages to join in the commemoration. Those who can afford it kill a lamb and distribute bread and other provisions amongst the poor after the death of their relations, hoping that these offerings will, in some way, profit the souls of the departed. Dr. Grant mentions another sacrifice which is offered occasionally as a thank-offering for blessings received. A lamb is slain before the door of the church, when a little of the blood is put on the door and lintel; the right shoulder and breast belong to the officiating priest, and the skin is also given to the priest, as was required in the law of burnt offerings. (Leviticus vii.) But these strange customs may have been derived from the Mahomedans, who often sacrifice a lamb with the same intention at the doors of their shrines throughout Turkey, and sprinkle the building with the blood, after which the animal is distributed amongst the people of the village. As might be expected in a people so ignorant, the Nestorians are superstitious. They observe many fasts. Their ritual contains offices for the purification of those who have touched the corpse of an unbeliever, and a service for the purification of unclean cisterns and fountains, some parts of which are extremely beautiful. The Nestorians place a high value on charms and talismans, and the clergy are generally the authors of these profane and absurd effusions, which they transcribe and sell to the people.

The CHALDEANS, or Nestorians in communion with the Church

of Rome, are computed at twenty thousand souls, scattered over a large surface extending from Diarbekir to the frontiers of Persia, and from the borders of Tyari to Bagdad. They are governed by a patriarch and six bishops, but these have lately been pensioned by the Propaganda; the patriarch receiving a yearly salary of 20,000 piastres, or 200*l.*, and the bishops sums varying from 2,000 to 8,000 piastres each. Through the influence of the French embassy, in 1845, Mar Zeyya obtained a firman from Constantinople acknowledging him as patriarch of the Chaldeans. This was the first recognition by the Ottoman Porte of the new community.

But the patriarch soon discovered that his functions were virtually exercised by the Propaganda. He grew weary of the interference of the Latin missionaries, and resisted their demands. Various charges were brought against him in consequence, and he was summoned to Rome to answer for himself. He chose rather to resign his office, and was succeeded, in 1846, by Mar Yoosef. In effect, the Chaldeans have no longer an independent existence. They are a section of the Romish Church, their connection with which, while on the one hand it has introduced amongst them schools and education after the European manner, has on the other infected them with deeper superstitions; and the only benefit which they have derived from a change of name and communion is the promise of political protection from France, with occasional presents of ecclesiastical vestments, pictures of saints, and rosaries,—“Gifts,” says Mr. Badger, “which they know not how to use, and show no disposition to learn.”

Ainsworth: Travels and Researches in Mesopotamia, &c. *Layard: Nineveh and its Remains.* *Dr. Grant: The Nestorians, or the Lost Tribes.* *Perkins: Eight Years spent among the Nestorian Christians; New York, 1843.* *Badger: The Nestorians and their Rituals; 1852.* *Christian Researches in the East, by Claudius Buchanan, D.D.* *Assemani Bibliotheca Orientalis, tom. i. ii. iii.* *Mosheim: Eccl. Hist.* *Etheridge: Rituals of the Syrian Churches.*

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PRESBYTERIANS.—Presbyterianism in England (to which this article refers) dates its origin from the Westminster Assembly. Charles I. and his parliament were on the eve of the final rupture, when, in deference to the petition of the London clergy, praying for ecclesiastical reform, the House of Commons requested that a general synod might be called by royal authority. For the present the king refused compliance, and in 1642, while matters stood thus, the civil war began. The Scotch, with an army of twenty thousand, marched into England to assist the parliament, and they naturally used all their influence to persuade the latter to introduce Presbyterianism. The House of Commons resolved, in consequence, "that such a government should be settled in the Church as might be most agreeable to God's holy word, and most apt to procure and preserve the peace of the Church at home, and bring it into nearer agreement with the Church of Scotland and the reformed Churches abroad." An ordinance followed, bearing date June 12, 1643, "for the calling of an assembly of learned and godly divines, and others, to be consulted with by the parliament, for settling the government and liturgy of the Church of England, and for vindicating and clearing of the doctrine of the said Church from false aspersions and interpretations." This was the origin of the Westminster Assembly.

The Westminster Assembly first met in Henry VII.'s Chapel, July 1st, 1643. It was composed of one hundred and twenty-one divines, selected by the House of Commons; six deputies from Scotland; ten English peers; and twenty members of the Lower House of Parliament. But of this number seldom more than sixty were in attendance. There were amongst them a few Episcopalians, including Archbishop Usher, and the bishops of Bristol and Exeter, with Drs. Sanderson and Hammond. But the king, by proclamation, forbade the Assembly, declaring it illegal, and the Episcopalians immediately withdrew. Of those who remained, a few were Independents; a few, of whom Selden was the leader, were called Erastians; not that they held all the opinions of Erastus (who had maintained that the Christian minister was a mere lecturer on divinity, and that Christian Churches were merely secular associations), but that they showed no great respect for any of the theories of Church government

then so clamorously argued on all sides. But the great body of the clergy were Presbyterians, or at least so favourably inclined to that form of government as to be easily induced to accept it.

Their first business was, of course, to settle the constitution of the future Church of England. Prelacy was already overthrown. In its place Archbishop Usher would have proposed a scheme of "reduced Episcopacy," as it was termed, in which the bishop should retain his office, assisted by a council, but stripped of his rank, and secular distinctions. This met with little favour, and was not even discussed in the assembly. The crisis was urgent. The Scotch allies were impatient, and the House of Commons was anxious to dismiss a question which distracted its attention, while it agitated the whole kingdom. Vane and two other commissioners were sent to Edinburgh, where they accepted, on behalf of England, the ancient Scottish Covenant, with a few slight alterations, under the title of the Solemn League and Covenant. The House of Commons solemnly subscribed their hands, and swore to observe it, in St. Margaret's church, Westminster, on the 15th of September, 1643; and the House of Lords, or rather that small section of the peerage which had not joined the king and still remained at Westminster, followed their example a few days afterwards.

The Covenant consists of six articles. The first sets forth the lamentable condition of the Church and nation, and expresses a determination to reform religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, in doctrine, discipline, worship, and government, "according to the word of God and the example of the best reformed Churches." The next clause binds the English and Irish nations, in effect, though not expressly, to embrace Presbyterianism. It runs thus: "And we shall endeavour to bring the Church of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confession of faith, form of Church government, directory for worship, and catechising; that we, and our posterity after us, may, as brethren, live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us." The second article denounces popery, prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, and profaneness. Prelacy is explained to signify "Church government by archbishops, bishops, chapters, archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy." The remaining articles bind the covenanters to maintain the

rights of the king and parliament, to expose malignants and incendiaries, and to persist through life in carrying out the principles of this solemn league.

The Assembly now addressed itself to its two great tasks; namely, to provide first a scheme of doctrine and next a scheme of government for the national Church which was next to rise upon the ruins of the Episcopal Church of England.

The first of these undertakings was prosecuted during four years with unceasing application, and unquestionably with great success. It was not till the 11th of December, 1646, that the Assembly laid its great work, the Confession of Faith, upon the table of the House of Commons. It has been severely censured, and, perhaps, extravagantly praised; but at least it deserves the qualified applause with which Neal dismisses it: "Upon the whole," he says, "the Assembly's Confession, with all its faults, has been ranked by very good judges among the most perfect systems of divinity that have been published on the Calvinistic principle in the last age." The Shorter Catechism was presented to the House of Commons on the 5th of November, 1647, and a Larger Catechism on the 5th of April, 1648. The Confession and the Catechisms were published, by authority of parliament, for public use; and in the same year an ordinance was passed forbidding the use of the Book of Common Prayer. The Confession was immediately approved and adopted by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, at Edinburgh, as the standard of her faith and order. The Catechisms were also adopted and approved, and these documents still hold their position as the standards of faith and discipline in all the orthodox Presbyterian Churches of Scotland, Ireland, and America, and, we may add, throughout the world. The labours of the Westminster Assembly entitle them, as theologians of a high order, to great respect.

In their attempt to establish a Presbyterian Church in England their merit, if we may judge by their success, was less. They projected a scheme of discipline, which was equally distasteful to the House of Commons and the English people; and in consequence the intended Church was never fairly launched. We will lay before the reader, in the fewest words, a summary of the remarkable disputes which now arose.

The Assembly decided, by large majorities, that the Presbyterian

discipline was most agreeable to the word of God ; they proposed, therefore, the following scheme : Several congregations were to form a presbytery or classis ; a given number of these a synod ; and out of the synod a national assembly was to be created, to which, in the last instance, all ecclesiastical questions were to be referred, and by which the ultimate sentence in all spiritual causes should be pronounced. But the House of Commons, now conscious of its power, was very little disposed to lend a helping hand to the establishment of a spiritual jurisdiction which should own no superior, and assert its independence even of parliament itself. The same quarrel arose which has lately rent the Church of Scotland. The secular power was jealous of the spiritual ; and the supreme courts of the former demanded submission from the supreme courts of the latter. The question at issue was the same, but the battle was fought on other grounds. The free churchmen of Scotland maintaining that, since they demanded supremacy only in things spiritual, the civil power had nothing to dread nor any right to interfere. The Presbyterians of the Assembly took higher ground, asserting that the presbyterian form of government was a precept of the gospel ; it existed *jure divino* ; it was in fact the only scriptural or lawful form of Church government ; it was to be submitted to because it was ordained of God. This ground was expressly taken by Marshall and Henderson against the king's chaplains, at the treaty of Uxbridge, and against the Independent party and the leaders of the House of Commons, Whitelocke, Selden, and others, in the Westminster Assembly. For fifteen days the Independents argued against the divine right of presbytery before the Presbyterians ; and then for fifteen days the Presbyterians maintained their thesis against the Independents. At last a large majority decided that presbyterianism was a divine ordinance, and now its triumph seemed complete. But the question was no sooner transferred to the House of Commons than the lustre of the victory was tarnished. On the motion of Whitelocke, it was merely carried in general terms, "that it is lawful and agreeable to the word of God that the Church be governed by congregational, classical, and synodical assemblies." The Presbyterians were greatly dissatisfied. Their interest was great in London ; petitions were presented in favour of a Presbyterian Church, and the lord mayor and aldermen went up to parliament with a prayer for "the speedy settlement

of Church government according to the Covenant, and that no toleration might be given to popery, prelacy, superstition, heresy, profaneness, or anything contrary to sound doctrine, and that all private assemblies might be restrained." But the House of Commons, led by Selden and Whitelocke, voted the petition scandalous, and resolved that "the presbytery should not meddle with any thing of *meum* and *tuum* till it were determined by the civil magistrate." The Presbyterians claimed for their supreme court the power of excommunication, and for the inferior tribunals the right of suspension from the sacrament. Selden argued that for four thousand years there had been no trace of any law in the Church of God to suspend persons from religious exercises; strangers were kept away from the passover, but they were pagans, and not of the Jewish religion: but now, said he, the question is not for keeping away pagans in times of Christianity, but Protestants from Protestant worship; and "he challenged any divine to show that there is any such command as this to suspend from the sacrament." "Mr. Speaker," said Whitelocke, "the assembly of divines have petitioned that in every presbytery, or presbyterian congregation, pastors, or ruling members, may have the power of excommunication, and of suspending such as they shall judge ignorant or scandalous persons from the sacrament. The duty of a pastor is to feed, and not to disperse and drive away the flock. Excommunication is a total driving or thundering away of the party from all spiritual food whatever. The best excommunication is for pastors, elders, and people to excommunicate sin out of their own hearts and conversations. To suspend themselves from all works of iniquity.—But only the ignorant and the scandalous are to be suspended. I am sure I am a very ignorant person, and I fear we are all more ignorant than we ought to be of the truth of Christ; but to keep an ignorant person from the ordinances is no way to improve his knowledge.—Scandalous persons are likewise to be suspended; and who shall be called scandalous is to be referred to the judgment of the pastors and ruling elders; but where their commission is it will be hard to show. Both pastors and people are scandalous in the general sense, and our best performances are but scandalous. To excommunicate those who are so, deprives them wholly of the best means for their cure."

The Presbyterian party felt, perhaps, that they were treated

like children, with banter instead of argument. But their power, though rapidly declining, was still so great in London and some other parts, that they extorted a compromise from the House of Commons. A table of rules for suspension, in cases of ignorance and scandal, was published by the Parliament, and the elders had power within these limits to suspend. But even to this ordinance a provision was attached which effectually crippled the Presbyterian system. It enacted that "if any person find himself aggrieved with the proceedings of the presbytery to which he belongs, he may appeal to the classical eldership; from them to the provincial assembly; from them to the national; and from them to the parliament. The ecclesiastical courts were also forbidden to interfere "in matters of contracts and payments, or in any matter of conveyance, title, or property in lands or goods."

With these conditions an ordinance was passed by the House of Commons, and, after some delay, by the House of Lords, on the 6th June, 1646, by which a Presbyterian Church superseded the old Church of England. It decreed that all parishes and other places whatsoever should be brought under the exercise of congregational, classical, provincial, and national assemblies; the private chapels of the king and the nobility only being excepted. In these, however, the Presbyterian mode of worship must be used. The province of London, which superseded the ancient diocese, was to be divided into twelve classical elderships, each to contain about twelve parishes. The several counties of England and Wales were to be divided into provinces, and these into classical presbyteries, by Parliamentary Commissioners. It was ordered that the presbytery of every parish should meet once a week; the classical assemblies of each province once a month; provincial assemblies twice a year; "national assemblies as often as they shall be summoned by Parliament, and to continue sitting as long as the Parliament shall direct and appoint, and not otherwise." The constitution of these courts was thus provided for: every congregational or parochial eldership to send not less than two, nor more than four elders, and one minister, to the classical assembly; every classical assembly within the province to send two ministers, and at least four ruling elders, but not exceeding nine, to the provincial assembly; and lastly, the national assembly was to be composed of two

ministers and four ruling members, deputed from each provincial assembly.

The scheme was no sooner launched than it seemed in danger of making shipwreck. To all parties it was alike unwelcome. The Episcopalians, of course, rejected it, and they were still numerous and powerful, though sharing deeply the reverses of the royal cause. The Independents were yet more formidable, for they were rising every day in public estimation, and Cromwell and the army were their friends. The Sectaries regarded it as a new tyranny, and spoke of it with the same contempt and scorn with which they had lately spoken of the prelates. The Scotch protested against it in several points. They objected to the power assumed by the English Parliament to control the national assembly; to its restraining the elderships in carrying out their discipline; and to its code of rules. Marshall, as the spokesman of the English Presbyterians and of the Westminster divines, presented a remonstrance against the restraining clauses at the bar of the House of Commons. He again asserted the divine right of Presbyterian government, and complained that an appeal should be suffered from the censures of the Church to a Committee of the House of Commons.

The House chafed under this opposition from a creature of their own, and threatened the Assembly of Divines with a præmunire for their rash and offensive conduct; requesting to know from them, however, in return, which particular in the Presbyterian scheme was a divine ordinance? or which of the four courts was *jure divino*? or whether all of them? And if so, demanding the proofs from Scripture. Marshall and his party returned an answer in general terms, "that there was, set forth in Scripture, a spiritual government distinct from that of the civil power;" thus, for a time, evading the difficulty.

A furious controversy raged meanwhile between the Presbyterians and Independents; the latter praying to be left to the free exercise of their own Church government, the former demanding from them a strict conformity to the Presbyterian discipline. There was no other point of difference. Both parties accepted the Westminster Confession, and both agreed to conduct their worship according to its "Directory,"—a manual of instructions for the public services of the Church. But the Independents prayed for toleration, and the Presbyterians sternly refused to

grant it. It would be offensive to God ; it would justify schism ; it would promote heresy. Toleration, granted to Independents, could not be refused to Quakers and Anabaptists, and then chaos was complete. The Scotch Parliament came to their assistance, and set forth a declaration "Against toleration of sectaries and liberty of conscience." Liberty of conscience, they say, would supplant true religion ; it is the nourisher of all heresies and schisms. "And however the Parliament of England may determine in point of toleration and liberty of conscience, they are resolved not to change, but to live and die for the glory of God and the entire preservation of the truth." *Neal*, iii. p. 244. Burroughes, Goodwin the Arminian, and his still greater contemporary, Dr. John Owen, with Milton for their brave ally, pleaded in vain for those elementary principles of justice which all parties in their turn had fought against, and beneath which all of them have been driven thankfully to take shelter in later days.

But the Presbyterians were still losing ground. The self-denying ordinance had been fatal to them in the House of Commons. The distance between the army and their few remaining leaders grew wider from day to day. They were royalists, and Cromwell and the officers had now seized the king, and were bent on a republic. On the 14th June 1647, the army marching towards London in a threatening attitude, eleven members of the House of Commons, the Presbyterian chiefs, were impeached as the enemies of their country, and the cause of all the mistakes into which the parliament had fallen. They fled abroad to avoid the impending blow, and the triumphs of the Presbyterian party were at an end. Few or none of them returned home till the Restoration, which they promoted to the utmost of their power ; and their leader, Denzil Hollis, was rewarded with a peerage.

The parliamentary commissioners appear to have proceeded so far on their task as to have marked out some districts into provinces, with their classes and presbyteries. But it is a question upon which even contemporary writers differ, whether a presbytery was ever actually established so as to have been legally in force in any part of England. Baxter tells us that the ordinance for setting up presbyteries was executed in London and Lancashire, but neglected in all other parts of the country.

Echard affirms that it was never established in any one part of England. Presbyteries were certainly held in Lancashire; but it is highly probable that under the government of Cromwell they were not recognised by law, and were merely private assemblies to regulate the interior affairs of their own community. In the life of Flavel, prefixed to his works, we read that he was the moderator of a provincial synod, in the county of Devon, about the year 1650. Wherever Presbyterianism prevailed, classes and presbyteries probably existed; but it does not appear that they ever formed a part of the ecclesiastical constitution of England: they stood on the same footing as the Wesleyan conference or the general assembly of the free Church.

At the Restoration, in 1660, the Presbyterians and Independents would have laid aside their differences with each other, and rejoined the Church on the basis of Archbishop Ussher's reduced episcopacy. This was proposed at the Savoy conference, but haughtily rejected by the prelates and the court. Baxter and the moderate Presbyterians were willing to allow that their provincial assemblies might be governed by a bishop. Moderate churchmen admitted that a bishop might be assisted, and even controlled in some cases, by a clerical council. On this platform it was not impossible to have effected an union once more; but the project failed. The Act of Uniformity followed, and both Presbyterians and Independents were ejected from their livings. The Presbyterians had been active in bringing back the king. They had all along been royalists; protesting against the execution of Charles, and treating Cromwell as an usurper. The Act of Uniformity was revengeful and unjust. That some law was wanted to produce uniformity amongst so many jarring sects, and to restore them, if possible, to the bosom of the national Church, will not be denied. This might have been accomplished to a great extent by enlarging her terms of communion, and relaxing some trifling matters in her forms and discipline. Unhappily the attempt was made in the opposite direction. The terms were made more rigid and compliance was more rigorously enforced.

From this period the English Presbyterians become one of the three divisions of the old dissenters; and their history, during the long reign of Charles II., a shameful record of suffering and oppression, is scarcely to be distinguished from that of the other

two—the Baptists and the Independents. The Revolution at length brought repose to the nonconformists. It was the wish of King William to include them once more in the national Church. A deputation of the non-conforming clergy, about ninety in number, waited upon him on the 2nd of January, 1689, when Mr. Howe presented an address of congratulation; in his reply to which he said, “My great end was the preservation of the Protestant religion, and I will use my utmost endeavours so to settle and cement all different persuasions of Protestants in such a bond of love and union as may contribute to the lasting security and enjoyment of spirituals and temporals, to all sincere professors of that holy religion.” The king was perfectly sincere; but his views were thwarted by the Jacobites. The Toleration Act of 1689, however, was no sooner passed than Presbyterian chapels began to spring up in every part of the kingdom. Presbyteries were formed and ministers ordained. Within five-and-twenty years fifty-nine congregations were formed in Yorkshire; and throughout England, says a Presbyterian writer, the entire number was not less than eight hundred. He adds, that at this time they were the largest and most important section of those who were not comprised in the establishment, and formed at least two-thirds of the whole body of nonconformists, both the number and size of the Presbyterian congregations being nearly double those of the Independents; and their superiority was evidently conceded, he contends, by the arrangements when the three denominations met for business. For one Independent and one Baptist there were always two Presbyterians. This statement is taken from a sketch of the History of the Presbyterian Church in England (Nisbet, London, 1850). But it does not agree with statements we have made elsewhere (see INDEPENDENTS) as to the relative proportions of the three denominations, and we think it is to be received with hesitation.

In 1691 the Independents and Presbyterians entered into articles of agreement. They were nine in number, and professed to lay down certain principles on which the two bodies were agreed. On the whole, these articles must be regarded as a large concession on the part of the Presbyterians. They had evidently abandoned the notion of a Church government *jure divino*, in behalf of which their forefathers had braved the displeasure of the English parliament, and incurred the destruction of Pres-

byterianism as a national Church. These articles deserve to be recited. The first treats of Churches and Church members; under which it is said, each particular Church has a right to choose its own officers, and hath authority from Christ for exercising government, and enjoying all the ordinances of worship within itself; and it belongs to the pastors and other elders of any particular Church (if such there be) to rule and govern, and to the brotherhood to consent, according to the rule of the gospel. Under article second—Of the Ministry—which they acknowledge to be an institution of Christ, they would have the ministers to be elected by the Church, with the advice of the neighbouring Churches, and also solemnly ordained. Article third—Of Censures—decrees that scandalous or offending members be first admonished, and if they do not reform, be excluded from the Church by the pastors, but with the consent of the brethren. Article fourth—Of Communion of Churches—declares all Churches to be on perfect equality, and, therefore, independent; yet pastors and teachers are to act together, and consult on the interests of the Churches. Article fifth—Of Deacons and Ruling Elders—declares that the office of deacon or curator of the poor is of divine appointment; and whereas divers are of opinion that there is also the office of ruling elders, who labour not in word and doctrine, and others think otherwise, we agree that the difference make no breach among us. Article sixth—Of Synods—admits that it is useful and necessary, in cases of importance, for the ministers of many Churches to hold a council; and that the decisions formed in their conventions must not be rejected by the Churches without the most weighty reasons. Article seventh is, Of the Civil Magistrate, and exhorts that prayer be made for him. Article eighth treats Of a Confession of Faith, and says, “As to what appertains to soundness of judgment in matters of faith, we esteem it sufficient that a Church acknowledge the Scriptures to be the word of God, the perfect and only rule of faith and practice, and own either the doctrinal part of those commonly called the Articles of the Church of England, or the Confession, or Catechism, shorter or larger, compiled by the Assembly at Westminster, or the Confession agreed on at Savoy, to be agreeable to the said rule.” Article ninth is, Of our duty towards those not in Communion with us.

At the beginning of the last century, the Presbyterians shared

the decline which befel every kind of nonconformity. Presbyterians assign two causes for this decay. The first and greatest was the sudden outburst of Arian and Socinian doctrine. Arianism in the second century was the offspring of a metaphysical speculation on the nature of the deity; in the nineteenth it was the result of indifference to evangelical doctrine, and to the dogmatic teaching of the New Testament. The seed was sown in the Church of England by the latitudinarian divines, but the plant, transferred to a Presbyterian soil, grew there to its full luxuriance. These opinions first appeared among the nonconformists at Exeter, where two Presbyterian ministers, who had adopted the Arian view of Dr. Samuel Clarke, refused to acknowledge the divinity of Christ, and were excluded from their chapels by the trustees. This happened in 1719. The progress of Arianism amongst the dissenters may be gathered from the fact, that when, in the following May, the doctrine of the Trinity came to be discussed before the ministers of Cornwall and Devonshire, nineteen out of seventy-five who were present refused to subscribe to the article of the Church of England on the Trinity. The doctrinal articles of the Church were at this time the admitted test of orthodoxy among the nonconformists.

The controversy was soon revived in London. At a meeting at Salter's Hall, the question of subscription to creeds was agitated, and the progress of loose opinions was now more striking. A hundred and ten ministers were present, of whom fifty-seven voted, in opposition to the eighth article of the agreement of 1691, against the necessity of subscription to creeds. This led to an immediate separation; the one party requiring subscription to the first article of the Church of England, and the fifth and sixth questions of the Shorter Catechism; and the other, though professing still to hold the divinity of Christ and the doctrine of the Trinity, objecting to any subscription. The seceders gradually became Arians or Socinians. The question of subscription was agitated at the same time by the Independents; but it is said that the Presbyterians were the more hostile of the two to creeds and confessions. They certainly lapsed more generally into Arian or Socinian principles.

After the decision of Salter's Hall, the defections from orthodox Presbyterianism rapidly increased. The treatise of Dr. John Taylor, of Norwich, *On Original Sin*, and his other writings,

about 1740, tended greatly to consolidate and encourage the Arian party; and towards the close of the century, almost every congregation of the old Presbyterians was in fact Socinian in doctrine. Lists were published in the 'Manchester Socinian Controversy' a few years since, and transferred into various periodicals, of one hundred and seventy chapels in England now possessed by Unitarians, which had an orthodox foundation.

Presbyterian writers maintain that the failure of their cause in England was owing further to the desuetude into which their principles of Church government had been allowed to fall. To this cause they ascribe even the inroads of Arianism. The Presbyterians, they say, were, at the beginning of the last century, a numerous and respectable body, but supineness and laxity of principle were beginning to show themselves in a departure from the strict discipline of the Church. As a system of government, its details were neglected; the office of ruling elder was often vacant, Church-sessions, presbyteries, and synods were seldom convened, and when they met their influence was scarcely felt. Dr. Merle D'Aubigné, when recently in England, appeared to coincide with this view of the case. "There was," he said, "a Presbyterian Church in England, and it became Socinian; but I believe it was because it was never rightly organized." It favours this opinion, to some extent, that just as the Presbyterians have become Socinian, they have thrown off the Presbyterian discipline. "The modern Unitarian congregations," says Dr. Pye Smith, in the 'Manchester Socinian Controversy,' "are not really Presbyterian. Do they constitute ruling elders in each congregation, to act in conjunction with their pastors, for judging of the qualifications of communicants, and other acts of discipline? Have they courts of review, have they classical, provincial, and synodical assemblies? Do they even, in general, maintain any kind of Church discipline whatever? In point of fact, they are as little entitled to be considered as the successors and representatives of the old Presbyterians, in relation to ecclesiastical order, as they are with respect to the most important principles of doctrine."

There are now about one hundred and sixty Presbyterian places of worship in England which still adhere to the orthodox confession of the Westminster divines and use their catechisms. Of these, a great number are in the county of Northumberland, and many of them date their existence from the Act of

Uniformity, 1662. In several of the large towns in England there are Scotch churches with which English Presbyterians have been incorporated. About sixty of the Presbyterian congregations in England are associated with the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, and placed beneath the oversight of the General Assembly of that body. The Churches of the Scotch Kirk and those of the Free Church are also included. After these deductions a few remain—the English orthodox Presbyterians, who may be considered as the lineal representatives of the Westminster divines. These form several Presbyteries and a General Synod, which meets annually at one of the principal towns of the kingdom, under the designation of the Presbyterian Church in England.

About the year 1830 the English Presbyterians opened negotiations with the Church of Scotland, and expressed their anxiety to be legally connected with it. But it was ascertained that the established Church of Scotland could have no jurisdiction in England, where episcopacy is established by law. The General Assembly therefore declared by an Act, passed in 1839, “that they could not go beyond an interchange of friendly communications; at the same time assuring the Synod in England of the warm and brotherly affection wherewith their Church regards it, and the earnest desire entertained by the Church of Scotland to co-operate, to the utmost of their power, in promoting the interest of the Presbyterian Church in England, to which they are bound alike in present ties and by the grateful recollections of former days.” In 1844 the English Synod, with a view of removing some apprehensions which seem to have arisen, issued a Declaration of Independence, which declares that, “in all acts of intercourse with another branch, or other branches, of the Church of Christ, or in forming or maintaining a friendly relation with them, this Church shall assert, provide for, and maintain its own freedom and independence in all matters spiritual.” The English Presbyterian Church still adheres to the principle for which the Westminster divines contended against the Long Parliament, namely, the independence of its spiritual courts. It has always been opposed to the interference of the civil magistrate, and to the claims of patronage. Consequently it regards the cause of the Free Church of Scotland with deep sympathy, and has contributed liberally towards its support. It seems,

indeed, not improbable that the English orthodox Presbyterians will finally merge into the Free Church of Scotland. A project to this effect is at present, we believe, under consideration.

To this body the honour belongs of training and sending forth the man whose name future ages will associate with the evangelizing of the Chinese empire. Dr. Morison was the son of an elder of Highbridge Church, in the town of Newcastle.

In the United States the number of Presbyterian churches is 4,584. These accommodate 2,040,316 persons. In point of numbers the orthodox Presbyterians are the third, but in wealth the first, of all the denominations. The total value of their church property amounts to 14,369,889 dollars, according to the seventh American Census, published 1854.

Westminster Assembly, History of. Ditto, Confessions of. Whitelocke's Memorials of English Affairs. Baxter's Life, by Silvester. Neal's History of the Puritans. Bogue and Bennett's History of Dissenters. Palmer's Nonconformist's Memorial. Sketch of the History and Principles of the Presbyterian Church in England: London, 1850.

PURITANS.—Amongst the first who introduced into England the controversy which soon after ripened into Puritanism, was the martyr, Bishop Hooper. He had lived some time abroad, and was the friend of Bullinger and Gualter, the two leaders of the Protestant cause in Germany and Switzerland. Returning home in the days of Edward VI., his piety and talents were at once appreciated, and he was nominated, in the spring of 1550, to the see of Gloucester. But his conscience was embarrassed; and in his person a contest began which has never since been stilled. He demurred first to the oath of supremacy, and secondly to the robes in which the episcopal investiture usually took place; and he wrote to the king, earnestly requesting that he might be allowed to decline the bishoprick, or to be admitted without the usual oath and ceremonial. His objection, so far as the oath was involved, seems to have been easily removed. The obnoxious passage, in which he was required to swear “by God, *by the saints*, and by the holy gospels,” was at once altered by the king’s own hand, in the presence of the council, when Hooper’s protest against the impiety of a solemn

appeal to the departed saints was placed before him. But the greater difficulty remained. Hooper would by no means consent to wear the vestments. He refused to be consecrated in robes worn by the bishops of the Church of Rome, and which he regarded as a badge of antichrist. Cranmer was then archbishop of Canterbury, and Ridley bishop of London, and they endeavoured to convince him that his scruples were unfounded. But their persuasions and arguments failed. The council, in the king's name, requested Cranmer to give way, and to proceed with Hooper's consecration. This Cranmer refused to do, "not thinking," says his biographer, Strype, "that even such a mandate was a sufficient authority for the breach of an existing law." Still he does not seem to have been insensible of Hooper's worth, much less to have been influenced by any private jealousy. His conduct claims our respect, as that of a man who, in arbitrary times, revered the authority of the law, and held it to be superior to the mere commands of the sovereign. The professorships of divinity at Oxford and Cambridge were then filled by two eminent foreigners, Peter Martyr and Bucer, whom the archbishop, by the king's command, had invited to those posts. He desired each of them to write to Hooper on the subject of the vestments, supposing that the judgment of those who were esteemed in their own churches abroad as leaders of the Reformation would have great weight. Meanwhile Hooper continued to inveigh in his sermons, and often with some asperity, against the vestments. The Privy Council, in consequence, confined him to his own house; but his ardent spirit disdained to be silent. His zeal was not always tempered with discretion. He could not preach upon the Decalogue, for example, (for he was still permitted to preach in London,) without referring to the forbidden subject. Amongst other flagrant violations of the Lord's-day, he introduces the teaching of false doctrine. "Further," he exclaims, "to augment the ceremonies of the Church, and bring in a new Judaism and Aaronical rites, is against this commandment. As the bishops have used the matter, there be more ceremonies in the Church of Christ than were in the Church of the Jews." He even published an answer to his opponents, which he called "A Confession of Faith." This seems to have been regarded as an act of contumacy. By order of the Privy Council he was silenced, and imprisoned in the Fleet.

The letters of Bucer and Martyr upon the subject are still extant ; and it is interesting at this distance of time to observe how these men regarded the infant controversy. Bucer thought that the garments might be retained in obedience to the law of the land, but not as parts of the law of Moses : to the pure all things are pure ; and upon this principle the apostles had complied with the Jews in many things. The garments were in themselves indifferent ; they had been used by the ancient fathers before popery began. He wished they were removed by legal authority, but he argued fully for the use of them till then. He implores Hooper, for the sake of the Church of Christ, to dismiss his scruples, and to accept an office of such vast importance, and one to which he was so especially called by the voice of his sovereign and the necessities of the English Church. Martyr was in communication with Bucer, and approved of what he wrote. "Hooper's affair," he writes to Bucer, "has assumed a character of which the most pious must disapprove. I grieve, I deeply grieve, that such things should happen amongst the professors of the gospel. Though at this time forbidden to preach, and under confinement, he seems as if he could not rest ; he has just published his confession of faith, which has exasperated many ; he complains of the privy council, and perhaps, though this is not my concern, of us too. May God give a happy issue to these inauspicious beginnings." In the same strain he wrote to Hooper, imploring him to yield ; "and yet," he adds, "when I consider the superstition and contention the vestments have occasioned, I could wish they were abandoned." Bishop Burnet has remarked that Cranmer and his friends habitually deferred to the judgment of Peter Martyr to a degree which almost amounted to submissiveness. It was not likely that Hooper should feel indisposed to admit his weight as an umpire. Swayed by such advisers, he consented to use the vestments in the ceremonial of his consecration, and to preach in them, once at least, before the court ; for it seems uncertain whether he ever wore them afterwards. Thus he exchanged his prison for a bishopric. On the 8th March, 1551, he was consecrated bishop of that cathedral in sight of which, four years afterwards he died a martyr. Ridley, in whose diocese he had been so harshly used, was brought, and almost at the same time, to the same fiery ordeal.

This affair of Bishop Hooper made a deep impression. His elevated position, his popular eloquence, his dauntless courage and above all, his glorious martyrdom, embalmed his memory and riveted his opinions upon the hearts of the reformers. Other circumstances occurred to keep alive the controversy which had now unhappily arisen. Several congregations of German Protestants, fleeing from continental persecution, had found an asylum in England. One of the principal of these was settled in London under the pastoral care of John Alasco, a man of great repute, the friend and patron of Erasmus; while another was placed by the duke of Somerset, the protector during the king's minority, at Glastonbury, upon the lands of the famous monastery then recently dissolved.

But a change was again at hand. Mary succeeded to the throne, and the ancient superstitions were restored. The influence of the foreigners in matters of religion, however imperceptible, must have been already such as to excite suspicion; for they were commanded to leave the kingdom without delay. Nor did they retire alone. A furious burst of persecution drove with them a thousand of our countrymen, who felt that to remain at home was to incur a needless hazard. The low countries, the free cities of the Rhine, and Switzerland, were now filled with the English wanderers. Frankfort, Basle, Zurich, and Geneva were the towns of their chief resort; for there the doctrines of the Reformation had taken the strongest hold, and there its most eminent professors dwelt. Mingled with these were the leaders of the continental Reformation. The English refugees had constant intercourse with Calvin, with Gualter, with Peter Martyr, and Alasco; and above all with Henry Bullinger.

On the death of Mary our English exiles returned home, "bringing nothing back with them," says Fuller, "but much learning and some experience." It is likely that they were influenced by the manners of the German Churches. On their return to England the contrast between the splendour of the English ceremonial and the simplicity of that abroad was the more striking. Their opponents never ceased to attribute much of the discontent that followed to the Genevan exile. "They were for the most part Zwinglian-gospellers at their going hence," says Heylin. "and became the great promoters of the Puritan

faction at their coming home." The Puritans themselves were never unwilling to own their obligations to the German reformers, still, however, founding their scruples rather upon what they conceived to be the absence of scriptural simplicity than upon the practice of other Churches. But the question of the habits, or, as it has since been termed, the vestiarian controversy, was unsettled, and it now began to wear an anxious, if not a threatening, aspect.

This dispute with regard to the vestments to be worn by the ministers of Christ when discharging their official duties, lay at the root of many other controversies, and was the source from which they arose. During the reigns of Edward VI., and Mary, and the first years of Elizabeth, the controversy was managed with great ability, and generally with temper and forbearance, but as the first leaders disappeared it fell into the hands of other disputants, and was conducted in a very different spirit.

It was urged by the dissatisfied party that the imposition of the vestments was an infringement of their Christian liberty. They were called under the gospel to worship God in spirit and in truth; and no outward forms or splendours could contribute in any measure to assist the devout mind in a service so spiritual and exalted. On the contrary, the tendency of these official garments was to distract the worshipper, and to debase his devotions by an admixture of those sentiments which are allowed no place in spiritual things. The Church of Christ was only safe in its simplicity, and such was its inward glory that any attempts to decorate could but in fact degrade it. They objected too, that the vestments against which they were now contending had a Jewish origin, and belonged not to the Christian ministry, but to the priesthood of the house of Aaron. To introduce them into the Church of Christ was to pervert their meaning. They were a part of the divinely appointed constitution of the Jewish Church, and had passed away together with the rest of its figurative and mystic ceremonial.

It was a further objection, and one that appealed not only to divines and controversialists, but to the feelings of the common people, that the vestments were identical with all the superstitions of popery. They were looked upon as the badge of antichrist; and they who wore them were regarded with suspicion, as men

either indifferent to the cause of the Reformation, or not yet sufficiently enlightened as to the danger, and indeed the sinfulness, of approaching the most distant confines of a system which ought to be avoided with alarm and horror. "If we are bound to wear popish apparel when commanded, we may be obliged to have shaven crowns, and to use oil, and cream, and spittle, and all the rest of the papistical additions to the ordinances of Christ."

The question of the vestments was very soon followed by others not less irritating. From dislike to the habits the progress was very easy to a dislike of the service-book; and that of king Edward was, they believed, not free from superstition. All forms of prayer soon fell under a suspicion of popery; so that the revision of the prayer-book, which took place on the accession of Elizabeth, gave little satisfaction to those, now a considerable party, who had begun to think all forms unlawful.

Thus arose the first secession from the English Church of the Reformation. The first actual rupture took place abroad in 1554. The English residents at Frankfort entered into an agreement with a congregation of French Protestants, in whose church they were allowed to assemble, binding themselves not only to subscribe to the French confession of faith, recently drawn up by Calvin, but further, not to make responses after the minister, nor to use the litany, or surplice, and (a condition of no less importance) not to quarrel about ceremonies. Their Church discipline seems to have been that of the Independents rather than Presbyterian. They looked upon themselves as, under God, the source and fountain of ecclesiastical power. They proceeded to choose their own minister and deacons, and to invite their brethren, dispersed through the neighbouring cities, to join a community where, they said, "God's word was faithfully preached, the sacraments rightly administered, and scripture discipline enforced." Their public service was conducted thus: it begun with extemporaneous prayer; a hymn was sung; the minister then prayed a second time, and more at large, concluding with the Lord's prayer. Then followed another psalm and a sermon, if a preacher were present; or otherwise, the recital of a confession of faith. The congregation was then dismissed with the apostolic benediction.

The experiment was not successful. The English divines of

Strasburgh, Zurich, and Basle, declined, in succession, the invitations of the newly-formed congregation. They next applied to Knox, and he, with two assistants, became their pastor. But difficulties arose amongst themselves; many of them were attached to the English forms. These, it seems, were the majority: they elected Dr. Cox, who had been tutor to Edward VI. and Elizabeth, their minister; and Knox found himself displaced, and was required by the government to leave the city. He retired to Geneva, and immediately gathered another congregation amongst the English exiles. But the death of Mary, which happened in the following year, again broke up his flock, and their pastor was now free to return to his native land.

The Act of Uniformity, which passed in the first year of Elizabeth, may be considered as the point of time at which the battle was at length joined, and each of the two parties—the Puritans and the Prelatists—assumed its definite position. The Act embraced two vital questions—the revisal of the prayer-book and the compliance hereafter to be rendered to the forms and ceremonies. With regard to the Book of Common Prayer, it remained in substance the second of the two prayer-books issued by King Edward, namely, that of 1552. The few alterations in it did not relieve the Puritans, nor perhaps were they meant to do so. With regard to the vestments, they felt themselves injured afresh; for they were compelled by a rubric in the revised book to retain “all such ornaments of the Church and ministers as were in use in the second year of King Edward,” the year in which his first imperfect prayer-book was put forth; whereas the second prayer-book of 1552 insisted only on the use of the surplice. As its enactments were successively urged upon them, their discontent increased. Each attempt to reduce them to an uniform submission only provoked a fresh resistance.

The Act of Uniformity was passed in May, and came into effect on the 24th of June, 1559, though not without a protest from Heath, the archbishop of York. It not only exacted a rigorous conformity in the conduct of divine worship and in the habits worn by the minister, but further empowered the queen, by the advice of the commissioners or metropolitan, to ordain and publish, at her pleasure, further rites or ceremonies, with no other limitation than what these words convey:—“As may be most for God’s glory, and the edifying of his Church, and the

due reverence of Christ's holy mysteries and sacraments." The rigorous pressing of this Act, says Neale, the great historian of puritanism, was the occasion of all the mischiefs that befel the Church for above eighty years. The evils which it was meant to remedy were no doubt both real and extensive, but the measure was violent; and it fared with it according to the disastrous law which ever governs such proceedings; what was conceived with rashness was carried into effect with obstinate severity.

Parker was now Archbishop of Canterbury. On his part no pains were spared to produce an exact obedience; and the disorders which prevailed in the Church afforded a man not indisposed to wield despotic power frequent occasions to interfere. The ejection of many good men immediately followed. One of the first sufferers was Miles Coverdale, bishop of Exeter, in the reign of Edward VI. On the accession of Mary he was imprisoned, and escaped the flames only through the intercession of the King of Denmark, to whose territories he fled. Returning at Elizabeth's accession, he assisted at the consecration of Archbishop Parker; but as he disliked the ceremonies and habits, his bishopric was not restored, and the venerable translator of the Bible was suffered to fall into neglect and poverty. When old and poor he was presented, by Grindal, bishop of London, with the small living of St. Magnus, near London Bridge. He had scarcely held his preferment two years, when he was driven from his parish by the stringent demand of a rigorous conformity, with which he could not comply. He died soon after, in 1567, at the age of eighty-one.

Sampson, dean of Christchurch, was one of the proscribed. He was somewhat rash and headstrong, but upon the whole, a man of whom Grindal and Horn attest, that his learning was equal to his piety.

Nor were these the only victims. The venerable John Foxe shared in Coverdale's disgrace. He too had narrowly escaped the flames by a voluntary exile. But he lived to return. He placed the Church of England under greater obligations than any writer of his age, by his "Book of Martyrs," and had his recompense in an old age of poverty and shame.

But it must not be concealed that amongst the Puritans themselves extreme and violent opinions appeared. As the infection spread, an angry, factious temper, or, as Bishop Coxe expressed

it, "a zeal for discord," infected multitudes. Sandys, bishop of London, writing to Bullinger, August 15, 1573, says, despairingly, "I wish for nothing more than that, relieved from those cares and anxieties with which I am now overwhelmed, I might pass the remainder of my life at Zurich as a sojourner and private person. Thoughts of this kind are continually occurring to me, nor is there anything that I should wish for more. But I perceive that this cannot be. I am not born for myself: our Church which is most sadly tossed about in these evil times, and is in a most wretched state of confusion, vehemently demands all my exertions: I dare not desert the spouse of Christ in her danger; for conscience would cry out against me, and convict me of having betrayed her. New orators are rising up among us, foolish young men, who, while they despise authority, and admit of no superior, are seeking the complete overthrow and rooting up of our whole ecclesiastical polity, so piously constituted, and confirmed, and established by the entire consent of most excellent men, and are striving to shape out for us, I know not what new platform of a Church. And you would not imagine with what approbation this new face of things is regarded, as well by the people as the nobility. The people are fond of change, and seek after liberty; the nobility (seek for) what is useful. These good folks promise both, and that in abundance. But that you may be better acquainted with the whole matter, accept this summary of the question at issue reduced under certain heads:—

"1. The civil magistrate has no authority in ecclesiastical matters. He is only a member of the Church, the government of which ought to be committed to the clergy.

"2. The Church of Christ admits of no other government than that by presbyteries; viz., by the minister, elders, and deacon.

"3. The names and authority of archbishops, archdeacons, deans, chancellors, commissaries, and other titles and dignities of the like kind, should be altogether removed from the Church of Christ.

"4. Each parish should have its own presbytery.

"5. The choice of ministers of necessity belong to the people.

"6. The goods, professions, lands, revenues, titles, honours, authorities, and all other things relating either to bishops or

cathedrals, and which now of right belong to them, should be taken away forthwith and for ever.

“ 7. No one should be allowed to preach who is not a pastor of some congregation ; and he ought to preach to his own flock exclusively, and nowhere else.

“ 8. The infants of papists are not to be baptized.

“ 9. The judicial laws of Moses are binding upon Christian princes, and they ought not in the slightest degree to depart from them.

“ There are many other things of the same kind, not less absurd, and which I shall not mention ; none of which, as far as I can judge, will make for the advantage and peace of the Church, but for her ruin and confusion.”—*Zurich Letters*, vol. i.

In 1572, a Presbyterian Church was formed, and a meeting-house erected at Wandsworth in Surrey. Field, the lecturer of Wandsworth, was its first minister ; and several names of consideration with the Puritans, including those of Travers and Wilcox, were amongst its founders. Presbyteries were formed in other parts of the kingdom, and numerous secret meetings were held in private houses, which gave more alarm to the government, or at least a stronger pretext for severity. Even moderate men began to express anxiety. To meet the danger, the high court of commission, was now first put in motion. It empowered the queen and her successors, by their letters patent under the great seal, to authorize, whenever they thought fit, and for as long a period as they pleased, a commission of persons, lay or clerical, to exercise all manner of jurisdiction under the queen and her successors in spiritual things ; and, “ to order, visit, reform, and redress all heresies, errors, schisms, abuses, contempts, offences, and enormities whatsoever.” One of its first acts was the violent suppression of the Presbyterian meeting at Wandsworth ; its subsequent labours were of the same character.

Notwithstanding these severities, puritanism continued to increase ; for the persecution which does not exterminate a religious party never fails to strengthen it. And while the cause was gaining strength in London, it was taking firm root in the great seats of learning.

Thomas Cartwright, Margaret professor of divinity at Cambridge in 1569, delivered a course of lectures in which the order

and constitution of the Church were openly assailed. His lectures were highly popular, and he was answered from week to week in the University pulpit by an opponent of no common fame. This was John Whitgift, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. He, too, had lately been a Puritan, but he had renounced his party, and was now zealous for conformity. Cartwright maintained that the Scriptures contained the exact model by which the Church ought to be framed and governed, and this model was complete without bishops and archbishops. He, therefore, insisted on the establishment, in England, of a Presbyterian Church. "To effect this reformation," he said, "every one ought to labour in his calling, the magistrate by his authority, the minister by the word, and all by their prayers."

Whitgift answered, in substance, thus: Christ has left the mode of Church government to be regulated from time to time by the Church itself. No absolute form is prescribed; no minute injunctions are laid down in Scripture. Let everything be done for edification, let nothing be done contrary to an express command. Within these limits the Church is left to her own discretion. The controversy was carried on for several years: by the Puritan leaders, in two "Admonitions to Parliament for the reformation of Church discipline;" by Whitgift, in his "Answers to a certain Libel called an Admonition," &c. The first of these admonitions was presented to parliament by Field and Wilcox, who were imprisoned, and the petition was burned at St. Paul's cross. Cartwright was deprived of his fellowship, degraded from the professor's chair, and expelled the University. But the controversy continued to rage with unabated warmth for twenty years, when it began to assume new forms, and to ally itself with new disputes.

On the death of Parker, Grindal succeeded to the primacy in 1575. Though opposed to the violent extremes of Cartwright, and even ready to punish the factious Puritans with imprisonment, he would have given full scope to their zeal on the mild condition of a moderate conformity. When they established their prophecyings (for an account of which, see vol. i., p. 248), he not only gave his consent, but threw over the proceeding the mantle of his authority.

The prophecyings, as well or ill managed, might be productive of the greatest good or evil. They were highly popular, and in

some cases partially mischievous. Political discussion broke in upon religious inquiry. The hierarchy was assailed, the Prayer-book vilified, and ministers who had been silenced for their irregularities were listened to, perhaps with the greater satisfaction because of their nonconformity, in the prophecyings. Yet the need was great. In many counties scarcely one preacher could be found. In some dioceses there were but two or three; there was a general thirst for religious instruction, while the people, as the archbishop told the queen, were allowed to perish for lack of knowledge. Grindal resolved to take the prophecyings under his own care, and at the same time to remove the causes of objection. He, therefore, forbade the introduction of politics, the speaking of laymen, or ministers suppressed, and the allusions, hitherto not unfrequent, to matters of government; and instead of a chairman elected by the societies, he placed the meetings for the future under the care of the archdeacon, or of some grave divine to be appointed by the bishop. Ten bishops heartily approved of the primate's decision, and encouraged the prophecyings in their dioceses. But the queen regarded them with great dislike, and the court resolved on their suppression. It was in vain the faithful primate remonstrated with the queen. "Alas! madam, is the scripture more plain in any one thing than that the gospel of Christ should be plentifully preached? I am forced, with all humility, and yet plainly, to profess that I cannot with safe conscience, and without offence to the majesty of God, give my assent to the suppressing of the said exercises." In vain did the earl of Leicester and the lord-treasurer Burghley, who presented the remonstrance, add the weight of their intercessions. The queen was enraged, and the primate, who was old and sick, was ordered to consider himself a prisoner in his own house, and would probably have been deprived, if death had not stepped in to his release. He died on the 6th July, 1583. Preaching fell into contempt, and the Church of England has never since entirely recovered from the blow. There has always since this event been a party in the Church who have regarded this divine ordinance with real or well-feigned contempt.

The immediate consequence was to give importance to the Brownists or ultra-Puritans (*see* BROWNISTS), whose rapid triumph in the face of persecution, is one of the most remarkable episodes in the reign of Elizabeth. The moderate Puritans were stunned;

and under Whitgift first arose a high-church party, against which there was for some time no moderate party to contend ; and thus the equilibrium of the Church was lost.

When James came to the throne in 1602, the moderate or Church Puritans, took heart and presented to the new king, before he had arrived in London, a petition signed by about eight hundred of the clergy, setting forth their grievances. Their demands were moderate, and their tone respectful and submissive. James, anxious to please all parties, dismissed them with fair promises, and the Hampton Court conference was the result. It was held in 1604, James himself presiding. The Puritans were represented by Reynolds, Sparkes, Chadderton, and Newstubbs. The conference lasted several days, the prelates and law-officers of the crown, under Whitgift as their leader, being arrayed against the Puritans. To the latter the conference gave no satisfaction. They complained that the king was partial, while their opponents were insulting. Their requests were heard with impatience, and rejected with scorn. No doctrinal questions had yet occurred between them. The Puritans were moderate Calvinists ; Whitgift was an ultra-Calvinist ; and they would even have accepted his own exposition of these doctrines and incorporated the Lambeth articles in the thirty-nine. Their objections lay entirely against matters of form and ceremony, or against expressions in the Prayer-book, capable of misapprehension. They would have done away with confirmation, forbidden private baptism, and amended the terms made use of in absolving the sick ; both sides, however, agreeing in this, that the absolution had reference only to those who lay under Church censures, or, as James expressed it, "to special parties, who having committed a scandal, and repenting, are absolved : so that where there precedes not excommunication nor penance there needs no absolution." Some slight concessions were made ; private baptism by women was forbidden ; the Church Catechism was enlarged by the addition of the explanation of the Sacraments ; and to Dr. Reynolds's suggestion we owe that inestimable treasure the authorized English version of the Bible. Their requests that the cross in baptism might be omitted were received by the king with contempt ; and the Puritans retired brow-beaten and dismayed. The Puritan party was angry with their representatives, who they said had not done justice to their cause ; and with themselves, who should have

known their opponents better than to have expected from them either candour or forbearance.

The petitions of the Puritans at this famous conference were moderate. They did not ask for the subversion of prelacy or the introduction of the Geneva discipline. They sought for reforms, many of which were needed, most of which were practicable, and none of which involved the abandonment of any vital principle. They deserved better treatment; and the harshness they received soon began to recoil upon its authors.

Puritanism feeling itself oppressed became morose. Whitgift died in 1615, and his death was the signal for the introduction of a new system of theology, a low Arminianism. Within a few years all the bishoprics, except two or three at the utmost, were filled by men who formally denied the Calvinistic creed, and placed a new construction on the articles. The Puritans adhered to their Calvinism, becoming naturally more tenacious of it, or at least more systematic in their method of stating it, now that it was impeached. The consequences on both sides were injurious to religion. It wore a wrangling, disputatious character, and if it gained something in precision when these debates were over, it lost far more in real force, in attractiveness, and in its freedom from the trammels and the verbiage of systematic theology.

This was the state of things when Charles I., in 1625, succeeded to the throne. He took Laud to his councils; and upon the death of Abbot, in 1633, raised him to the primacy. Charles was now the husband of a popish queen: and the Arminianism of the Laudian party did not interfere with their tolerance of Rome. New views of sacramental grace and efficacy were every day announced; new forms and ceremonies, unknown in England since the Reformation, were everywhere seen. To Laud himself a cardinal's hat was twice offered; and the Church of England seemed to be drifting back again to popery. At the same time the terms of communion were so narrowed as, if possible, to exclude the Puritans altogether. The Laudian prelates not only enforced the harsh injunctions of Elizabeth, but added new ones of their own. They multiplied bowings and prostrations; placed lighted tapers on the altars; decorated the churches with pictures and images of saints; pronounced the sacrament of the Lord's Supper to be a sacrifice, and the minister a sacrificing priest. We have the assurance of the moderate prelates,

Sanderson and Hall, that an incredible number of clergymen who had hitherto cheerfully conformed, were forced in consequence into the ranks of the Puritans. Political contentions, and the frenzy of the Sectarians, from whom the Puritans had always held themselves aloof, added bitterness to the quarrel. The sword was drawn in 1642, and the war began, which ended in the subversion of the throne and the execution of the monarch.

With the power of Charles the Church of England fell; and the Puritans for a time were masters of the field. It was a religious age; and when the people had trampled the crown beneath their feet, they showed no disposition to depreciate the office of the clergy. During the heat of the war, the Puritans, who almost to a man sided with the parliament, preached to large congregations; and, in all the great towns at least, they had the implicit ear of the people. Episcopacy being at an end, they acted, for a while, according to the dictates of conscience or mere taste; the surplice was generally laid aside; and extempore prayer was used in the parish churches even before the ordinance of parliament appeared in 1645, forbidding the Book of Common Prayer. The old puritanism, however, was now passing away. A generation had arisen in whose eyes the principles of Cartwright were crude and imperfect. They no longer contended against the forms and vestments, but against the constitution of the Church of England. Prelacy, by which we understand the episcopacy titled and associated with civil authority, was detested; all forms of prayer were decried; and episcopacy even in its mildest forms was thought unscriptural. Thus puritanism properly so called became extinct, because the grounds of the old contention no longer existed. The later Puritans appeared, and immediately fell into two great parties, PRESBYTERIANS, and INDEPENDENTS; and we refer the reader to the articles, in which, under those designations, we have followed out their history.

It may be proper to mention, in conclusion, the doctrinal Puritans. These formed, in fact, the moderate Church party during the reign of Charles I. Their leaders were Bishops Davenant, Hall, Williams, and Carleton. The title of doctrinal Puritans was fastened upon them by the Laudian party. They held and taught the doctrines of the Reformation, in opposition to the sacramental system which Laud had recently introduced. They entertained no scruples as to the forms and ceremonies of

the Church of England, to which they willingly conformed. But they rejected, with indignation, the innovations of the Laudian party; who in return branded them with the name of Puritans. It was an entirely new application of the word; and one against which they did not fail to protest. It seems to have been first used about 1625 by Bishop Montague in a controversy with Carleton, and the latter exclaims: "This is the first time that I ever heard of a Puritan doctrine in points dogmatical, and I have lived longer in the Church than he hath done. I thought that Puritans were only such as were factious against the bishops, in the point of pretended discipline; and so I am sure it hath been understood in our Church." The controversies which have ever since existed within the bosom of the Church of England now for the first time appeared. The construction of the baptismal offices became a subject of contention; and the whole question of baptismal and sacramental grace. The doctrinal Puritans adhered to the ancient forms of worship, and for doing so were severely harassed. The Laudian party maintained "that whatever rites were practised in the Church of Rome, and not expressly abolished at the Reformation, nor disclaimed by any doctrine, law or canon, were consistent with the Church of England." Under this general maxim they introduced a multitude of ceremonies, such, for instance, as bowing to the east, and placing candles on the altar, now gorgeously decorated once more; which had long been dismissed as badges of popery. And thus in a short time a difference was apparent between the two parties both in doctrinal teaching and in visible forms. To complete the quarrel the Laudians were of the Arminian school, while the doctrinal Puritans were moderate Calvinists.

For twenty years the doctrinal Puritans suffered great indignities; but they remained steadfast in their attachment to the Church, and when the storm burst upon it, they were exposed to all its fury. They took no share in Laud's convocation of 1640, and greatly disapproved of its arbitrary measures. But the popular rage made no distinctions, and the Church Puritans suffered just as much as their old opponents of the high prelatie party. The Church itself was overthrown; and in the darkness and confusion that ensued, they disappear from sight during the civil war. There is no party in the Church of England to whom we are more deeply indebted, none for whom we feel a more

profound respect. They were the evangelists of their own times; and by means of their admirable writings they contributed not a little to the restoration of pure religion in later days. If Laud had listened to their warnings they would have saved the Church. If the Long Parliament would have profited by their moderation, they might have saved the monarchy. They have been compared to the prophets of old, who were raised up to foretell impending ruin, and to leave both factions without excuse.

The literature of the Puritans, as a religious party, consists chiefly of controversial and practical theology, and in both its ability is confessed by friend and foe. As Whitgift and his disciple Hooker exhausted the argument in favour of episcopacy and a liturgical Church, so did Cartwright and Travers that in behalf of presbyterian discipline. The student, after a wide search amongst the combatants of later times, finds to his surprise how insignificant are all their additions to a controversy opened, and, as far as learning and argument can go, finally closed by the earliest champions on either side. Of the practical divinity of Elizabeth's reign, a large proportion was contributed by the Puritans. The party embraced men of high rank and general education as well as men of theological learning; and the literature of the age bears many tokens of their influence. If we descend to the next age, the names of the greatest men of the reigns of James, Charles I., and the Commonwealth, present themselves as in a greater or less degree connected with the Puritans. Selden, Whitelock, Milton, with their pens; Rudyard, Hampden, Vane, in Parliament; Owen, Marshall, Calamy, Baxter, and a host of others, in the pulpit; Cromwell, Essex, and Fairfax, in the field,—all ranged themselves under the Puritan cause. Never was a party more distinguished in its advocates; never was a cause lost amidst more hopeful prospects, or when to human eyes its triumph was more secure. In 1650 it was at the summit of its pride and power, with the Church of England at its feet. Ten years afterwards its influence had passed away; and, in the persons of the Presbyterians who crossed over to propitiate the young king at Breda, it was submissively pleading for its life.

Zurich Letters. Strype's Life of Cranmer, Paull's Life of Whitgift. Brook's Memoir of Thomas Cartwright. Bishop

Hall's Hard Measure, and Shaking of the Olive Tree. Whitelock's Memorials. Speeches in this great and happy Parliament, 1645. History of the Westminster Assembly. Clarendon's History of the Great Rebellion. Neale's History of the Puritans. Heylin's History of the Reformation; and his Life of Laud.

ROME, CHURCH OF.*—The Church of Rome professes to have been founded by St. Peter. She maintains that he was the primate amongst the apostles, and that his primacy is inherited by the popes or bishops of Rome. It follows that to them pertains the right of governing the universal Church, and, further, that separation from her communion involves the guilt of schism.

To establish these claims it is of course necessary to prove that St. Peter was himself invested with the primacy; that he visited Rome, and was the founder of its Church; and that the popes of Rome are his lawful successors. The controversy which these points involve is one of the most extensive and profound in the whole compass of theological polemics. The primacy of St. Peter is argued by Roman Catholic divines from the fact, that in the lists of the apostles in the New Testament St. Peter's name always stands first; that by St. Matthew, as Grotius and some other Protestant commentators admit, he is especially styled *πρωτος*, the first of the apostles; that he alone received from our Lord a new name, changing his former designation for one which conveyed a peculiar commission, and indicating that the person who bore it had an especial authority to represent himself; and, above all, that our Lord intrusted Peter with the primacy in these express words, "Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; and I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven." This primacy, it is contended, is recognised in the Acts of the

* The design of this work being to furnish the reader with the facts of ecclesiastical history in their simplest form, no attempt is made, in this article, to discuss the great questions at issue between Protestants, as well as all other Churches, and the Church of Rome. As far as possible the history of the Church of Rome is told, as it is given by her own writers.

Apostles, and, in general, by the inspired writers in the New Testament on several occasions.

In proof that the bishops of Rome are St. Peter's successors, it is argued thus : St. Irenæus, in the second century, speaks of the Church of Rome as having been constituted and founded by Peter and Paul. The two apostles, he says, made Linus, of whom St. Paul speaks in his Epistle to Timothy, the first bishop ; and from him he traces the descent of the episcopate down to Eleutherus, the twelfth bishop in succession, who was then living. Tertullian, at the end of the second century, refers to the appointment of the first bishop, as having received his episcopate from St. Peter. St. Cyprian, Eusebius, and Lactantius, in later times, speak of Rome as the see of St. Peter. Other writers repeat and confirm these statements ; and the evidence they afford is supposed to set at rest the doubts which have been raised as to the fact whether St. Peter ever visited Rome or not. Of Protestant writers, Cave and Lardner admit, without hesitation, a fact which they believe to be ascertained beyond dispute by early and well-attested tradition. No other Church, it is contended, can trace up the line of its episcopate in an unbroken succession to the time of Christ. There is one apostle whose successors have been recorded ; one Church respecting which the line of the episcopate has been preserved unbroken : this Church is the Church of Rome, and that apostle was St. Peter.

Some difficulty is admitted in establishing the proof that in the first ages of the Church the primacy of the Romish bishops was either asserted or allowed. The early bishops of Rome are scarcely known in ecclesiastical history. Till the first Council of Nice, although various disputes had rent the Church, and questions of importance had solicited the interference of a master hand, it does not appear that any of these were remitted to the Romish bishop to be set at rest by his adjudication. It is replied, that the primacy might exist without discovering itself ; that as a child possesses the capacity of reason before it gives utterance to thought, so the Church may have had a centre of unity, though as yet the effects were not manifest. Antecedent probabilities, it is added, are in favour of the primacy, and not against it. Why should it be supposed that the early bishops of Rome did not possess the primacy, simply because it cannot be proved to have been exercised ? Since a primacy was given to

St. Peter ; and since it is clear that the bishop of Rome was styled his successor, the inference is that his office implied precedence over his brethren. If it be asked why the authority of the primate was not exerted to put down the various errors introduced by the Gnostics and the Arians, the answer is, that there was nothing in these heresies which directly assaulted the Church's unity, and, therefore, nothing to afford occasion for the interference of the chief bishop rather than that of his subordinates.

By such arguments the papal supremacy is maintained. It consists of three particulars, which are inherent in it, and which are said to include or involve the most important rights which have been claimed for it. First, that the bishop of Rome is the final judge in all questions of doctrine. Secondly, the right of supreme government, of assembling general councils, and presiding over them. And, thirdly, the right of making all ecclesiastical appointments.

Yet proofs are not wanting that the primacy of St. Peter's chair was a novel doctrine even in the third century. For instance, Novatian, a Roman presbyter, boldly opposed the election of Cornelius to the vacant see in the year 250. Cornelius was elected, and is said to have been worthy of the office ; but Novatian placed himself at the head of another Church, of which he became the bishop ; and though he was excommunicated by Cornelius, it does not appear either that the fact of his having opposed his election, or of his lying beneath the sentence of excommunication, exposed him to the ban of the Church Catholic. The Novatians existed as an independent Church until the sixth century. For some time their morality was rigid ; and, with regard to doctrine, there was no point of difference ; only they insisted on baptizing anew those Christians who entered their communion. Had they retained their purity, the Novatians might possibly have still existed as an independent Church.

And, further, the pretensions of the Roman bishop were firmly resisted by all the Eastern Churches. The coming of Antichrist was a subject of universal interest. It was generally expected when Rome was destroyed by Alaric ; and the heads of the rival Churches of Rome and Constantinople freely charged upon each other the marks and signs of Antichrist in the arrogance which claimed universal supremacy. Even the bishops of Rome did

not hesitate to use this argument. The patriarch of Constantinople, John the Abstemious, assumed the title of universal bishop. Against this the Popes Pelagius and Gregory protested; the latter, in letters written and published by him at different times, and this so late as the close of the sixth century, "declared before all Christendom, that whoever called himself a universal bishop, or aimed at the title, was a precursor of Antichrist, inasmuch as in his pride he exalted himself above his brethren." A protest to this effect was addressed to the Greek emperor, and to the patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, as well as to others. No Protestant writer has denounced the assumption of the popes in stronger language than that in which Pope Gregory himself denounces the assumption of his rival. "Our brother and fellow-bishop, John," he exclaims, "despising the commands of Christ, attempts to exalt himself above the rest. He would subjugate to himself the members of Christ. In pompous speech he claims that supremacy which belongs to Christ, and to Christ alone, who is the sole head of the Church: *ita ut universa sibi tentet adscribere, et omnia quæ soli uni capiti coherent, scilicet Christo.*" (Lib iv., Epist. 36.)

Still the power of the Western primates continued to increase. While Rome continued to be the seat of government, the primacy was claimed, and sometimes conceded, on that ground alone. When the seat of empire was removed, the patriarchs of Constantinople claimed to participate in the same distinction. In the Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, the legate of Pope Celestine demanded it as an undoubted right, grounding his claim on the succession of St. Peter. The Council of Chalcedon, otherwise the second Council of Nice, A.D. 451, allowed an equal dignity to the Roman and the Byzantine patriarch. Leo, the existing pope, indignantly rejected the canon. His successor, Hilary, styles himself the vicar of St. Peter, and claims the keys of the kingdom. Pushing his demands still further, Pope Galatius, about 496, began to claim the right to govern kings. "There are two authorities," he says, in a letter to the emperor, "by which the world is governed, the pontifical and the royal: the first is the greater, having the charge of the sacraments of life." In fact, he advanced, on behalf of the papacy, all those claims, in substance, which have since been admitted. He asserted the supremacy of the Roman see, as delegated to it by Christ himself; he

affirmed the infallibility of the Church of Rome ; he drew up a list of the canonical Scriptures, in which he included several of the apocryphal books ; he issued a rescript, condemning heretical writers and their books ; and the list includes some of the works of Tertullian and Lactantius. At the opening of the sixth century, Symmachus, the pope, was summoned by the Emperor Theodoric before a council on various charges of misconduct ; but the assembled clergy declared that the pope was above all ecclesiastical jurisdiction ; and passed a resolution that the pope was judge in the place of God himself, and could be judged by no mortal. "Theodoric," to quote a sentence from Gibbon, "was made to feel the dignity and importance of the Roman pontiff: a bishop who claims such ample provision in heaven and earth, who had been declared in numerous synods pure from all sin and exempt from all judgment."

The claims of the Roman bishops, which had now so long agitated the whole of Christendom, were formally confirmed by the Emperor Justinian in his judicial code, and in a decretal epistle to the pope in the year 533. The imperial law henceforth allowed his ecclesiastical supremacy to the full extent, and undertook, moreover, to enforce his sentences against heresy. These declarations were repeated by the Emperor Phocas, who, in the year 606, issued a decree confirming that of Justinian, and placing the bishop of Rome above the patriarch of Constantinople, and all other prelates and churches. He further presented the pope with the Pantheon for a Christian church, and in return his own statue was erected in the Forum. From this point of time the papacy was secure, and it soon appeared that it was destined to wield a far greater power than that of any of the Cæsars.

Gregory the Great was now the Roman pontiff; having been elected, in the year 590, by the unanimous and enthusiastic voice of the clergy, senate, and people. He was born of a noble Roman family, and had received such an education in science and philosophy, as the increasing gloom of the dark ages denied to his successors in the papal chair. The contrast between Gregory, the last representative of an ancient civilization, and the monks who followed him, throws, no doubt, a false lustre on his character. But still his abilities were great, and at any period he would have made himself renowned. Together with a

genius for government, he had religious zeal and enterprize, and a vast ambition. The state of Europe was such as to present a field for the exercise at once of his noblest qualities and of his worst. It seemed to invite the aggression of a spiritual despot, and to suggest the idea of universal empire.

The ancient Roman empire had finally disappeared, and new-born nations were struggling into life. The Saxon heptarchy was not yet complete, but the materials were at hand. The Franks, under Clovis, had laid the foundations of the French empire. The Germans were establishing themselves upon their own soil in those national divisions which they still retain. In Italy, the struggle was scarcely concluded out of which arose the exarchate of Ravenna, and those territorial distributions which continued almost unaltered till the beginning of the present century. The kingdom of Bavaria had just appeared. Spain and Portugal, under the rude Visigoths and Suevi, had lost the civilization of Roman colonies, and had not regained either liberty or science. Thus over the whole of Europe the nations had assumed new forms, and were waiting for new institutions. To most of them religion was a blank. They had begun to feel ashamed of their old idolatry ; and their acquaintance with the Gospel was so imperfect, that, except in a few highly-favoured districts, they were without the means of establishing Christianity and erecting themselves into independent Churches. Gregory saw the opportunity, and embraced it ; and the religion of Rome became, in consequence, the religion of all Western Europe. Whether he foresaw the stupendous results which followed, or even desired to accomplish them, must be left to conjecture ; but he made it the great business of his life to extend the influence of the Church of Rome among the Gothic tribes. The mission of his monk Augustine to France and Britain, is too well known to be repeated. He himself, before his elevation to the pope-dom, had embraced the life of a missionary, and had already left Rome upon his enterprise, when he was recalled by the pope, in obedience to the clamour of an affectionate people, who could not submit to the absence of their idolized and patrician teacher. In the course of the sixth century, the supremacy of the pope of Rome was acknowledged by the sovereigns of all the western nations, and the secular arm had undertaken to carry out the decrees of the spiritual head.

The discipline of the Church was extended to the newly-converted nations. A system of ecclesiastical rule, complete and perfect in all its parts, was devised. By means of decretal epistles, to which the Roman canonists attach the authority due to holy Scripture, the bishops in the remotest parts were directed and controlled. The clergy were subjected to the bishop, the bishop to the metropolitan, the metropolitan to the papal vicar, or legate, and he to the pope himself. The bishop was now elected by the clergy, subject to the papal approval. The metropolitan was instituted by the reception of the pallium, or pall, from Rome, and very soon the pall was only granted after a vow had been taken of implicit obedience to the see of Rome. These demands, no doubt, were frequently resisted, and for centuries the history of Europe is filled with disputes, and sometimes wars, between the pontiffs and the secular princes, originating solely in these demands. But the result invariably was, the triumph of the Church and the depression of the secular power. At the same time the clergy were rendered more subservient by an enforced celibacy. This had been for some time a popular doctrine, but Gregory urged it with a severity hitherto unknown. He also sanctioned the doctrine of purgatory, image-worship, pilgrimages, and the veneration of pious relics. New rites, and methods of devotion hitherto unpractised, were introduced. The Gregorian chant still bears witness to its author's fondness for that gorgeous service which was echoed during so many subsequent ages from the cathedrals of Western Europe. He prescribed a new ceremonial in the administration of the Lord's Supper, and it was termed the canon of the mass. Baptism was now administered only on the great festivals, of which the number was augmented till they were at least equal to those of ancient Rome. Litanies were addressed to the saints and martyrs; churches were built to their honour in numbers almost incredible; and the simple and credulous people began to regard them as the tutelary shrines of the patron saint to whom they were dedicated. The church became an asylum for the criminal, in which the arm of the law could not reach him, and a sacred spot in which the bodies of the departed could repose in safety, since no evil spirit would venture to intrude. To build and to endow a church was the most acceptable sacrifice that could be offered to the Most High.

To Gregory the Church of Rome is indebted for the completion of the monastic system. For two hundred years the deserts of Syria and Egypt had been the abode of monks and hermits, whose sanctity was extolled, and the story of whose miracles and devotion was now the only literature. The infection spread to Italy, and men who were anxious to excel in holiness, or to obtain the reputation of sanctity, plunged into solitude, and embraced a monastic life. Gregory, no doubt, shared in that reverence for the cloister which universally prevailed; and he probably saw, too, that if the monkish spirit could be controlled and reduced to a system, it might be made subservient to the interests of the papacy, in a degree far beyond all other agencies whatever. Nor was it difficult to accomplish a work, the materials for which lay within his reach. St. Benedict died just about the time that Gregory was born. His fame was great in Rome. He was the son of a Roman senator, born at Nursia, in Italy, A.D. 480. While yet a child he stole away from his parents to dwell in solitude. The ferocious Huns and Vandals had swept every trace of civilization from large districts, even in the heart of Italy; and at a distance of no more than forty miles from Rome Benedict dwelt for years in a perfect solitude. As the fame of his piety increased, he was persuaded to remove to Monte Cassino, near Rome, to found a monastery there, and to place himself at its head. It is said that he was influenced by no secular or ambitious motives; that it was not his intention to found a monastic order, but simply to prescribe rules for the Italian monks, in accordance with the practice of the anchorites and recluses of the early Church. But the monks of Monte Cassino were already famous when their founder died. Their monastery was distinguished by the superior intelligence, the correct lives, and the earnest zeal of its members, in a country where rapine, ignorance, and dissolute manners were universal. Gregory employed some of his leisure in writing a life of St. Benedict, in which he does not omit a long catalogue of his miracles. The saint had composed a code of rules for the monastery; these Gregory confirmed, and so added to them the sanction of the head of the Church—thus, in fact, placing himself at the head of the Benedictine order. According to some writers, Gregory himself had been a monk of Monte Cassino.

He founded several monasteries, and originated the Gregorian order; but his monks were, in fact, Benedictines, though under another name.

The institution of St. Dominic gave new features to the Church of Rome. Its progress must have astonished, if it did not sometimes alarm, the papacy itself. For 666 years—that is, till the time of the Augustines and Mendicants—it went on increasing, till its wealth and power were incredible. The property belonging to the parent monastery of Monte Cassino at length included four bishoprics, two dukedoms, thirty-six cities, two hundred castles, three hundred territories, thirty-three islands, and one thousand six hundred and sixty-two churches. The abbot assumed the following titles:—Patriarch of the holy faith; abbot of the holy monastery of Cassino; head and prince of all abbots and religious houses; vice-chancellor of both the Sicilies, of Jerusalem, and Hungary; count and governor of Campania and Terra di Lavoro, and of the maritime provinces; vice-emperor; and prince of peace. A writer of the sixteenth century enumerates amongst the illustrious men of the Benedictine order twenty-eight popes, two hundred cardinals, sixteen hundred archbishops, and four thousand bishops. The order during the life of Gregory had forced its way into Gaul and Britain, and had established itself in the remotest dependencies of the Church. Of its gigantic progress some conception may be formed from its magnificence and power at the period of the Reformation. Upwards of sixteen hundred abbeys then acknowledged the rule of St. Benedict, besides innumerable nunneries, priories, hospitals, and smaller foundations. The abbots were often little inferior to sovereign princes. Their splendour was greatest in Germany, where the abbot of Angia, surnamed the Rich, had a yearly revenue of sixty thousand golden crowns, and into his monastery were received none but the sons of princes, earls, and barons. The abbots of Weissemburgh, of Fulda, and St. Gall, were princes of the empire. The abbot of St. Gall once entered Strasburg with a retinue of a thousand horse. In process of time the Benedictine order gave rise to a number of monastic sects, differing from each other in some slight points of discipline, or dress, but all acknowledging the rule of Benedict. Amongst the chief of these were the Cluniac monks of Bur-

gundy, the Camaldeunes and Valumbrosians of the Apennines, the Grandimontensians of France, the Cistercians of Germany. To these may be added a multitude of obscurer names; the Gregorians, Celestines, Gerundines, Bernardines, Camaldoni, and many others.

The rules which Benedict prescribed, and Gregory sanctioned, prescribe a life of rigid abstinence, devotion, and obedience, to each member of the religious community. Their food was of the plainest kind and the smallest quantity, to be eaten in silence while a spiritual discourse was read. Two dishes, a little fruit, and a pound of bread, was the daily fare. Wine was drunk only on Sunday; and meat, except in sickness, was never tasted. Fasts were to be rigidly observed. The head was shaven, and the dress was plain; a woollen garment reaching to the feet was worn day and night, for they were enjoined to sleep in their clothes. The various orders were known, in time, by the slight varieties of their costume; that of the Benedictines was a hood and scapular, an upper garment of black cloth, one of white beneath, and a shirt of sackcloth: they were allowed the luxury of boots. The public devotions within the abbey occupied a great portion of time, the rest was spent in manual labour, in the instruction of the young, in devotion, and private study. The most unhesitating obedience was exacted. If the abbot or superior imposed a task which it was impossible to perform, the monk might meekly offer his remonstrance. If the abbot refused to yield, the monk must submit, looking up to God for help. Humility, says the rule of St. Benedict, consists of twelve degrees, which compose that mysterious ladder which appeared unto Jacob. The first degree of humility which the monk attains is to fear God, and think him always present; the second, not to love to do his own will; the third, to submit himself to his superiors, in all obedience, for the love of God; the fourth, to suffer with patience all sorts of injuries; the fifth, to discover all his most secret sins and faults to his abbot; the sixth, to be content with the meanest things and the most abject employments; the seventh, to think the meanest of himself; the eighth, to do nothing but what the common rule of the monastery and the example of the ancient recluses allow; the ninth, to speak nothing unless being asked; the tenth, not to laugh easily;

the eleventh, being obliged to speak, to do it without laughter, with gravity, in few words, and in a low voice ; the twelfth, that a monk ought not only to be humble in heart, but also in behaviour, and that in all places he ought to hang down his head and his eyes towards the ground. And St. Benedict promises to him who shall have surmounted all these degrees of humility, to arrive at that perfect charity which drives away fear. Thus submission is placed on the same footing with obedience to the will of God. If a monk were rebellious, or proud, or discontented, after public admonition, he might be chastised with rods. He had nothing of his own. Whatever wealth he might have once possessed became the property of the monastery. He served by turn in the kitchen or at the table ; assisted in the performance of every servile office, and washed his own clothes, and the feet of strangers and of his fellow-monks.

The institution of St. Benedict included both sexes. Scholastica, the sister of the saint, is said to have been the foundress of the order of Benedictine nuns. They were required to devote themselves to a life of seclusion, and to submit to a severe discipline. A nun, when she entered the cloister, forsook her home, and was afterwards regarded as dead to all worldly concerns ; her time was supposed to be spent in charitable works, in prayer and meditation, and in the strict observance of the canonical hours. She was not allowed to speak with the other sex, except in the presence of witnesses. If found unchaste, the punishment in early periods was corporal chastisement, repeated three times, and a whole year's imprisonment on bread and water. In later periods, death by starvation in a cell was often inflicted. The purity of the nuns, and the piety of the monks, are points on which Roman Catholics are sensitive ; and Protestants are frequently charged with unkindness and injustice in their reflections on them ; but the candid historian will be compelled to admit that, however strict they may have been at first, great irregularities prevailed in the course of time. The zeal of the religious cooled, while their vows admitted of no relaxation. The repeated interference of bishops, popes, and councils, proves, from time to time, the existence of monstrous disorders ; and the lampoons of indignant Roman Catholics before the Reformation

broke out, are quite as cutting as the sarcasms of Luther, or the revelations of Henry VIII.'s commissioners* when the abbeys were suppressed.

When Gregory called the Benedictines into existence, he introduced a new element into the constitution of the Church. If the experiment were successful, the power of the monks, it might be foreseen, would soon preponderate over that of the secular clergy. Bound by a rigid vow, animated by a deep enthusiasm, separated from all the world, or bound to it by the single chain of a spiritual ambition, and at the same time regarded with profound reverence for their superior sanctity, the monks would form a spiritual empire of their own, an *imperium in imperio*. This on the one hand might check, and at length control, the papacy; or, on the other, if thoroughly subdued, and at the same time animated with an intense devotion to the papal chair, it might become its most powerful instrument; and through the monkish institutions, everywhere spreading themselves, and everywhere received with enthusiastic respect and confidence, the successor of Saint Peter might extend his conquests, and sway a sceptre before which all Christendom should bend. Gregory saw the alternative, and his sagacity devised a plan by which every monastery in Europe became his docile and obsequious tool. Each monastery was governed by a superior; the greater houses by an abbot chosen from amongst themselves. The abbot was subject to the bishop of the diocese, by whom he might be suspended; but if he felt himself aggrieved, he appealed to the temporal power; for in general it happened, during the first ages of the system, that the sovereign prince was also the founder and patron of the abbey. Some abbeys, from the first, as that of Monte Cassino, for instance, were subject only to the pope; others, as that of Treves, were subject to the sovereign only in temporal, and to the pope in spiritual things. Gregory introduced two measures

* Balaëus, a mediæval writer, has the following verses on the nuns of the fourteenth century:—

Harum sunt quædam steriles, quædam parientes,

Virgineo tamen nomine cuncta tegunt.

Quæ pastoralis baculi dotatur honore,

Illa quidem melius, fertilis que parit.

Vix etiam quævis sterilis reperitur in illis,

Donec ejus ætas talia posse negat.

See Emilienne's *History of Monastic Orders*, p. 134.

which contributed largely to the reduction not only of the religious houses, but of Europe itself, into complete submission. He established the principle, that no metropolitan bishop should assume his functions without the sanction of the pontiff. This sanction it became the practice to intimate by the investiture of the pallium, a cloak, or hood, of consecrated wool sent from Rome. The zeal of Boniface completed what Pope Gregory had begun: this zealous missionary, a Briton by birth, travelled throughout Germany and Gaul, preaching profound submission to Peter and his representative the Roman bishop; and he succeeded in inducing the Frank and German bishops to take the vow, which he himself had taken, of implicit obedience to the Roman see. Henceforward, without the pallium, no metropolitan could enter upon the duties of his office. And thus the pope became the direct head of the Church, without whose permission the metropolitans of nations the most remote from Rome could neither remove their abbots, nor indeed control their dioceses. In addition, the popes from the time of Gregory, and in imitation of his conduct, extorted from the secular powers the right of interference with the election of the abbot; they drew all investitures, as they were termed, to themselves. In Germany the custom was, that the emperor confirmed the abbot's appointment, by delivering a staff or crozier into his hands: this ceremony was superseded, and the abbots upon their institution took an oath of implicit obedience to the pope.

The theory of the papal supremacy, and with it that of the universality of the Church of Rome, was therefore now established. But, however it may be explained, these dogmas were received by the Northern nations and Gothic tribes far more implicitly than by the more cultivated people of the South. The Eastern Church, during the seventh and eighth centuries, was loud and frequent in its protests; and even the Italian bishops hesitated to admit the superiority of the bishops of Rome. The bishop of Ravenna long asserted and maintained his independence. But amongst the Frankish and German nations, the pope, or father as he was now termed exclusively, was admitted to be God's vicerent upon earth. In the seventh century the sovereigns of Western Europe submitted implicitly to the Roman see in all matters pertaining to religion. In most of these nations, the change was not yet complete which transferred them from a

heathen to a Christian state. As pagans, they had been accustomed to pay to their priests and Druids an implicit obedience, which Cæsar and Tacitus record with admiration ; and now they transferred to the ministers of the new religion the submissiveness they had paid to a heathen priesthood. And the clergy, in their turn, were but too willing to accept, for themselves and their successors, the same authority which the pagan ministers had usurped over an ignorant and brutish people.

In the eighth century a combination of dangers seemed for a while to threaten the existence of the papacy. But the result of the struggle was to invest it with still greater power. The Church of Rome adopted the use, and even the worship, of images before the end of the sixth century. John, the patriarch of Constantinople, had removed pictures from the churches, and obtained an imperial edict, forbidding their use. The pope, Constantine, rejected the imperial edict with scorn, and in a council held at Rome, condemned the emperor himself as an apostate. A tumult followed at Constantinople, and the emperor was dethroned by his own subjects. He was succeeded by Leo the Isaurian, a prince of courage and resolution, who saw with disgust the superstitious veneration which even the Greeks paid to their images, and resolved at whatever cost to check the evil, and purify the Church. In the year 726, he issued an edict which again forbade image-worship ; and, according to some writers, commanded the destruction of those pictures which had been placed in the churches. The Greeks, led on by the monks, gave way to a frantic enthusiasm, and broke out into insurrections which extended over the whole empire, and the war of the Iconoclasts raged far and wide. Leo, it is said, was even excommunicated by the Roman pontiffs Gregory II. and III., who promoted the insurrection in Italy, and declared the emperor to be unworthy of the allegiance of his subjects. Lombardy was still subject to the Greek empire ; and its kings, taking part with the emperor, enforced the decision of the council of Constantinople, of 754, which had forbidden the worship and even the use of images. The sword was drawn, and the Lombards met with so much success, that their king, Aistulphus, formed the ambitious project of making all Italy a Lombard province, and he was already on his way with an army to the gates of Rome. The Saracens had conquered Spain, and now threatened both the in-

dependence of Italy and its religion. Pressed on all sides, Stephen, the reigning pope, turned an imploring eye to France, where Pepin was no less in want of assistance, such as only the pope could offer. Pepin was mayor of the palace to Childeric the third, but exercising in fact the royal power in the name of a weak and helpless sovereign. He aimed at the throne itself, and for this purpose he assembled the states of the realm in 751. They were disposed to favour his ambitious project; but, so deeply were they impressed with the reverence due to the Roman see, that they insisted on referring to the pope a query to this effect:—Did the Divine law permit a valiant and warlike people to dethrone a weak and indolent king? was it lawful, in his place, to elect one more worthy of empire; one who had already done good service to the state? The answer of the pope instantly raised Pepin to undisputed empire, and Childeric was dethroned without the slightest opposition. The grateful monarch flew to the assistance of his spiritual sire, crossed the Alps with a numerous army, defeated Aistulphus, and compelled him by treaty to deliver up to the see of Rome the exarchate of Ravenna, and all the cities, castles, and territories which he had seized in the Roman dukedom. Pepin retired, and the Lombard prince immediately took up arms a second time. The next year the French king returned to Italy, compelled the Lombard to execute the treaty he had violated so rashly, and made a new grant of the exarchate, with other territories, to the pontiff and his successors; and thus, in 755, the foundation was laid of the temporal sovereignty ever since exercised by the popes of Rome. The theory of the popedom henceforth maintained was this—that since to the pope all spiritual power had been delegated by Christ, so too all temporal power was vested ultimately in him for the good of the Church. The papacy therefore sustains a mixed character, partly spiritual and partly temporal; and its jurisdiction is necessarily of a mixed kind. The idea that the popedom wields a power merely spiritual is contradicted by its fundamental principles, as well as by its repeated acts and most grave and deliberate statements. In its constitution, and in the prerogatives it claims, it differs from all other institutions. It claims supremacy in all things, secular and religious. The pope is at once the head of all temporal sovereigns, and of the universal Church of Christ.

The donations of Pepin were confirmed by his yet more distin-

guished son Charlemagne. The Lombards had again become troublesome to the pope; they were besieging him in his city of Rome. The pontiff again supplicated the aid of France; and Charlemagne, in answer to his prayer, entered Italy, in 774, at the head of an army. After defeating the Lombards, he visited the pope in his capital; and so profound was his deference for the see of Rome, that he kissed the steps of St. Peter's chair as he ascended, and at the interview that followed, ratified and enlarged the donations of his father Pepin to the Church. But civil wars broke out, and a second time Charlemagne appeared in Rome. The factions that now reigned in turn, threatened to put an end, by their violence, to the authority of the pontiff; and again did France interpose to save the papacy from apparent destruction. Charlemagne having pacified Italy, opened to himself a passage to the empire of Western Christendom. He also claimed to distribute the territories he had subdued; and the Church of Rome acknowledges him as the pious donor of Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily, the duchy of Spoleto, and several other districts to St. Peter and his successors. The motives of the French monarch, as well as the extent of his grants, have been much disputed. Adrian the reigning pontiff ascribes them, in an extant letter to Charlemagne, to his piety, and to his desire to make atonement for his sins. Superstition no doubt played her part, but ambition led the way. Resolved to add the Western Empire to his dominions, he knew that his success depended on the pope's consent. The power which had firmly seated his father on the throne could sanctify the most ambitious projects, and secure the consent of Western Europe. He therefore lavished gifts upon the pope, that with his assistance he might at once gain the empire, and at the same time secure his new dominions in Italy. In the year 800, Leo III. induced the people of Rome, still elated with the notion of their independence to unite their suffrages in favour of Charlemagne, and he himself proclaimed him Emperor of the West.

The terms of the compact between the pope and Charlemagne have long been the subject of historical dispute; and different writers, as swayed by their affection for civil rights or for those of the Church of Rome, assert, on the one hand, that Charles the Great was the patron and benefactor of the pope, or on the other that he was little more than his serf or vassal. The secular

historians maintain that Charlemagne reserved to himself the supreme authority, not only in his western empire but even in Rome and its adjacent territory. Law was administered to the citizens, and malefactors were punished, by judges of his own appointment; he enjoyed the prerogatives of royalty and exercised all its functions. The Roman pontiff, according to these writers, held the city of Rome and its territory by the same tenure by which he held the exarchate of Ravenna and the other lands already granted by Pepin; that is as a feudal tenure, though charged perhaps with fewer demands than other fiefs, in consideration of the lustre of a city so long renowned as the mistress of the world, and the peculiar services which the pope had rendered. Leo, in order to induce Charlemagne to concede the sovereignty of Rome, reminded him that Constantine the Great, when he removed the seat of empire to the shores of the Bosphorus, had given Rome and its dependencies to the Church, and that he could not recal the donation and not incur the indignation of St. Peter. Whether such a grant were ever made by Constantine is by no means certain.

On the other hand, the writers favourable to the papacy maintain that Charlemagne was more indebted to the Church than the pope to Charlemagne. "Charlemagne," says Machiavelli, "decreed that his holiness, being God's vicar, could not be subject to the judgment of man." The pontiff, in placing the crown upon his head, is regarded by papal writers as having displayed his power no less than his gratitude; and in this act he was recognized by the most powerful sovereign of Europe as having the sole earthly right to dispose of crowns and kingdoms. "Whereas formerly," says Machiavelli, in his history of Florence, "the popes were confirmed by the emperors, the emperor now in his election was to be indebted to the pope. Thus the power and dignity of the empire declined and the Church began to advance, and by these steps to supersede the authority of temporal princes."

But up to this period the absolute supremacy of the see of Rome, as it was afterwards asserted, had never yet been formally admitted. The supremacy of the Greek emperors had not been contested, and the fiery spirit of Charlemagne would scarcely submit to restraints which rival sovereigns disdained. The Roman pontiffs for some time obeyed the laws of the emperors of the west, received their commands, and executed their judicial de-

cisions. In a council held at Rome, Adrian the First conferred upon Charlemagne and his successors the right of electing the popes. The power was exercised with forbearance, and Charlemagne and his son Louis were satisfied simply to approve and confirm the nominee of the clergy and people ; but the consecration of the new pontiff was not valid unless performed in the presence of the emperor's ambassador. The Latin emperors did not, it is true, assume to govern the Church in spiritual things, which belonged, they freely admitted, to the tribunal of the Roman pontiff and to the councils of the Church. But they appointed envoys, whose business it was to inspect the lives and manners of the clergy, to settle their internal discords, and to punish their delinquencies. All churches and monasteries were also taxed by the state.

The authority of general councils was still supposed to be superior to that of the Roman pontiff. Upon religious questions he could decide nothing by his own authority ; he was obliged to convene a council, whose decisions were final upon the points at issue. Nor did the provincial synods always wait for the permission of the bishop of Rome. They met by their own authority, debated the questions before them with the utmost freedom, and often voted in direct opposition to the Roman see. Thus the Franks and Germans determined, in their own provincial council, to reject the use of images, while Rome, on the other hand, enjoined their use and worship. It is further to be observed that the power of convening councils, and the right of presiding in them, were the prerogatives of the sovereign in whose dominions they were held ; and that none of their decrees obtained the force of laws until confirmed by the civil power. Thus even the spiritual authority of Rome was still under some restraints ; but the popedom was already too powerful to submit with patience to the control whether of councils or emperors ; and from the time of Charlemagne to the Reformation it aimed incessantly, and in general with success, to reduce the civilized world to a state of implicit submission to its will.

The ninth and tenth centuries were the midnight of the dark ages. Ignorance and superstition held their dreary reign. Speaking of the tenth century, Cardinal Bellarmine (*De Rom. Pontif. lib. iv., c. 12*) says, "there never was a period more unlearned or more unhappy. Every kind of virtue perished, and

wickedness supplied its place. The second coming of the Son of man seemed to draw near, for love was grown cold, and faith was not found on the earth." Cardinal Baronius still more emphatically says, "What was then the face of the Roman Church? How deformed! When harlots, no less powerful than vile, bore the chief sway at home, and at their pleasure changed sees, appointed bishops, and (which is horrible to mention) did thrust into St. Peter's see their own gallants, false popes!" Religion consisted entirely in external ceremonies. At a council held at Paris, in 824, the idolatrous worshipping of images was forbidden, and a treatise against image-worship was published in the emperor's name. But in Italy the introduction of images had long had the papal sanction. The churches, already filled with relics of the saints, were now adorned with images before which the worshippers bowed in adoration. Charlemagne had not been without some taste for letters, but with him all literature at last expired. He endeavoured to collect around him a body of learned men; he erected schools, and was long regarded, though the tradition is doubtful, as the founder of the university of Paris. He was assisted by Alcuin, Bede, and Egbert, wise men, whose attainments, however, were confined within a narrow compass. A little grammar, rhetoric, and logic, the elements of geometry and arithmetic, astronomy in its first elements, imperfectly understood, and music, were the seven sciences within which all knowledge was supposed to be contained. In the monastic houses these sciences were taught, and there they lingered during the long mediæval winter of six centuries. The Church was enriched by vast revenues derived from the impression, which now universally prevailed, that liberality to the Church made some amends for sin. The notion grew and prevailed, though no council or ancient father of the Church could be challenged as its author. It was congenial to the darkness of the times, and, we must add, to the rapacity of the clergy. The just judgments of God were to be averted by liberal donations to his Church. This superstition was the parent of a thousand crimes. The wealthy compounded for their sinful indulgences, tyrants for their oppressions, and merchants for their extortionate gains, by sharing their wealth or booty with the Church. A reluctant sinner was, no doubt, punished in this life with pains and penalties, with fasts and vigils, with pilgrimages to the tombs of saints,

or solitude, or the scourge ; but money could purchase an exemption even for the greatest crimes. By a common form of speech, donations to the Church were said to be paid for the redemption of the soul, and the gifts themselves were called the price of transgression.

The wealth of the Church and its easy discipline drew into it the sons of men of rank, and not unfrequently those of sovereign princes. When emperors signalized their devotion by endowing bishoprics and monasteries with princely revenues, it naturally occurred to them to make a provision in the Church for their less affluent relations or for their younger sons. It was the interest of the popes to sanction an arrangement by which the Church was enriched, while, at the same time, the interests of the great families of Europe were embarked in it. Several remarkable consequences arose, and imparted to the clergy of the mediæval times certain peculiarities both for good and evil. The most favourable result was this: the clergy, connected by the ties of blood with princely families, had some tincture in the darkest times of elevation of mind and courtesy of manners. That Europe did not relapse into barbarism and savage life was owing solely to religion. This religion, imperfectly taught, and greatly obscured by superstitions, might have been trampled under foot and quite forgotten, had it not been intrusted to the keeping of an order amongst whom were found men of high rank and birth. It became the interest of sovereigns and feudal lords to sustain the institutions which gave importance to their own families. Their motives were selfish, but the result was beneficial. Policy induced the sovereign to attach the clergy to his interests; he gave them fortresses and towns, reserving only the military rights due to the liege lord, and he expected in return to find them docile subjects, or rather friends and clients. It was not superstition only that enriched the Church; Charlemagne set the example of creating spiritual dukedoms in Italy to check the influence of the secular princes. The presence of the clergy was intended to restrain the license of rebellious subjects. Succeeding monarchs acted in the same way, from similar motives; they expected more fidelity from men who were bound by the obligations of religion, and consecrated to the service of God, than from a haughty nobility, impetuous and fierce. And they hoped to control the turbulent spirit of their vassals by the influence of the

bishops, whose commands no man dared to dispute, and whose excommunications terrified the stoutest hearts. On the other hand, the wealth of the Church debased the clergy. Whole provinces were sometimes bestowed upon it in one magnificent donation. Private persons had already, in order to make expiation for their sins, enriched the churches and convents; public grants were now made by emperors and kings. Regalia, or royal domains, passed over by donation to the Church, and within the domains thus obtained the clergy were supreme. Bishops, abbots, and priors were created dukes, counts, marquises, and even sovereign legislators. Prelates buckled on the harness and led their own armies in person to the field. They often rivalled the sovereign himself in wealth and splendour, and in the number of their armed retainers. The men, whose holy profession it was to teach the vanity of human grandeur, and the crimes to which ambition leads, were a scandal to the world for pomp and luxury, and the avarice of power.

The family of Charles the Great contested with each other the succession to the throne: the quarrel was advantageous to the papacy. His grandson, Charles the Bald, secured at length the favour of the reigning pontiff, John VIII., by whom he was proclaimed emperor in the year 876. He returned this eminent service by surrendering, for himself and his successors, the right of interfering in the election of the Roman pontiff. From the time of Eugenius III., who was raised to the pontificate in 884, the election of the pope was conducted for a century with little regard to law or decency, and often with tumult and bloodshed. The popes were men, for the most part, of infamous lives. The best Roman Catholic writers speak of their conduct with abhorrence and disgust. The intrigues and violence which now prevailed may be gathered from the fact, that from the death of Benedict IV. in the year 903, to the elevation of John XII. in 956, an interval of fifty-three years, thirteen popes in succession held the pontificate. The poisoned cup and the assassin's dagger opened a ready path to St. Peter's chair. Even the forms of religion were scorned; and Rome was again familiar with all the crimes which it had known in pagan times under the worst of the twelve Cæsars. To this period belongs the story of Pope Joan, once universally believed by well-informed men throughout Western Christendom. That a prostitute in man's disguise

should have sat in the papal chair was not it seems incredible! No comment is required to show the degradation into which the papacy and religion itself had fallen.

Otho the Great was elected to the throne of Germany on the death of his father, the Emperor Henry I., A. D. 937. The licentiousness and tyranny of the popes had become intolerable even at Rome, and he resolved to interfere. The pope, John XII., had crowned him at Rome emperor and king of Italy; but in Otho the spirit of Charlemagne had revived, and this consideration was not suffered to prevent an act of just severity. He visited Rome, called a council together, deposed John, and elected the eighth Leo in his place. He again asserted his sovereign right in temporal matters, and resumed the concessions which Charles the Bald had made. Once more the emperor nominated the pope; and this state of things continued till the pontificate of Gregory VII.

To the pontificate of this wonderful man, who laid a second time on still wider foundations than before the empire of the popes, we now advance, leaving untold the gloomy and monotonous history of two centuries, dark with ignorance and crime. Hildebrand, a Tuscan of humble birth, was a monk of Cluny. As the Benedictine order became rich and indolent various religious houses had assumed a sort of independence, and issued new rules for their own guidance, with the pope's permission. Oden, abbot of Cluny in Burgundy, was one of these reformers. He inveighed bitterly against the sins and the self-indulgence of the monks of Benedict. "Our brethren," said he, "despise God; and having passed all shame eat flesh all the days of the week except Friday, not only in secret but in public; also boasting of their sin like those of Sodom. They run here and there, and fly with the swiftness of kites and vultures to the kitchen smoke, and to the scent of the best of the roast and boiled. Those who will not do as the rest, they mock and jeer at as profane and hypocrites." The Cluniac monks were soon in a condition to contest the palm of popular favour with the ancient Benedictines. Upwards of two thousand monasteries received their rule and bore their title. In this school Hildebrand acquired those austere lessons, and that veneration for the papal chair, mingled with a proud disdain of secular authorities, which marked his character through life. To emancipate the pontificate from the

authority of the empire, and to establish a visible theocracy with the vicar of Christ at its head, became his ruling passion. But another great object of his ambition was, undoubtedly, as he himself expressed it, to effect a total reform of the Church, which had now reached the lowest state of degradation. His talents and ambition forced him into notice; he became first an archdeacon, and then the companion and adviser of Leo IX., and, on his death, of four succeeding pontiffs. In the year 1073 he was unanimously raised to the pontificate by the suffrages of cardinals, bishops, monks, and people; but he did not assume the title until the election was confirmed by the Emperor Henry IV., to whom he sent ambassadors for the purpose. The emperor, pleased with this mark of respect, confirmed the election, and Hildebrand was known henceforward as Pope Gregory VII. "No sooner was this man made pope," says Du Pin, "but he formed a design of becoming lord, spiritual and temporal, over the whole earth; the supreme judge and determiner of all affairs, both ecclesiastical and civil; the distributor of all manner of graces, of what kind soever; the disposer not only of archbishoprics, bishoprics, and other ecclesiastical benefices, but also of kingdoms, states, and the revenues of particular persons. To bring about this revolution, he made use of the ecclesiastical authority and the spiritual sword."

He was scarcely seated on the papal throne before he began the reformation of the Church. Two evils, which had grown to a fearful magnitude, demanded his attention; these were simony and the concubinage of the clergy. In the second year of his pontificate, 1074, he assembled a council at Rome which confirmed the laws of former pontiffs against simony, and forbade the sale or purchase of spiritual benefices under the severest penalties. Concubinage was denounced if possible with still greater severity. It was decreed that marriage was unlawful to a priest; those who lived with wives or concubines were pronounced incapable of the sacred office. Letters were addressed by Hildebrand to all the provincial bishops of Europe, commanding that the decrees of the council should be carried forthwith into effect; and ambassadors were sent to the emperor to induce him to summon a council for the trial and punishment of such of the clergy as had incurred the guilt of simony.

But each of these decisions involved questions of the greatest

difficulty. The celibacy of the clergy was rather a popular demand than an accepted dogma of the Church. Many of the clergy, wanting courage to offer in their own example a protest against the popular superstition, concealed their marriages; and though guilty of a base servility were not justly to be taxed with any grosser crime. Others of the clergy, and even of the bishops, were openly married; refusing to submit to a restraint unknown to the eastern Church or to the first ages. Others again lived in secret, if not in open and shameless, habits of licentiousness. It was the policy of Hildebrand to punish all alike. He had learned at Cluny to regard a married priesthood with scorn; he denied the validity of such marriages, and so made no distinction between the virtuous and the profligate. Indeed, he took delight in exposing the married clergy to contempt; and jealous as he was of the secular courts, he handed over the married priests to the civil magistrate to be disgraced and punished as bad citizens rather than ecclesiastical delinquents. The clergy resisted a decree at once tyrannical and novel. Every kingdom in Western Europe was agitated. In some places the clergy took up arms in behalf of their wives and families. The monks, an austere and solitary race, denounced the married clergy, who in return defied the monks, exposing to the world in coarse lampoons their hypocrisy and their secret vices. In some provinces the married clergy even chose to quit their benefices rather than their wives. At Milan they dared the fury of the pontiff, forsook the communion of the Church, and pronounced the abettors of an opinion so monstrous as that of the unlawfulness of marriage to be the true descendants of the ancient Manichees. Hildebrand was still haughty and unyielding. He would listen to no remonstrances, and when opposed became only more resolute. Besides the monks, he had with him the voice of the laity, who had been taught to regard celibacy as the highest attainment in religion and the most exalted virtue. The clergy were compelled to acquiesce; and from this time forward celibacy became the inflexible rule of the Church of Rome with respect to all of her ecclesiastics. Gregory exulted that the last cord was snapped by which the clergy had been held in bondage to the world. They had now no object in life but to promote the interests of the Church.

Simony, for so traffic in spiritual preferments was termed,

prevailed throughout the Church. Bishoprics were openly sold or presented by sovereigns to their favourites. The bishops raised by such means were indifferent to their spiritual duties and intent on gain or pleasure; they sold their benefices, or alienated the bishoprics themselves. A bishop sometimes bequeathed the profits of his bishopric to his wife, sometimes to his children. The traffic was carried on without the least disguise, and was defended with impudent effrontery. We do not, said they, buy and sell the spiritual office; this truly is a sacred affair; the possessions of the Church are another matter; these are mundane things, and the traffic is lawful. Gregory determined to remove the evil by inducing the secular princes to abandon the right of disposing of the sees within their dominions. He sent legates into Germany, but Henry was intractable, for he was poor and licentious, and at war with his vassals; and he was neither disposed to forego his right nor to give up a fruitful source of revenue; neither would the German bishops permit the legates to assemble a council and proceed judicially against those of their own body who were guilty of simony. Gregory, impetuous and arrogant, could ill brook opposition even from the emperor himself. He summoned another council at Rome, in which, besides the excommunication of the German bishops, it was decreed that neither kings nor princes should, under pain of the most awful censure of the Church, give investiture of sees and abbeys by conferring the ring and crozier. And it pronounced an anathema against any person who should dare to receive the investiture from the hands of a layman, as well as on those by whom the investiture should be performed. All the sovereigns in Europe were aghast. The proud spirit of the pontiff had thrown off disguise; his determination was evidently not so much to make the Church independent of the emperor as to lay all Europe prostrate at the feet of Rome. Henry paid no regard to the decrees of the papal council, and continued to nominate to his vacant bishoprics. The breach widened. Gregory sent an imperious message to the emperor commanding him to appear at Rome, and to answer before a council to be there convened, to various crimes which were now alleged against him. The emperor, rash and young, and miscalculating his strength, assembled a diet at Worms, and deposed Gregory from the popedom. The message was received at Rome

with scorn. Gregory called a council together at the Lateran palace A. D. 1076, excommunicated Henry; and in the name of St. Peter, prince of the apostles, declared the thrones of Germany and Italy vacant, and the subjects of those kingdoms released from their allegiance. This was the first time that a pope had assumed a right of deposing kings. Hitherto the popes had been the vassals of the emperor. He had even exercised his power in the previous century by deposing several of them whose election was illegal, or whose conduct was unworthy of their office.

But his quarrel with the emperor by no means engrossed the attention of the pope. From every sovereign in Europe he endeavoured to exact some new concessions. He reminded Philip I. of France, that both his kingdom and his soul were under the power of St. Peter, who could bind him both in earth and heaven. He wrote to the king of Arragon that the kingdom of Spain belonged of right and from ancient times to the apostolic chair, and was St. Peter's property. He framed an oath for the king of the Romans in which he was made to vow implicit obedience to St. Peter and his vicar. To the remote sovereigns of Poland and Denmark, and to the most powerful of the German princes, he wrote circular letters commanding them to make a grant of their kingdoms to St. Peter, in order that they might receive them back as gifts of the apostolic see. He raised the duke of Dalmatia to regal dignity, and, by his legate, in his own capital, proclaimed him king, on condition that he paid an annual tribute to St. Peter. William the Conqueror, of England, alone had the courage to resist the demands of the spiritual despot before whom all Europe quailed. "Your legate Hubert," says the Conqueror, in a letter to Gregory, "admonishes me to remit to you the usual tribute" (alluding to Peter's pence) "paid by my predecessors to the Church. To this I consent. He requires me, too, to do homage for my kingdom. This I have declined. I neither have done it, nor shall do it. I owe my kingdom to God and to my own sword."

Gregory had calculated well. The audacity of his conduct struck terror into the hearts of all the sovereigns of Europe. The emperor was unpopular at home; his subjects were already in rebellion. The Saxons and Swabians, who had recently laid down their arms, assumed a hostile attitude as soon as Henry was

excommunicated. A diet assembled to elect a new emperor, in obedience to the papal mandate ; and it agreed that Henry should be suspended for a year from his sovereignty ; that at the close of this period, if not reconciled to the pope, his kingdom should be forfeited ; and that the pope should be invited to a congress, at which his successor should then be chosen. Deserted by his subjects, the emperor had no alternative but unconditional submission. Amidst the rigours of winter, he crossed the Alps, and arrived, in February 1077, at the castle of Reggio, in Lombardy, which belonged to Matilda, countess of Tuscany, a devoted friend to Gregory and the papal see. The snow was on the ground ; but the proud sovereign of the Western Empire was allowed to remain three days, from break of day to sunset, his feet bare, his head uncovered, with no other clothing on his back than the coarse woollen cloak generally worn by penitents, waiting at the castle gate. On the fourth day he was admitted into the presence of the haughty pontiff. He confessed his errors, and received a reluctant pardon, and with it absolution from the censures of the Church. But his crown was not yet restored ; he was referred back again to the approaching diet, and forbidden meanwhile to resume his titles, or to exercise any of his royal functions. Happily for the world, the arrogance of Gregory produced a natural recoil. When the diet was opened, the Saxon malcontents, it is true, dethroned Henry, and elected Rodolph in his place. But he was supported by his Lombard vassals, and by the Italian bishops, who were all of them indignant at the outrage committed by the sovereign pontiff. Henry led his army into Italy, and fought several battles with various success. In one of these he was defeated ; the pope excommunicated him a second time, sent a crown to Rodolph, and declared him emperor. The bold spirit of Henry had however now revived within him ; he assembled the German and Italian bishops of his party, and again pronounced the sentence of deposition upon Gregory, and nominated Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna, to the papal chair, which he actually assumed on the death of Hildebrand, under the title of Clement III.

The war continued for three years : many bloody battles were fought, in one of which Rodolph fell. Rome was twice besieged ; and at length, in 1084, Henry marched into it as a conqueror. The pope took refuge in the castle of St. Angelo ; he was rescued

by Robert Guiscard, the Norman conqueror of Sicily, and again excommunicated Henry and the rival pope. He now retired for safety to Salerno, protected by the army of duke Robert; and here he died in the year 1085, exclaiming with his last breath, "I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity, therefore I die in exile." The struggle seemed to terminate in Henry's favour. His nominee was consecrated to the popedom, and by him he was then once more crowned. But the party of Gregory, supported by the Normans, elected a counter-pope under the title of Victor III. He soon abdicated, and the monks of Cluny elected Urban II. in his stead. Thus there were still two popes; Urban and Clement, the representatives of the Church party and of the emperor. They both died about the same time, in the year 1099, and the close of the century found Pascal II. sole possessor of the papal chair.

Thus from the violent conduct and imperious demands of Hildebrand, the war of the investitures arose, which distracted Europe for several years. It was in fact the expiring struggle of the secular against the papal power. The emperors, and other sovereign princes, having founded and endowed the various bishoprics and abbeys, regarded the incumbents in the light of feudal tenants, and from the time of Charlemagne, had claimed the right of presenting the ring and crozier, by which investiture was signified, and then demanding the oath of fealty in return. The ancient practice of the Church had been for the clergy, together with the municipal authorities of the city, or even the people at large, to elect their own bishop. But when the bishop was no longer a spiritual person only, but the proprietor of a large domain, the sovereign could no longer permit him to exercise what was in fact a feudal lordship, without securing his allegiance. As soon as a bishop died, the sovereign ordered the ring and crozier to be seized, so that no appointment could be made to the vacant see without his consent. Thus the ancient right of election was lost to the clergy and laity alike; for the power of choosing the dignitaries of the Church was usurped by the sovereign. It was against this usurpation that Gregory protested. His successor, Urban II., carried the demands of the Church still further; forbidding the clergy not only to receive the investiture, but even to swear allegiance to the sovereign, which Gregory himself had permitted. And thus, in fact, he claimed the right of establishing,

under the name of bishoprics and abbeys, independent sovereignties over the whole of Europe, accountable only to the Roman see. It will be observed that this struggle lay entirely between the sovereigns and the popes. The rights of the people in the election of their bishops were overlooked on both sides. The bishop was henceforth to be the creature of the pope; and in order still further to enhance their own power and to reduce that of the episcopate, the popes of the eleventh century encouraged the monastic at the expense of the episcopal order, reducing as much as possible the power and wealth of the latter, and augmenting that of the former. Thus the monks were devoted to the papacy, and in general the pope himself was chosen from their own order.

Hitherto the popes had been elected by the voice of the bishops and clergy, and by popular suffrages. To Hildebrand the Church of Rome is indebted, it is generally supposed, for the institution of the college of Cardinals in the form in which it now appears, as the conclave by whom alone the pope is chosen. Some obscurity overhangs the origin of the institution; nor is the exact period at which it was first organized beyond all dispute. Of an order which was destined in after times to mould the character of the Church, and not unfrequently to govern the pope himself, some account may be expected.

“The name of Cardinal,” says Father Paul Sarpi, “originally derived from a very low condition, has by a change of meaning become a title of high distinction, so that cardinals are now said to be, *Quasi Cardines omnium terrarum*—the hinges as it were on which the world revolves.” They were at first nothing more than the deacons, to whom was intrusted the care of distributing alms to the poor of Rome; and as they held assemblies of the poor in certain churches of their several districts, they took the names and titles of those churches. They were called cardinals about A. D. 300, during the pontificate of Sylvester. The cardinal priests, in the primitive Church, being the chief priests of a parish, and next in dignity to the bishop. Afterwards the office grew more considerable as Rome increased in wealth, and the civic clergy became of more importance. Nicholas II., at the suggestion of Hildebrand, is said to have decreed in 1058, that the pope should be chosen only by their college, a decree which was certainly repeated by pope Pius IV. The tenth century, a period of inces-

sant tumult, saw several popes elected and deposed at the caprice of the Roman nobility or Italian princes. It is only since the election of Celestine in 1443, that the cardinals have retained the power of election independent of the Roman people, or of any sovereign prince whatever. The cardinals are nominated, when a vacancy occurs, by the pope: at the expiration of ten days, the sacred college is assembled; it consists of six bishops, fifty priests, and fourteen deacons, making seventy in all. Each cardinal then votes, having full liberty, should he think proper, to reject the pope's candidate. If elected, the new cardinal receives a red hat. The cardinals are princes of the holy Roman empire; they fill most of the great offices at the court of Rome; when sent to other courts it is in the quality of legate à latere. Their title, till Urban VIII., was that of most illustrious; by a decree of his they have since had the title of eminence. We may here describe the manner of a pope's election as it has been managed since it fell into the hands of the sacred college. Nine or ten days after the funeral of the deceased pope, the cardinals enter the conclave, which is a range of small temporary cells, ten feet square, framed of wood and covered with purple cloth; they are numbered and appropriated by lot, each cardinal taking his own cell. The door of the Vatican is then closed and guarded day and night; no persons are permitted to enter the conclave; and even the provisions introduced are carefully examined by officers stationed for the purpose, so that no letters or messages may be conveyed in them from the ministers of foreign princes or other parties, who may have an interest in the election of the pontiff. Still intrigues are carried on. A few lines are sometimes written on the skin of a bird or concealed in a pie, and the eatables placed upon the table are so many signs and hieroglyphics. The election is made by *scrutiny*, *access*, or *adoration*. The first is conducted thus. Each cardinal (or rather one of his servants, that the handwriting may be concealed) writes the name of his candidate, who must be a member of the sacred college, on a scroll of paper, which is carefully enclosed in several covers and sealed. The voting papers are then laid upon the altar, in the chapel of the Vatican, by each cardinal in succession, who returns to his seat after a short prayer upon his knees before the altar. Two cardinals sit by the altar; one of them reads the votes aloud, the other immediately burns the paper. If two-thirds of

the number present are found to agree, the election is made, and the candidate on whom the choice has fallen is immediately declared pope. When the election is made by access, the cardinals rising from their places and approaching the person they wish to elect, say, "Ego accedo ad reverendissimum Dominum ———." The choice by *adoration* much resembles it, only that the cardinal approaches the candidate with a profound reverence. Both of these methods must be confirmed by the scrutiny. Another method, by *compromise*, has been sometimes employed; that is, when the differences run high and cannot be adjusted in the conclave, the choice is referred to three or five of the college to be made by them within a given time which is limited to the consumption of a lighted taper. Sometimes the election is by *inspiration*; the first cardinal then rises in the chapel, and as if inspired, suddenly names a candidate, to which if two-thirds of the cardinals agree the election is made. In fact, however, the election is now made by the scrutiny.

When the pope is elected, the master of the ceremonies informs him of his promotion, in his cell. He is then clothed in the pontifical habit, and conducted to the chapel, where he receives the adoration or homage paid by the cardinals to the pope. The gates of the conclave are now thrown open, the new pope presents himself to the people in the court of the Vatican, and gives them his benediction. The first cardinal deacon proclaiming, in a loud voice, these words in Latin, I give you tidings of great joy; the most reverend lord cardinal ——— has been chosen sovereign pontiff, and he selects the name of ———. He is then carried to St. Peter's and placed upon the altar, where the cardinals a second time perform the adoration. A few days after a throne is erected before the church of St. Peter, where the triple crown, or tiara, is placed upon his head. It is a conical cap, with three coronets rising one above the other, and said to be of immense value. The jewels have been estimated at 500,000 pieces of gold. A procession is then formed to the church of St. John Lateran, where the archbishop presents him with two keys, the one of gold, the emblem of his spiritual sovereignty, and the other of silver, in token that the kingdoms of the earth are governed by the successors of St. Peter.

The war of the investitures closed in 1122 with a compromise between the emperor and Calixtus II. by which the election of

bishops was to be free, and their investiture was conceded to the Church. The secular power henceforth inducted them into their temporalities only, and this, not by the ring and crozier, but by the sceptre. The bishops were now chosen, not as in earlier times by the suffrages of the laity and clergy, but by the chapters of the cathedral churches. And, as the clergy were devoted to the papal see, the changes thus introduced tended still further to enlarge the power of the supreme pontiff. "After long centuries of subjection," says Ranke, "after other centuries of an often doubtful struggle, the independence of the Roman see was at length attained. The position of the popes at this moment was most lofty. The clergy were completely in their hands. By the introduction of celibacy they transferred the whole body of secular clergy into a sort of monastic order. They interfered without hesitation in the administration of every diocese. They even compared their legates to the pro-consuls of ancient Rome." The sense in which they held the temporal sword admitted of no dispute; nor from this time to the dawn of the Reformation was it, in fact, disputed. "Both swords," said Boniface VIII. in a bull which was inserted in the canon law, "belong to the jurisdiction of the Church, the spiritual and the secular. The one is to be wielded for the benefit of the Church, the other by the Church herself. The one is the sword of the priest, the other is in the hand of the sovereign, but at the command and by permission of the priest. The one sword must be held in submission to the other; the temporal authority must be subject to the spiritual power." Thus it appears that the papacy is not simply a religion, it claims a jurisdiction of a mixed character. The Church of Rome is a temporal monarchy as well as an ecclesiastical body. As the vicar of Christ, who is the head of the world as well as the head of the Church, the pope claims to rule, not only over the Church, but over the world, and to dispose of crowns as well as bishoprics. History places this fact before us in the most unquestionable light: not to speak of kingdoms interdicted and tributes imposed, no less than sixty-four emperors and sovereign princes have been at one time or other deposed by the sentence of the pope.

The crusades, the frenzy of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, while they show the power to which the papacy had arisen, contributed greatly, no doubt, to enhance its influence. The

countless legions who set out for the holy land were under the special protection of the pope: they received his benediction. He instituted religious and military orders, to protect the pilgrims or to join in the conquest of Jerusalem; and he received in return those vast estates, the owners of which perished in the enterprise, or were lost sight of in the confusion which overspread Europe. In the person of their legates, the popes commanded the armies, and in the exhaustion which followed they reaped the spoil, of Christendom.

The claims of the papal chair to temporal power have since the Reformation divided the Church of Rome into two parties, the *ultra*-and *trans*-montanists. The former defend the pope's temporal supremacy in the literal sense in which it is maintained in various bulls and decretals, and in the canon law. The latter, of whom Bellarmine is the great authority, believe that in secular matters the pope's authority is not immediate and direct: "Yet," they add, "he has a sort of supreme authority even in temporal things, by virtue of his spiritual supremacy." Dr. Wiseman, in his lectures "on the Doctrines of the Catholic Church," affirms that the pope's supremacy, "is of a character purely spiritual, and has no connection with any temporal jurisdiction." The question then to be resolved is this—How far does the spiritual jurisdiction extend? We give the answer in the words of Bellarmine:—"As regards persons, the pope, as pope, cannot ordinarily depose princes, even for a just cause, in the same manner in which he deposes bishops; that is, as their ordinary judge. Yet he can change kingdoms. He may take them from one and confer them on another, in his capacity of supreme spiritual ruler, whenever such a step is necessary for their souls' health." (De Romano Pontifice, lib v., cap vi.) Thus, then, according to Bellarmine, the pope may add the sentence of deposition to that of excommunication, acting in his spiritual character as head of the Church, and he may release subjects from their allegiance; and if so the dispute is rather verbal than real.

A century passed on; the kingdoms of Northern Europe gradually emerged from barbarism; the people sighed for liberty, and their sovereigns for independence of the papacy. The ancient traditions began to lose their hold. From time to time the Church had asserted new dogmas: first, the celibate of the clergy, and then the doctrine of transubstantiation, which,

after a slight resistance, were implicitly received. Innocent III. (known in England as the pontiff who bowed the craven spirit of King John, and laid his kingdom under an interdict until it was formally surrendered to the Roman see) held the fourth Lateran Council in the year 1215. In courage and in ambition he was only inferior to Hildebrand himself. He consulted no advisers, and he hesitated at no remonstrances. He issued a code of laws, which not only confirmed the power of the popes and of the clergy, but imposed new articles of faith. One of these was the dogma of transubstantiation. Hitherto the church had been satisfied to declare that Christ was really present in the sacrament. The manner of the presence was now defined and made an article of faith. Auricular confession, or the confession of particular acts of sin to the priest in private, was introduced into the Church of Rome at the same time, and, it is said, solely on the authority of Innocent III. A multitude of new ceremonies and rules were rendered necessary by these two doctrines; and the pompous ceremonial of the mass grew into yet deeper veneration. But the Church was stationary while all Europe was advancing. Everywhere there were mutterings of discontent; in every kingdom symptoms of an approaching storm. In many languages the Scriptures were dispersed. First the recent doctrines, and then the ancient traditions, of Rome were questioned. The crusades were scarcely at an end when the Paulicians and Waldenses appeared, not merely to dispute some of the aggrandizements of the see of Rome, but to denounce the pope himself as antichrist. The heresy was quenched in seas of blood; but other enemies appeared, and it was necessary to forge new weapons with which to contend against them.

The new sects won their way, in no small degree, by the purity of their lives and the simplicity of their manners. Their conduct was the severest censure upon the clergy, with whose sloth and pride it stood in pointed contrast; for even the monastic orders, gorged with wealth, were now corrupted with the worst vices of prosperity. The restraints of religion were set at naught; its service was an irksome drudgery: the monks were ignorant and incapable of teaching others; they disdained the authority of the Church, and the rules of their own order. Too frequently their depraved conduct was the scandal of the neighbourhood. It was necessary to oppose the heretics not only with the arm of justice

but by the institution of some new machinery. Innocent III. determined upon two measures by which the rising spirit of dissatisfaction was, for a while, effectually suppressed. These were, first, the reformation of the monks, and, secondly, the erection of the Inquisition.

During the thirteenth century, as the Benedictine orders fell into decay, new sects of religious devotees appeared. Amongst these, the most considerable were the mendicants, or begging friars. Like other candidates for popularity, they at first affected to surpass their rivals in the severity of their penances, in indifference to the world, and in religious zeal. The monks had grown rich; they therefore professed a vow of perpetual poverty. The monasteries were amongst the most splendid edifices in Europe; the mendicants had neither house nor home. They wandered from place to place, subsisting on the alms of the charitable. Voluntary poverty, they maintained, was the chief sign of faithfulness to Christ. They imitated the garb of the apostles, and went about without scrip or shoes, preaching up an ascetic piety, and not failing to reproach the secular clergy with their supineness and rapacity. Innocent perceived their value, and resolved to form them into a more regular body, and to reduce their zeal within those limits in which it could be made entirely subservient to the interests of the holy see. In the Lateran Council, A.D. 1215, he passed a decree forbidding the introduction of new religious orders, and at the same time encouraged the mendicants, and all those who made the vow of poverty, with every mark of favour. In consequence, Europe was soon overrun with mendicant friars. In 1272, Gregory X., by a decree, forbade their multiplication; while, at the same time, he suppressed a number of new orders which had recently sprung up, and carried out the reformation begun by Innocent III. The mendicants were finally reduced to four orders, the Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, and Augustines. Of these, the two first demand some further notice.

Dominic, the founder of this order, by birth a Spaniard, was born in Arragon in 1170, of an illustrious family. He became canon of Osimo, and being a man of ardent mind and relentless bigotry, he resolved to devote his life to the service of the Church and the extirpation of heresy. He visited Rome, and was received by Innocent III. with great attention. Innocent possessed,

in a high degree, the instinct which discerns the instruments most suited to its purpose, and the higher power of moulding them at will. Dominic was intent upon his scheme for a new monastic order ; Innocent encouraged the undertaking, and placed him at its head. The Dominican friars, honoured by the Roman pontiffs, rose at once into the possession of public favour. They were soon the most popular, the most powerful, and, but for their vow of poverty, they might have been the wealthiest, of all the monastic orders. The privileges that Innocent conferred were confirmed to them by Honorius III. in the year 1216, and extended by Innocent VI. in 1360. Before the Reformation they reckoned upwards of four hundred convents. Their spirit was austere, yet they ingratiated themselves with the governments, and even with the populace, of every kingdom in Europe. In England they had fifty-eight houses ; and the often-recurring name of the Blackfriars, which to this day indicates their former residence in all our ancient towns, reminds us of the influence they once enjoyed. They were divided into three ranks : the first were preaching friars, the second nuns, the third were termed by Dominic himself the Militia of Jesus Christ, or, more usually, the penitential brothers of St. Dominic. In England, the success of the order was owing to the preaching friars, in France to the militia. The former were, in the strict sense, field preachers. They appeared attired in the simplest garb, with naked feet and a black hood thrown over the shoulders, in every town and village. They won confidence by declaiming against the vices of the parochial clergy and the Benedictine monks, not less than by the austerities they practised. For there existed for ages, in the bosom of the Church of Rome herself, what seemed to the uninitiated spectator to be an internecine war. Each order of monks would lampoon the rest, even on the gravest occasions ; and between the secular and the regular clergy, that is the clergy of the parish and those of the monastery, the contest was systematically waged—all the monks forgetting their private differences, and making common cause against all the seculars. The grotesque, and not seldom indecent figures, carved in stone and wood in our ancient parish churches, show the spirit in which the conflict was carried out. Yet, as neither party was seriously injured, the conclusion is natural that no great harm was meant. The people were amused, and the

Church was enriched by their credulity. The superiors probably regarded these contests as a pious fraud, by which religion was benefited. But, however this may be, the preaching friars contributed in no small degree to fasten each new assumption of the Church upon the consciences of a submissive people.

Next in influence were the Franciscan friars, of whom Francis of Assisi was the founder. This order, too, was established by Innocent III. It was distinguished, not more by its rigid discipline, than by its intense devotion to the papal see. The Franciscan was forbidden to ride on horseback, to possess property, or to indulge in luxuries; he was to labour with his hands, and to beg when labour failed; above all, to be submissive to ecclesiastical authority and zealous for the honour of the pope; and wherever he might find any friar who had broken his vows, or become a heretic, his duty was to apprehend him, and drag him bound in chains, before the cardinal-governor, or corrector of the order. The two other orders of mendicant friars it is unnecessary to describe at length. The Carmelites, driven by the Saracens from their monastery on Mount Carmel during the crusades, were formed into a mendicant order. The Augustines professed to follow the rule of that great father; but there is no reason to believe that the bishop of Hippo either framed their rule, or was in any sense their founder. In their monasteries, learning found its last refuge in the dark ages. But neither the Carmelites nor the Augustines attained the same reputation as the Dominicans and Franciscans. During three centuries, these two fraternities governed, with an almost absolute and universal sway, the states of Western Europe, and even the Vatican herself. It has been said that these two orders were, before the Reformation, what the Jesuits became afterwards,—the soul of the Vatican, the great engine of the secular power, and the secret spring that directed all the motions of both. The people looked upon them with the deepest reverence. In many cities even the sacraments were unacceptable but from the hands of a mendicant priest. The living crowded their churches, and the dead were honoured with interment in their vaults. These two orders restored the papacy from that decrepitude into which its ambition, its rival popes, and its unseemly quarrels had reduced it. They undertook negotiations, and were employed as ministers of state. They composed the quarrels of courts, fomented war, concluded

treaties, and formed alliances for sovereigns. For two hundred years, the monks were the prime ministers of Europe. The pontiffs, sensible of their obligations to the new fraternities, placed them in the highest stations in the Church, and they sunk at last in public estimation, crushed beneath their own dignities, the victims of jealousy and fear. Amongst other concessions, they were allowed by succeeding popes to preach, hear confessions, and absolve, without permission from the bishop of the diocese. To the Franciscans was granted the sale of indulgences, which afforded a vast revenue, and supplied the want of other property. The privileges granted to the monks were by them again sold to the people. Some of these were of the most extraordinary kind. John XXIII., for instance, by the same decree exempted the mendicants from episcopal jurisdiction and from purgatory, and from the latter they professed to release the laity who visited their churches, and complied with their instructions. Eugenius III. permitted them to eat flesh; this was a reward for having burnt alive one Thomas, a brother of their own order, for heresy. But the grand instrument by which Dominic retrieved the fortunes of the pope was the Inquisition. Of this terrible tribunal we lay before the reader, at one view, a brief sketch of the origin and history; although, in doing so, we anticipate the regular course of events as connected with the history of the Church of Rome.

The Albigenses had already made a great impression in northern Italy and the south of France, as we have, on a former page, related. Under Raymond, earl of Toulouse, they were protected in Languedoc, and formed large congregations. Innocent III. heard of their proceedings with indignation, for they denied the authority of the Roman pontiff and denounced him as the enemy of Christ. He sent legates into the territories of Raymond to remonstrate and chastise. Amongst these were Castleneuve and Dominic. They plunged with zeal into the work of reformation; and set about the extermination of heresy by instituting local courts before which they summoned, by the pope's authority, those who were accused or suspected. They inflicted imprisonment on heretics and even death by fire. The Albigenses were exasperated, and Castleneuve met with a violent death in 1208. Dominic returned to Rome; obtained greater powers from the papal see; returned to the south of France, and formed the tribunal of the Inquisition.

It had long been the practice of the Church of Rome to punish heretics with death. Theodosius I., A.D. 382, is said to have been the first who adjudged the penalty. Constantius, the son of Constantine the Great, had forbidden heathen sacrifices under pain of death. But the fathers of the Church down to the times of Gregory Nazianzen, Chrysostom, and Augustine disclaim the use of the sword, as a means of punishing heresy. The first who was put to death for heresy is said to have been Priscillianus, a Spaniard, who was accused before a council held at Bourdeaux in the fourth century, and beheaded. But this proceeding gave great offence; Martin, bishop of Tours, and St. Ambrose, interceding on his behalf; and the bishop, Idacius, his prosecutor, being excommunicated and banished in consequence of his share in the transaction. From the time of Justinian, by whom the orthodox creed, as expounded by the first four general councils, was incorporated with the law of the empire, the practice had arisen of treating heresy as an offence against the state; and capital punishment had sometimes been inflicted by the civil courts in cases of heresy. Supported by these precedents, Innocent III., in the council of the Lateran, A.D. 1215, enacted new laws against heresy; committing the execution of them not as before to the civil courts, but to the bishops. The exact time when the Court of the Inquisition, or Holy Office, was formed, as it afterwards existed, is a little uncertain. Honorius III. and Gregory IX. defined its powers and extended its jurisdiction. By the latter it was introduced into Rome and other parts of Italy; the Emperor Frederic II. and Louis IX. of France having been already persuaded to allow of its introduction into their kingdoms, where heresy chiefly showed itself. In time the Inquisition appeared in most of the other countries of Europe. Into the British islands it was never allowed to force its way. The management of the Inquisition was committed to the Dominicans; Gregory IX. discharging the bishops from the duty of discovering and punishing heretics, and intrusting the painful duty to the new tribunal. Its proceedings were first opened at Toulouse; it was empowered to try heretics, blasphemers, apostates, relapsed Jews and Mahometans, and other persons charged with crimes against the Church.

The profound secrecy with which the Inquisition moved, added to the terror which its presence diffused wherever it existed. It encouraged secret denunciations, invaded domestic privacy, and

accepted confidential information from those who were known to be goaded by malice or revenge. Confessors were bound to exact from the penitents the betrayal of the secrets of friends or parents, if injurious to the faith. Witnesses when summoned were not informed of the matter on which their evidence was required; they were examined in private, and not confronted with the accused, and their evidence was noted down to be used perhaps against themselves. If there appeared to be sufficient ground, the inquisitor arrested the suspected person, who was carried, often in the night, to the next Dominican convent or to the prison of the diocese. At the first examination he was not informed of the nature of the charge against him. He was told in general that he was suspected of heavy crimes; that if he confessed he might hope for mercy; and his answers were taken down to be used as evidence against him. The act of accusation, when afterwards drawn up, was merely read to him, and he was interrogated as to the truth of each particular. If he denied the charges, he was obliged to choose for his counsel a lawyer upon the list of those whom the Inquisition approved, who was not permitted to communicate with him in private, nor to know the names of the witnesses. The inquisitor and his assistant might put him to the torture three times to extort a confession. An acquittal was seldom known; and it has been shown by several Roman Catholic writers, quoted by Llorente, our authority for these statements, that a great number of orthodox Catholics suffered torture, and even death, in consequence of malicious informations. If there were no sufficient proof of the prisoner's guilt, he was declared to be suspected of heresy, and obliged to purge himself by a public abjuration and other penances which were terribly severe. If convicted of heresy, but professing contrition for his fault, the sentence was imprisonment for life, which, however, the inquisitor had it in his power to mitigate. If he were a relapsed heretic, that is, one who had been previously tried and condemned, or even strongly suspected, he was handed over to the civil magistrate, who, by the canon law, was bound, upon the sentence of the inquisitor declaring him a heretic, to have him publicly burnt. The only favour which could now be shown him was that, if he recanted, he was first strangled and then burnt.

The war against the Albigenses closed only with their destruc-

tion. The fires of the Inquisition, however, no longer blazed in Languedoc. And as the fourteenth century dawned, the revival of letters seemed to promise a milder influence upon the affairs of nations. But it was long before that influence was felt. Colleges were built, academies formed, and libraries collected. The classic writers of antiquity were dug out of their long repose. Clement V., a Frenchman and archbishop of Bordeaux, succeeded to the papal throne in 1305. He was anxious for the conversion of the Eastern nations, and he longed for the salvation of the Jews. But in him the old system of force and the new methods of persuasion strangely met. The order of Knights Templars, created to lead the Crusaders, had become too powerful. Philip of France determined to suppress them; and Clement assisted him, by condemning the Grand Master and sixty knights to be burnt alive. He gave the sanction of his sacred office to the Spanish Inquisition. In Spain the existence of the Inquisition can be traced up to the year 1232. Spain was then divided into four Christian kingdoms, besides the Mahometan states; and in each of these there were vast numbers of Jews. The Albigenses had some followers, against whom the Inquisition was directed, but its terrors fell chiefly on the sons of Abraham. In the year 1301 the Dominicans had multiplied in Spain to such an extent that it was decreed, in a general chapter of the order, that it should be divided into two provinces; that the first should comprise Castille and Arragon, and the second the rest of Spain and the Balearic Islands. The provincial of the former, designated the provincial of Spain, possessed the right of naming the inquisitor-general in the other provinces. In 1302 Father Bernard was the inquisitor of Arragon, and he celebrated several *autos-da-fé* in the same year. The *auto-da-fé* was a national spectacle in Spain for upwards of four centuries, which its kings witnessed in the pomp of royalty. Then the relapsed heretics with caps on their heads painted with yellow flames, and clothed to the feet in hideous garments, emblazoned with devils, were brought from the dungeons of the Inquisition and burnt to ashes. Then penances were performed and recantations made by the suspected. The humanity of Clement V. and his successors did not interfere with these proceedings. The Spanish Inquisition grew upon the contrary during this century to an enormous height of power. The inquisitor-general had more authority than any of the Spanish

kings. The nuncios and all other officers of the pope, as well as the bishops, were exempt from his power, but not the proud kings of Castile and Arragon. The Jews and Moors were considered as the subjects of the holy office. Every means (excepting that which reason would alone suggest) was made use of for their conversion, and with transient success. But soon great numbers of the new Christians, as they were termed, apostatized, and the ingenuity of the inquisitors was racked to discover and to punish them. Sometimes an edict of grace was published offering forgiveness and absolution to the repentant; but these had no sooner betrayed themselves than they were compelled on oath to reveal the names of all the apostates they knew or had ever heard of. Sometimes an edict was published commanding all persons to denounce those who had embraced the Jewish heresy, on pain of mortal sin and excommunication. The converted Jews were watched in every movement. The inquisitors published an edict commanding those to be accused before them, who wore better clothes on Saturday, or made no fire, or ate no fat, or pronounced a blessing on their table, or ate of an animal killed by Jews, or recited the Psalms of David without the Gloria Patri, or gave their sons Hebrew names in baptism, or performed any one of fifty insignificant observances which are minutely described. The prisons of the Inquisition were filled with victims, the persecutions lasted with still increasing fury for more than a century and a half, and we turn from a subject at which humanity shudders.

The Inquisition was introduced into Italy about the year 1234. It was firmly established there by Gregory IX. the zealous protector of St. Dominic, and the intimate acquaintance of Francis of Assisi. The heresy of the Albigenses had probably reached even the capital of Christendom. For at a council held at Toulouse, in 1229, laymen were first prohibited from reading the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue.

The great schism of the West occurs in the thirteenth century. Clement V. to oblige the French King, Philip le Bel, removed the seat of the Roman see to Avignon. At the Council of Vienna, A.D. 1308, he published some important additions to the canon law; which were followed by those of his successor John XXII. in 1317. The former volume is called, the Clementines, or Constitutions of Clement; the latter, the Extravagantes of John. The

pope retired within the dominions of the French sovereign ; and seemed to court his favour. But in fact no pontiff more seriously invaded his rights ; for the great object of the canon law was certainly to establish the complete independence of the clergy upon the civil powers. A brief digression upon the history of the canon law may not be out of place.

The code, as it now exists, consists of a series of canons and other ecclesiastical constitutions, some comparatively recent, others of very ancient date. In the twelfth century, Gratian, a Benedictine monk, arranged and methodized all which then existed, beginning from the time of Constantine the Great. To these, five books were added by Gregory IX. in 1234, which still form the most important part of the canon law. To these Boniface VIII. added a sixth, A.D. 1298, which he named the *Sext*. These again were followed by the *Clementines* and *Extravagantes*. Succeeding pontiffs down to Sixtus IV. have added other decretals, and decrees of councils, all which form together the canon law of Rome. In England this code was never cordially received ; and in those points in which it asserted the absolute independence of the Church, was indeed stiffly resisted by the king and barons long before the Reformation, in the statute of provisors, and many similar Acts. “ All the strength,” says Blackstone, “ that either the papal or imperial laws, have obtained in this realm, is only because they have been admitted and received by immemorial usage and custom, in some particular cases, and some particular courts.” In England, the canon law in use before the Reformation was that which was enacted from time to time in national synods ; of which we have records from the earliest period of the English or Anglo-Saxon Church. The residence of the popes at Avignon seemed for a time to have impaired the authority of the Roman see. Residing at a distance from the ancient capital of the Church they were neither so well informed of the state of public affairs, nor so independent of the great western sovereigns. During their absence factions appeared and insurrections broke out, first at Rome, and then in other parts of Italy. The Roman people, no longer enriched by the distribution of their wealth, loudly complained of their rapacity ; the Italian dominions, torn by faction, were less productive ; and the pontiffs, by the sale of indulgences and by connivances at simoniacal abuses, filled Europe with complaints. Clement V. is described as a mere

creature of Philip. He was more probably crafty and deceptive. Upon his death a contest naturally arose between the French cardinals and those of Italy. For two years the papal throne was vacant; at length a French cardinal was chosen, John XXII. He quarrelled with the emperor, who had assumed the imperial crown without his permission, and twice excommunicated him. The emperor, in return, deposed him from the popedom, and placed Nicholas V. in the papal chair, accepting the imperial crown in return at his hands. Nicholas, however, in 1330, was compelled to abdicate, and died soon after a prisoner at Avignon. John himself was accused of heresy for teaching doctrines inconsistent with purgatory; he died while the dispute still continued; and again the contest for the popedom was renewed between the French and Italian cardinals. While the court remained at Avignon, six Frenchmen in succession were elected to the papacy. Italy meantime was neglected and overrun with war. At length in 1378, on the death of Gregory XI., the great schism broke out. The Romans elected Urban VI., a Neapolitan, the French elected Clement. The one resided at Rome, the other at Avignon. France, a part of Spain, Scotland, and their dependencies acknowledged Urban; the rest of Europe followed the party of Clement. The people of Castile were Clementines, while the Portuguese were Urbanites. The order of Dominicans was equally divided in those kingdoms, and it elected two rival vicars. The confusion of the Church could scarcely have been greater when, in the year 1409, the two great factions were again divided, and a third was formed. The quarrels of the rival popes, Benedict XIII., at Avignon, and Gregory XII., at Rome, engaged the attention of a council held at Pisa, which excommunicated both the pontiffs, and in their place elected Alexander V. Benedict and Gregory agreed, however, on one point—to treat the council with contempt. The one sought the protection of France; the other, of the king of Naples. Alexander V. died soon after his election, but a successor was immediately chosen by the cardinals who had met at Pisa, and John XXIII., a Neapolitan, claimed the papal throne in 1401. Thus three popes, each of whom anathematized the other two, demanded the allegiance of the Church. A state of things so full of peril and of scandal could not last. In self-defence, the civil power was compelled to interfere; and, with the

exception of the factious leaders, the clergy of all parties were anxious for repose. In 1414 the Council of Constance was summoned; the Emperor Sigismund was present with many of the German princes, and all the states of Europe were represented by their ambassadors. John himself, although he had convoked the council, was, on the 29th May, 1415, formally deposed on account of various crimes of which he was alleged to have been guilty. Gregory sent in his voluntary resignation; Benedict alone remained to be dealt with; and he too, at a later session of the council, on the 26th July, 1417, was also deposed, and Martin V. elected sole pope. Benedict refused to submit; and on his death, which occurred in 1423, the dregs of his party attempted to perpetuate the schism, by electing Munoz, a Spaniard, under the title of Clement VIII.; but he soon resigned his pretensions, and in 1429 the breach finally closed up, and Martin V. was left in undisputed possession of the papacy.

One subject absorbed the attention of the Church of Rome during the whole of the fifteenth century—the progress of heresy and the means of its suppression. There was a large party, in the bosom of the Church itself, who were conscious of its faults and longed for reformation. Their influence may be traced at the Council of Constance in two decrees; the one of which vindicates the authority of general councils, while the other asserts that even the Roman pontiff is subject to the decisions of the universal Church. The council admitted the necessity of a general reform. It is not probable that it would have revised the creed, or to any great extent remodelled the constitution of the Church. It would have confined its labours to the retrenchment of some luxuries, and the suppression of the old abuses of simony and clerical incapacity and sloth; but the pope, now secure in his seat, abruptly dissolved the council in 1418, promising that within five years another should be called for the express purpose of the reformation of the Church. In consequence the Council of Basle met, but not till 1434; it was adjourned to Ferrara in 1438, and afterwards to Florence. But nothing was done of the least importance; the cardinals and pope would make no concessions to the rising spirit of inquiry and discontent. They determined that severity was the method by which the peace of the Church and its unity must be preserved.

The opinions of Wickliffe were widely spread, not in England

only but upon the continent of Europe. They had already been condemned in two provincial councils at London and Oxford; yet Wickliffe, protected by the Duke of Lancaster, had died in peace. The Council of Constance felt it necessary to anathematize his memory, and, in consequence of their decree, his bones were dug from their resting-place, after half a century, and publicly burnt. John Huss had imbibed his principles: he was professor of divinity in the university of Prague, and a preacher in that city. He was a man of gentle and persuasive eloquence, of an affable deportment, of great learning for the times, and of a stout heart. In vain did the archbishop of Prague denounce his doctrines as heretical: he was confessor to Sophia, queen of Bohemia, and Wenceslaus, her husband, protected him from harm. In the year 1408, the heads of the university resolved, since they could do no more, to expel the Wickliffites. Huss maintained his ground, at the head of a great number of the students, and the papal party withdrew to Leipzig. He was now installed rector of the university of Prague; his influence extended over all Bohemia, and the principles of Wickliffe were everywhere avowed. Simple women as well as men discussed the doctrines of the Gospel, and, still worse, declaimed against the usurpations of the pope. Huss, who had been already summoned by the pope to appear before him and answer for his conduct, was now again cited before the Council of Constance. Had he listened to the entreaties of the people of Bohemia, he would have disobeyed the mandate; but, trusting to the safe-conduct of Sigismund, both for his journey to Constance, his residence there, and his secure return, he appeared before the council. He was immediately seized—pronounced guilty of heresy, and, on his refusal to recant, given over to the secular arm, and burnt alive on the 16th of July, 1415. Braccioini, who saw him suffer, admits that he endured the agony with the utmost fortitude, expressed in his last moments sentiments worthy of the Gospel. He died exulting. His friend and associate in the work of reformation, Jerome of Prague, was seized and put to death soon after by a similar process. The council justified its conduct towards Huss in a decree which asserts, "that by no laws, either human or divine, is it right to observe either oath or promise to the prejudice of the Catholic faith."

The history of Spain in the fifteenth century is little more

than the history of the Spanish Inquisition. When, towards the close of the century, the petty kingdoms of the peninsula were united under Ferdinand and Isabella, a grand inquisitor was appointed for the whole of Spain, and the holy office became a great national institution ; but it was admitted with extreme reluctance into Castile and Arragon. In the latter kingdom many of the nobles were of Jewish descent, and their ancestors had suffered from the Inquisition. An appeal was made in vain to the pope, and the assassination of Arbues, the grand inquisitor, followed. A magnificent monument was erected to his memory by the two sovereigns, and he was beatified by the pope. The authors and accomplices of the crime were betrayed, and two hundred victims were sacrificed in vengeance to his memory. There was scarcely a single family in the three first orders of nobility which did not furnish at least one of its members to the auto-da-fé, wearing the habit of a penitent.

Torquemada, bishop of Barcelona, now received his commission as special inquisitor from Rome. His dreadful fanaticism was appalled by no considerations whether of policy or of pity. To eradicate heresy at whatever cost of individual suffering, or national disgrace, was his commission. The unbaptized Jews were expelled from Spain ; they were accused of persuading the new Christians to apostatize, of crucifying children on Good Friday, and of poisoning the Christians by means of their own physicians. They offered thirty thousand pieces of silver to Ferdinand, promising to live peaceably and to comply with any regulations he might think proper to impose, on the sole condition of being permitted to remain his subjects without abandoning their faith. Ferdinand and Isabella seemed willing to consent, when Torquemada appeared before them with a crucifix in his hand. "Behold your Saviour !" he exclaimed ; "take him and sell him ! Judas sold his Master for thirty pieces of silver, your highnesses are about to do the same for thirty thousand." The Dominican triumphed ; a decree was issued, on the 31st of March, 1492, by which all the Jews were compelled to leave Spain within four months on pain of death. They were forbidden to carry their gold and silver with them ; but they might exchange it for merchandise, which of course from its bulk could not so readily be removed. According to Mariana, the great Spanish historian, a Jesuit of the sixteenth century, eight hun-

dred thousand Jews quitted Spain ; and if the Moors who emigrated to Africa, and the Christians who settled in the New World, are added to the number, we shall find that Ferdinand and Isabella lost, through these measures, two millions of their subjects. Bernaldez, a contemporary historian, affirms that the Jews carried a quantity of gold with them, concealed in their garments and saddles, and even in their stomachs, for they broke up the ducats and swallowed them. A great number afterwards returned to Spain, and received baptism. Some too returned from the kingdom of Fez, where the Moors had seized their money and effects, and killed even the women, to take the gold which they expected to find within them. Innocent VIII. pursued the wretched fugitives with a bull, issued at the desire of Torquemada, commanding all governments to arrest them on pain of excommunication ; but happily little attention was paid to it. Not satisfied with these severities, Torquemada obtained a brief from Rome prohibiting bishops of Jewish origin from interfering in the proceedings of the Inquisition. Although bishops were especially excepted from the jurisdiction of the holy office, he accused two of the Spanish prelates, of Jewish descent, of heresy. One of these, Davila, bishop of Segovia, had held that office for thirty years, when he was summoned to Rome ; but he was kindly received by the pope, and no charge appears to have been sustained against him. Aranda, bishop of Calahorra, and president of the council of Castile, was also summoned on the charge of heresy ; his father had been a wealthy Jew, and the real intention was to confiscate his property. He was condemned in a secret consistory, and died in prison. Such was the terror of the Inquisition, that gentlemen of high birth volunteered to become *familiars* of the holy office to secure themselves from danger. Torquemada travelled with fifty of these *familiars*, his body-guard, on horseback, and two hundred more on foot. His barbarity placed his life in continual danger. The pope himself was alarmed at the complaints which reached him, and three times was the colleague of the grand inquisitor sent to Rome to defend his conduct. At length Alexander VI., weary of continual clamours, partially superseded him, on the plea of his great age and infirmities, by naming four other inquisitors possessing equal powers with himself. In 1498, Thomas de Torquemada, the first grand inquisitor of Spain, died. Ferdinand and Isabella became

possessed of the kingdom of Granada about this period, and Diego Deza, the new inquisitor, was instructed to wield the terrors of the Inquisition in the kingdom recently acquired. He presided eight years over the tribunal, and his victims are numbered thus: 2,500 heretics burnt alive, and 896 in effigy, besides 34,952 condemned to different penances. Nor did this include the whole of Spain. Cisneros presided at the same time over the Inquisition of Castile and Arragon. In eleven years he condemned 52,855 individuals, of whom 3,564 were burnt alive.

When the sixteenth century dawned, the Roman see indulged in pleasing visions of perfect triumph and of a long repose. "There appeared," says father Paul, the historian of the Council of Trent, "no urgent cause to convoke a council, nor was any likely to happen for a long space." The complaints of many churches, he proceeds to tell us, against the grandeur of the papal see seemed absolutely to be appeased, and all the kingdoms of Western Europe were not only in communion with Rome, but in strict subjection to her. "A few Waldenses lingered on the sides of the Alps and Pyrenees, impious and obscene men from whom nothing was to be feared. The hatred of their pious neighbours kept them in complete subjection." He speaks of the Picards and Hussites of Bohemia with similar contempt, and the Lollardism of England was unworthy of his notice. Some danger of a schism there had been; for Julius II., who was more a soldier than a priest, had quarrelled with Louis XII. of France, and thundered an excommunication against him. The French king, supported by several cardinals, withdrew his allegiance; but Julius opportunely dying and Leo being created in his stead, he reconciled at once with admirable ease both the kingdom of France and the insurgent cardinals; and thus a fire was quenched which threatened, in the judgment of father Paul, to have burned up the Church herself. (Hist. Council of Trent, lib. 1.)

The surface was unruffled, it is true, but dangers were already lowering which only the infatuated could refuse to see. There is a pitch of corruption in public affairs which, in the decrees of Providence, is always suicidal. There is an audacity in vice, once reached, from which men in public stations are never permitted to escape. This pre-eminence in guilt the papacy had at length attained. Alexander VI. occupied the papal throne. The history

of his popedom as written by Muratori, Fleury, and other Roman Catholics, has been described as certainly the blackest page in the history of modern Rome. When elected in 1492, a Spaniard by birth, daring, adventurous, of most licentious habits, he was already the father of four sons. Lucretia, an only daughter, rivalled her father's profligacy. Of his sons the second, Cæsar Borgia, is illustrious in the annals of guilt; and his crimes are to some extent those of the papacy itself, inasmuch as he was made archbishop of Valenza and cardinal, when his vicious disposition was notorious. He was suspected of the murder of his brother; and, soon growing weary of the slight restraint which it imposed upon him, he resigned the office of cardinal and joined the king of France, by whom he was created duke of Valentinois. His career was rather that of a ferocious ruffian than a brave soldier; his prisoners were murdered; the female captives taken at Capua were sold as slaves, or reserved for his own palace at Rome. His life, in short, was a career of the most atrocious crimes, which he completed, according to general tradition, by poisoning the pope his father. Of this last act of wickedness various accounts are given. It has been said they both drank, by mistake, of poisoned wine which they themselves intended for one of the cardinals. A court thus ruled, a Church administered by such hands, however smoothly the stream might glide, must have been from the nature of things in peril of some high disaster.

But the magnificent pontificate of Leo X. retrieved the fortunes of the papacy for a time, and moulded its character anew. Yet it did nothing to avert the impending crisis of the Reformation; it rather showed its absolute necessity. Giovanni, the second son of Lorenzo de Medici, surnamed the Magnificent, was elected pope in 1513 at the early age of thirty-seven. On a subject so well known as that of his life and character it is unnecessary to enlarge. His tastes were refined, his disposition generous, his attainments considerable, his abilities unquestioned. To religion he made no pretensions; his whole life was one of refined intellectual sensualism. All that he conceded to the clerical office was a decent submission to its forms. Yet he was ambitious to extend the power, as well as to enhance the splendour, of the church. Since the year 1438 the French Church had been governed under a law of its own, called the Pragmatic Sanction, which, besides rejecting other encroachments of the popes, wrested

from them the patronage of the bishopricks, which, with the greater monasteries, had been vested in the kings of France. Leo induced Francis I. to abandon the Pragmatic Sanction and substitute a concordat in its place. It was with difficulty the parliament of Paris was induced to register the edict. At length it did so under a solemn protest, in which the University of Paris and the clergy joined; and thus the rights of the Gallican Church were lost. In every direction the claims of the papacy were rigidly maintained.

It was the childish ambition of Leo to construct a Christian temple which should throw into the shade the grandest monuments of pagan Rome. The idea was curious, and of a piece with all his character. He had a boyish admiration of classical antiquity. He would have reformed the city, the Italian states, the church itself, after the classical model. To this caprice we owe Luther's theses and the reformation. To raise the necessary funds for the erection of St. Peter's, his vast cathedral, he was compelled to resort to the expedient of selling indulgences. Germany, now populous and rich, was expected to yield a liberal harvest. Tetzel, the Dominican monk, was intrusted with a mission the result of which has been told in the article on the Lutheran Church.

On the subject of indulgences a short digression may be allowed.

They were first issued by Pope Urban II., A.D. 1100: he granted plenary indulgence, and remission of all their sins, to every person who should fight in Palestine to regain the sepulchre. His example was followed by his successors for several centuries; and, as the zeal of the crusaders flagged, they granted indulgences to those who, unwilling to fight themselves, would maintain a soldier; a condition which was easily commuted into the payment of a stated tax, and thus indulgences became a vendible commodity. In process of time similar indulgences and pardons were granted to those who took arms against heretics, or against those states which were in hostility to the see of Rome. From these indulgences an immense revenue was extracted. Clement VI. proclaimed a jubilee, in the year 1350, when indulgences were issued to a vast extent to all those who should either visit Rome, or perform certain vows or penances, or, failing in these duties, contribute liberally to the Church. This was the origin of the papal jubilee, which is now celebrated every twenty-fifth

year. Leo, whose treasury was exhausted, consulted his able financier Lorenzo Pucci, cardinal of Sante Quatro, who suggested a general issue of indulgences throughout Christendom, to be granted to all who would pay for them, and to be valid both for the living and the dead ; freeing the former from penances, and the latter from the pains of purgatory. In the execution of this enterprise, if Leo erred, his apology, as given by Father Paul, is this :—"That many of the indulgences formerly made by preceding popes had causes more unjust and were exercised with more avarice and extortion." The thoughtless generosity of Leo exposed the traffic to additional reproach. The indulgence was published in 1517, and before any part of it had reached his own exchequer, the revenues expected from various kingdoms had already been given away,—those of Saxony to his sister Magdalen, the wife of Cibo, a son of Innocent VIII. The business of preaching the indulgences was intrusted to the bishop Arembold, and by him again to those agents, however worthless, who were likely to raise the largest sums of money. The Dominicans undertook the work which the more respectable of the clergy had refused. Of these men Tetzal was the most notorious. They were in general worthless persons, who spent their time in taverns, or in places of resort still more disreputable.

The real value of these indulgences was a question much agitated at the time even amongst the Canonists themselves. Leo attempted to settle this amongst other difficulties, in the bull of 1520, in which Luther was summarily condemned. But the bull had very little weight with theologians, for Leo was well known to be unacquainted with divinity. His death, which occurred in 1521, made way for Adrian, a pontiff of a different character, profoundly versed in the learning of the church and of the Canonists. Four opinions were held amongst good Catholics as to the value of indulgences : some believed, with Luther, that they were merely a release from ecclesiastical censures ; a second party held that they availed, if the purchaser was truly penitent, for the pardon of sin ; a third that their efficacy was absolute, and limited by no such condition ; while a fourth maintained, with Tetzal and the Dominican monks of Saxony, that there was a fund of merit treasured up in the church, and distributed by means of these indulgences, by virtue of which all

sins of the living and dead, past, present, and to come, were instantly remitted. Sante Quatro recommended Adrian to give his apostolic sanction to each of the four opinions; thus leaving the question open, but in effect at the same time absolving Luther. The pontiff was deeply perplexed. The question, while it agitated Germany, filled Rome itself with uneasiness. If indulgences had no spiritual efficacy the Church of Rome must be remodelled; the popes must abandon the claims of at least five hundred years; they must allow themselves liable to error in spiritual things, and those, too, of the highest moment. They might even be compelled to submit to the decrees of a general council. Yet there was no alternative. Germany had now, to a great extent, renounced its allegiance. The new opinions were spreading rapidly in France. The Lollards in England gave uneasiness. Adrian resolved upon a general council; and the Council of Trent was the consequence of these distractions.

Adrian himself was disposed to acknowledge many faults in the Church, and to reform glaring abuses. He openly admitted, by his nuncio at the diet of Nuremburgh, the sins of priests and prelates and some abominations even in the holy see. Such candour was unwelcome at the court of Rome. Cardinal Volterra resisted all change: governments fell by making concessions: severity had crushed the Waldenses; crusades, not reformatations were the proper cure of heresy. Distracted by opposite opinions, and overwhelmed with anxieties, Adrian died in September, 1523. It was not till the 13th of December, 1545, that the Council of Trent actually assembled.

It was convoked at Mantua by Paul III. in 1537, but prorogued in consequence of the war which ravaged Italy. It met at length in 1545 at Trent, as a neutral ground on the borders of Germany, and easy of access from France and Spain. The reformers of Germany, France, and England were summoned to appear by their bishops, but all of them refused, remembering, as they said, the fate of Huss at the Council of Constance, and denying the right of the bishop of Rome to call together general councils. The apprehensions of the Protestants were not unfounded. The year 1545 was signalized both by the meeting of the Council of Trent and the massacre of four thousand unresisting Waldenses at Cabriers and Merindolo, the latter in the

pope's own territories. Neither the emperor Charles V. nor Francis I. of France entered cordially into the project; the former still hoping by negotiation to recover the Protestants of Germany, while the latter was secretly assisting them; the two monarchs being at war with each other. The council was formed when only ten bishops had arrived; and on the 13th of December, when the pope's bull was read convoking the council and proclaiming a jubilee, only twenty-five prelates were in attendance. In the session of January, 1546, besides the papal legates and the cardinal of Trent, there were present four archbishops, twenty-eight bishops, three Benedictine abbots, and four generals, or heads of religious orders. These forty-three persons constituted the general council. The two archbishops were merely titulars who had never seen their churches—Olaus archbishop of Upsal; and Venante a Scotchman, archbishop of Armagh: about twenty divines were present as spectators. The king of the Romans sent an ambassador, the cardinal of Augsburg a proctor; and ten gentlemen watched over the secular interests of the cardinal of Trent. Thus opened a council whose decrees were to give law to Christendom, restore the Church to the affections of the Protestants, and purify all its disorders. The council sat, though with several intervals while its sessions were prorogued, for eighteen years; it was not finally dissolved till 1564. Its canons and decrees were then, by a bull of pope Pius IV., declared to be the statutes of the Catholic Church. All graces, privileges, and indulgences whatever, at variance with the decrees and statutes of the council, are revoked, made null and void, and reduced to the terms and limits of the council itself. By a second bull, dated November, 1564, the Tridentine decisions on matters of faith were reduced into the form of a creed, since known as that of pope Pius IV. To this creed all ecclesiastics of the Church of Rome subscribe, adding the sanction of an oath. It contains a summary of the doctrines of the Church of Rome as they are now professed. After reciting the Nicene creed it proceeds thus:—

“ 1. I most firmly admit and receive the apostolical and ecclesiastical traditions, and all other observances and constitutions of the Church.

“ 2. I admit also the sacred Scriptures according to that sense which holy mother Church, to whom it appertains to judge of

the true meaning and interpretation of the sacred Scriptures, hath holden and still holds: nor will I ever receive and interpret them, otherwise than according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers.

“ 3. I profess, likewise, that there are truly and properly seven sacraments of the new law, instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ, and necessary for the salvation of mankind, though not all of them to every one; namely, Baptism, Confirmation, the Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Orders, and Matrimony; and that they confer grace; and that of these sacraments Baptism, Confirmation, and Orders cannot be repeated without sacrilege. I receive also and admit the received and approved rites of the Catholic Church, in the solemn administration of all the aforesaid sacraments.

“ 4. I embrace and receive all things, and every thing, which have been defined and declared by the holy Council of Trent, concerning original sin and justification.

“ 5. Further, I profess that in the mass is offered unto God a true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice, for the living and the dead; and that in the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist there is really, truly, and substantially the body and blood, together with the soul and divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ; and that a conversion is made of the whole substance of the bread into his body, and of the whole substance of the wine into his blood; which conversion the Catholic Church calls Transubstantiation.

“ 6. I confess, also, that under one kind only is received the whole and entire Christ, and the true sacrament.

“ 7. I strenuously maintain, that there is a purgatory, and that the souls detained there are assisted by the prayers of the faithful.

“ 8. Likewise, that the saints, who reign together with Christ, are to be venerated and invoked, and that they offer prayers for us to God; and that their relics are to be venerated.

“ 9. I most firmly declare, that the images of Christ, and of the ever-Virgin, mother of God, as also of the other saints, are to be had and retained; and that due honour and veneration are to be shown to them.

“ 10. I affirm also, that the power of indulgences was left by

Christ in his Church ; and that the use of them is very salutary to Christian people.

“ 11. I acknowledge the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of Rome to be the mother and mistress of all churches : and I promise and swear true obedience to the Roman pontiff, successor to the prince of the apostles St. Peter, and the vicegerent of Jesus Christ.

“ 12. Further I do, without doubt, receive and profess all things which have been delivered, defined, and declared by the sacred canons, and œcumenical councils, especially by the holy Council of Trent ; and all things contrary thereunto, and all heresies of whatsoever kind, which have been condemned, rejected, and anathematized by the Church, I in like manner condemn, reject, and anathematize.

“ This true Catholic faith, out of which no one can be saved, which by these presents I profess and verily hold, I, *N. N.*, do promise, vow, and swear, most firmly to keep, and confess (by God's help) entire and inviolate, to the last breath of my life ; and that I will take care, as far as in me lies, that the same be holden, kept, and preached by all who are subject to my control, or who are connected with my charge.

“ So help me God, and these the holy gospels of God.”

No point was more laboriously discussed, or, according to father Paul, presented more difficulties to the Tridentine theologians, than the doctrine of justification by faith. Luther's opinions were collected in twenty-five articles, which, after mature deliberation, were all of them condemned. Nothing appears more simple to an English reader than Luther's method of stating his views on this subject : the Tridentine fathers found them difficult to understand. With the sacred Scriptures they had little acquaintance, and their reading amongst the schoolmen helped them not at all. “ The opinion of Luther,” says father Paul, “ concerning justifying faith, concerning the distinction between the law and the gospel, and of the quality of the works depending the one on the other, was never thought of by any school writer, and therefore never confuted or discussed ; so that the divines had work enough, first to understand the meaning of the Lutheran propositions themselves, and then the reasons by which to refute them. That faith justified must be true, no doubt, for it is said and repeated by St. Paul ; but to resolve

what that faith was, and how it made men just, here lay the difficulty. Faith had various meanings; some gave nine, others to the number of fifteen. How faith justifies, perplexed them further, and with this the whole doctrine of good works. One point was never touched, that is, whether a man is justified and then obeys the law, or whether he first obeys and then is justified. In one opinion all the Tridentine fathers at last agreed; that to say, as Luther did, that only faith justifies is a proposition which may be taken in various senses, and all of them are absurd." Their decrees appear in thirty-three canons (chapter xvi., session vi.); and so long as these are received as the standards of the Church of Rome, it is impossible, were this the sole ground of difference, for any Protestant Church to return to her communion. When the council broke up, and its decrees were published, the Reformation had extended to Great Britain; the labours of Calvin had established it in France; the Swiss reformers had achieved their work; the Lutheran Church had attained what proved to be the summit of its power. The papacy had lost its hold upon some of the most powerful nations of Western Europe; and, in short, the Reformation occupied, with regard to its territorial triumphs, the ground on which it stands in the nineteenth century.

Five years before the council assembled, Paul III. decided on a measure even more fruitful of results than the decrees of the Tridentine fathers. By a bull which bears date in 1540, he constituted the order of Jesuits. Ignatius Loyola was their founder. Like Dominic, and Francis of Assisi, a Spaniard; in his youth a soldier, who had won distinction at the siege of Pampeluna. Here he was wounded, and his conduct on his recovery was such as would, in later times, have placed his insanity beyond dispute. His story, as told by Ribadaneira, his first biographer, is that of a fiery enthusiast with a disordered mind. He read during his hours of suffering and convalescence the 'Life of Christ,' the 'Lives and Martyrdoms of the Saints,' a translation into Spanish of the 'Flos Sanctorum;' and, aspiring to rival their devotion, resolved to expose himself to penances and sufferings such as they had undergone. He distributed his property to the poor, bound up his wounded limb with a piece of cord, threw his armour and military decorations upon a mule, and set forth on foot in a pilgrim's garb under a vow to walk barefooted to the holy sepul-

chre. At Montserrat he overtook a Moresco, or Spanish Moor, fell upon him unprovoked, and nearly killed him, only because he was an infidel. In the chapel of the convent at Montserrat, he knelt three days and nights cased in armour, and had a vision commanding him to devote his life to the service of the Church. He then took up his abode in the neighbouring hospital of Manresa with a company of beggars, whose society he courted. Seven hours a day he prayed upon his knees. Thrice a day he scourged himself. His food was a crust from the filthy wallet of one of the mendicants. For four months he performed no ablutions, and was at length shunned by the poorest of the fraternity as a foetid and loathsome mass of impurity. Having begged his way to Jerusalem, there he was foiled in his great object; for the prior, fearing that his indiscretion might provoke the Mahometans to some act of violence, forbade him to appear in the holy city, and commanded him instantly to return. He reached Barcelona in 1524, and placed himself as a pupil in the public grammar-school, sitting on the same form with the boys, to learn the first rudiments of Latin, and receiving at his own desire the same corporal chastisement. For ten years he begged his way through the universities of France and Spain, submitting to the most unnatural hardships, and keeping in sight, his one object, the honour of the Catholic Church. At Paris, in 1534, he formed his first society, which consisted of six members, of whom one was Francis Xavier. Six years were spent in perfecting its rules, obtaining fresh adherents, and preaching from place to place through southern Europe. His fame had preceded him to Rome. The austerity of his life, his public sermons, his romantic history, his squalid dress and haggard looks, soon made a deep impression; and when with his few companions he offered his services to Paul III., the pontiff was already prepared to embrace them with alacrity. The papal chair was beset with dangers; the great sovereigns of Europe viewed its enormous power with jealousy; it was by no means certain that the approaching council would not attempt to limit its prerogatives. The new society of Jesus, as they now styled themselves, offered their services to the pope in the same spirit in which a former generation had devoted their lives and fortunes to the recovery of the sepulchre. There was all the romance of chivalry; and this was mingled with intense devotion to the Church, which seemed to them incarnate in the

popedom. They had already taken the three monastic vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience; they added a fourth, implicit obedience to the pope; they would obey all his commands; they would bind themselves to be absolutely at his disposal; they would go at his bidding into every country under heaven, to certain imprisonment, or to certain death, without inquiry, without cost, and, when required, with the profoundest secrecy.

The popes felt the value of their new allies, and loaded them with honours. Paul III. limited their number at first to sixty, but the prohibition was soon removed and they increased rapidly. He gave them leave to make their own rules and constitutions, to elect their own general, to hear confessions, to absolve and to excommunicate, in all places whatever, without consulting the local bishops or other ecclesiastical authorities, and to receive laymen as well as priests into their order. He enlarged even these privileges in subsequent bulls, empowering them to depose or change their general without consulting the papal see; to absolve heretics; to excommunicate delinquents and punish them; to exercise all episcopal functions, to ordain, confirm, dispense and consecrate; to disguise themselves in any such dress or habit, as they pleased; to be exempt from secular jurisdiction, and from all tithes and taxes due to the Church. Julius III., who succeeded Paul, authorized them to erect universities wherever they pleased, and to confer whatever decrees they chose; and Pius IV. confirmed all their previous grants and privileges. Six Jesuits represented the order at the Council of Trent, and did not fail to give the assembled fathers an early intimation of their power. By a rule which was rigidly observed no speaker occupied more than half an hour. A Jesuit, on a matter of no importance, spoke for a whole day; another followed the day after, and repeated almost verbatim the same wearisome harangue. They were deputed, they said, by the pope, and it was not for the council to prescribe rules to them. Pius V. gave the Jesuits the right of entering into any university in Christendom and giving public lectures, to which all the members were bound to listen. Gregory XIII. still further enlarged their powers; he gave them their own judges and advocates, made them the papal librarians, committed the Index Expurgatorius to their keeping, and authorized them to correct, change, expunge, and burn such books and manuscripts as they deemed proper.

The constitutions of the Jesuits were published by authority at Rome in 1558. The society consisted of priests and lay members; but the great principle pervading the laws of the society was the same for both, namely, the separation of all its members from the duties and relationships of common life; even the love of kindred was denounced as sinful. The novice, who renounced his property in order to join the society, was not allowed to give it to his relations, it belonged to the order. Not a letter could be received or written without being shown to the superior. Every secret of his heart must be revealed to the confessor of the society before the candidate was admitted; and the superior himself reserved the right of hearing confession when necessary. Obedience usurped the place of all other motives and affections, and it was blind and absolute. No Jesuit was permitted to aspire after any higher rank or station: the ecclesiastics of the order renounced the dignities of the Church; the secular, if he entered the society unlettered, might neither learn to read nor write without permission of the superior. All right of private judgment was renounced; "and let each member persuade himself," says one of the constitutions, "that he ought to be governed and moved by his superior, even as though he were a lifeless body." The power of the general was in some respects greater than the pope's, since he alone could wield this obedience, and that without responsibility, and for life. He had, however, assistants in every province; but they had no power to interfere beyond the terms of their commission. He appointed the presidents of provinces, colleges, and religious houses at pleasure; he admitted members and dismissed them; he absolved and punished. Still he was subject to some restraints. All the members of the society formed one great council; the general might always ask their advice if he thought proper; but if a change in the constitution of the order, or the dissolution of existing houses were desired, this could only be done with their consent. There was also a body of assistants not nominated by the general, who exercised a constant supervision over his conduct; and an admonitor, whose special office it was to reprove or caution him; and, in case of any gross delinquency, the assistants were empowered to summon the general congregation, which might then proceed even to pronounce a sentence of deposition, and to elect another general.

The profound secrecy which the Jesuits observe, and which is imposed upon them in their constitutions, while it has no doubt contributed to their astonishing successes, has at the same time created the darkest suspicions. A Jesuit has been thought capable of every crime ; there is no conceivable form of guilt of which societies or men are capable, which has not been alleged against them by Protestant, and even by Roman Catholic writers. A volume entitled '*Secreta Monita Societatis Jesu*,' professing to contain the secret instructions of the order, was reprinted by a Protestant bookseller at Antwerp, in the seventeenth century ; it was again reprinted in England, in Latin and English, in 1723. This work consists of seventeen chapters. It is a masterpiece of policy devoid of principle ; it explains and teaches the whole mechanism of fraud and cunning ; and is, without exception, as base a compendium of deceit and heartlessness as the world has ever seen. The novice is instructed how to feign the air of devotion ; how to excite compassion on account of his poverty ; how to worm himself into the confidence of the unsuspecting ; how to sow dissension in families ; how to obtain the property of rich widows ; and how, in short, to establish the interests of his order upon the ruins of human happiness and social life. But the Jesuits deny that the '*Secreta Monita*' is authentic ; and they have always been consistent in their protestation that it libels their order. The question is revived as often as the morality of the Jesuits is called in question, and there is but one way in which it can really be set at rest : a society which is found in every civilized state, interfering in national, religious, and even domestic matters, among friends and foes, must either lay bare its bosom to the world, as did the first preachers of Christianity, or it must be content to lie for ever beneath the worst suspicions. If the charges brought against the Jesuits are false, it is not the malice of others, but their own mysterious silence which is alone in fault.

From this order the reforming party expected the regeneration of the Church, the popes the restoration of their power, and all true Catholics a triumph over heresy. Nor were they entirely disappointed. When Ignatius died, his company numbered thirteen provinces, exclusive of that of Rome, and seven of these belonged to Spain and its dependencies. The Inquisition, under Charles V., had relaxed nothing of its vigour : during the reign

of Ferdinand and Isabella it had burnt twenty thousand heretics, and banished nine hundred thousand ; during that of Charles V. it was introduced into the Low Countries ; it was supported with all his authority in Spain and Sicily ; and he was only prevented by an insurrection from establishing it at Naples. After all, he regretted nothing on his death-bed, but his sinful lenity to Luther and the heretics. Yet, even in Spain, the Jesuits were already supplanting the Inquisitors of St. Dominic : they wielded a more formidable weapon ; they planted schools in every city, and in a few years monopolized in Spain, as well as the rest of papal Europe, the education of the young. America was just discovered, and the Jesuits had entered on their mission in Brazil and Paraguay. Francis Xavier, with a hundred missionaries, had penetrated the East Indies from Goa to Japan. Abyssinia was the seat of a provincial who aspired to rule its ancient church, and who succeeded in overthrowing its ancient dynasty. France was reluctant to receive the Jesuits, and contained only one college regularly formed. Germany was divided into two provinces. Into England the Jesuits, except by stealth, were not allowed to force their way. So early and so rapid was the progress of the society. Viewed with fear and wonder, and received in the most papal countries with distrust, it proceeded unchecked on its march of triumph. Henry III. of France was stabbed by a priest ; Henry IV. was assassinated ; the life of Elizabeth of England was threatened ; and in each case suspicion, if not proof, rested on the Jesuits. Still their influence grew amidst universal dread or hate. The gunpowder plot, in 1605, they avowed as their own device ; and Mariana, in his book dedicated to the king of Spain, defended the doctrine that it was meritorious to remove heretical princes by assassination. Yet, according to father Ribadaneira, in the year 1608 the society numbered 10,581 members, with an annual revenue of two millions of crowns. At the close of the sixteenth century it had thrown into the shade Franciscans, Dominicans, the parochial clergy, and all the other agencies on which the court of Rome had so long depended.

The history of the Roman Catholic Church during the last two centuries and a half is so complicated with that of European politics, and with the growth of those colonial empires which have started into life beyond the seas, that it becomes impossible

to trace, within a limited space, any but the most important events. Our narrative henceforth becomes a summary, and we must be satisfied to notice only those occurrences which have left some abiding impressions on the character or the constitution of the Church of Rome.

In 1622 the famous congregation *de Propagandâ fide* was founded by Gregory XV. It consisted of a number of cardinals assisted by a secretary, a notary, an officer of the Inquisition, and a few priests, and was designed to propagate religion in foreign parts, to conduct the missions which had already been established, and to form new ones in every part of the world. The example of Gregory was followed by Urban VIII., who in 1687 added a college for the education of young men destined for foreign missions. They were instructed, not, like the old monks, in barbarous literature and school divinity, but in science, in the philosophy of grammar, and in languages. The same zeal for the conversion of the heathen extended into France, where in 1663 a congregation of bishops and other ecclesiastics was founded at Paris for the education of Christian missionaries. Another society appeared in France in 1644 under the title of the Congregation of the Holy Sacrament. These were followed by other associations of less note in different countries for promoting the cause of the Church amongst the infidels. They were all in subjection to the parent congregation of Gregory XV. at Rome. Jesuits, Dominicans, Franciscans, Capuchins, were employed abroad. But the Jesuits were the most successful. A bitter warfare was waged between the Jesuits and the other missionaries, not unlike that which two hundred years before had raged between the monks and the parochial clergy. The Jesuits accused the Dominicans of want of zeal, and the Dominicans replied, accusing the Jesuits, with bitter invectives, of corrupting the doctrines of the church to promote their own ambitious purposes. South America and the East Indies were the two theatres on which the amazing influence of the Jesuits over savage natures was conspicuously displayed. Early in the seventeenth century the Catholic Church was reared with Italian splendour in South America. There were five archbishopricks, twenty-seven bishopricks, four hundred monasteries, and parish churches in proportional numbers, besides two magnificent cathedrals. The Jesuits taught grammar and the liberal arts to the

children of the Portuguese ; a theological seminary was added for students for the ministry ; meanwhile the mendicant orders undertook the humbler task of instructing the aborigines. These monks taught them to read and to sing, to build houses, and to cultivate the soil. The disposition of the native Mexicans, as represented by all travellers of that age, was guileless and affectionate. They held the priest in profound respect ; when he visited his parish he was received with the ringing of bells and strains of music ; flowers were strewed in his path, and the mothers held out their infants to receive his benediction. The simple converts were never weary of attending mass and singing vespers ; they had a talent for music, and took delight in decorating their churches. They were extremely susceptible to fanciful impressions ; in their dreams, the Jesuits tell us, they beheld the joys of paradise. The queen of heaven appeared to the sick in glory and majesty, surrounded by youthful attendants, who brought refreshment to the feverish sufferer. The only hindrance to complete success was that of which later missionaries have had but too much reason to complain, the bad example of the European settlers. The East Indian mission had been founded by Francisco Xavier in person. He laid the foundations of a church in India and Japan, but his zeal sought new fields of enterprise, and he died in sight of China. But other leaders scarcely inferior to him in devotion or in enterprise occupied his place, and the work of conversion had never been allowed to flag. It received fresh life when Gregory XV. canonized at the same time the founder of the order and his great disciple. The pope's motives are explained in the preamble to his bull :—"At the time when new worlds were just discovered, when in the old Luther had risen up in arms against the Catholic Church, the soul of Ignatius Loyola was inspired to found a company which should devote itself specially to bring about the conversion of the heathen and the return of heretics. But of all its members Francisco Xavier proved himself most worthy to be called the apostle of the new-discovered nations. For this cause both are now to be received into the catalogue of saints."

The successes of the Roman Catholic missions in Japan, so far as the number of converts is concerned, throw into the shade all other triumphs of Christianity. The mission was undertaken in 1529 ; fifty years afterwards the Japanese converts were esti-

mated at three hundred thousand ; and between the years 1603 and 1622 not fewer than two hundred and thirty-nine thousand were baptized. In Siam, and even in China, the Jesuits met with equal success. These nations seemed on the point of embracing the faith, and the papal court looked forward to the time when the millions of the East should prostrate themselves before the feet of St. Peter's successor, and the Church, amidst new triumphs, should forget her vexations in Western Europe. But the brilliant prospect faded even more suddenly than it had appeared. A relentless persecution extinguished the Japanese Church in blood. From China the missionaries were expelled, and almost every trace of their labours vanished. Of all their successes scarcely anything now remains but the nominal Christianity of the Cingalese, who, retaining some Christian notions, worship Buddha and Vishnu, and a few thousand native Roman Catholics, converts from the native Syrian Church in the neighbourhood of Goa.

The cause of the rapid triumph of their missions, their sudden collapse and premature decay, has been investigated by writers of every class with a diligence proportioned to the importance of the subject. The Jesuits explain their successes by a reference to the saintly zeal and consummate wisdom of the great apostles of their order. They ascribe their defeats to the intrigues of Protestants, and the jealousy of rival missionaries of their own Church. It is probable there is some truth in these apologies. Protestants, no doubt, would caution the barbarian courts against their insidious visitors ; and rival Dominicans would naturally thwart an order whose assumption and arrogance were intolerable. In this way difficulties were, no doubt, created ; but it may be questioned whether they were of so grave a character as to end in the destruction not only of the Jesuit missionaries, but of the missionary work itself in every region of the East.

It is alleged against them, that instead of instructing their converts in the pure doctrines of Christianity, they taught a corrupt system both of religion and morality, and made the duties of the Gospel perfectly consistent with the indulgence of every vicious passion. They not only tolerated but encouraged in new converts the observance of heathenish customs, however lewd. And their ingenuity was employed in showing how, with a little contrivance, heathen superstitions might be made to

wear a Christian dress. With regard to their own conduct, they were accused of avarice and ambition. They engaged in the pursuits of commerce with avidity, and accumulated large sums by methods inconsistent with fair dealing. They were constantly involved in civil affairs, and were charged, wherever they appeared, with sedition and intrigue. Their restless love of power grovelled in the lowest arts of bribery and servile adulation, and soared in the loftier regions of civil war and sanguinary revolutions. Even Rome itself felt some alarm as it regarded their formidable power. The sovereign pontiff was often driven to govern them by submitting to their dictates, and making their acts his own. It was only when his decisions coincided with theirs that they were treated with respect. The decline of their influence in the East was heard with secret pleasure at the Vatican; and if the triumphs of the Church were lost in China and Japan, there remained the consolation that, at least, the janissaries of the Church were crippled.

The relations of the Gallican Church with Rome always stood upon a very different footing from those of the countries south of the Alps and Pyrenees. Ever since the wars of the investitures, the French kings were tenacious of their rights. These were comprehended in a code termed the "Regale;" which included, with other matters, the collation by the crown to all benefices which became vacant in the diocese of a deceased bishop before the nomination of his successor. Louis XIV. now sat upon the throne. He had already, in 1662, on a slight quarrel with the pope, marched his troops to Italy, and exacted a humiliating peace. As a true son of the Church he could not chastise its head, but he had no scruple in fighting against the pope in his temporal capacity as an Italian sovereign. It speaks loudly for the assumption of the papacy that Innocent XI. should have courted a contest with such a monarch as Louis XIV. on the question of the Regale. The pontiff fought with the ancient weapons,—edicts, bulls, and threats of excommunication. Louis, following the example of our Plantagenets, forbade the introduction of the bulls, and threatened death to those who should either publish or obey them. It was a mere war of words, for the age had passed in which papal anathemas were terrible. At length, in 1682, the king assembled a convocation at Paris. It consisted of thirty-five bishops and as many deputies. The ancient doc-

trine of the Gallican Church was asserted in four propositions, which were submitted to the clergy and the universities of France on the authority of the convocation as an inviolable rule of faith. The propositions were these :—

1. That neither St. Peter nor his successors have received from God any power to interfere, directly or indirectly, in what concerns the temporal interests of princes and sovereign states ; that kings and princes cannot be deposed by ecclesiastical authority, nor their subjects forced from the sacred obligation of fidelity and allegiance, by the power of the Church or the bulls of the Roman pontiff.

2. That the decrees of the Council of Constance, which represent the authority of general councils as superior to that of the pope, in spiritual matters, are approved and adopted by the Gallican Church.

3. That the rules, customs, institutions, and observances which have been received in the Gallican Church, are to be preserved inviolable.

4. That the decisions of the pope, in points of faith, are not infallible unless they be attended with the consent of the Church.

The pope in vain protested against the decisions of the council, and forbade the execution of its decrees. The Gallican Church maintained its independence as thus asserted till it was swept away in the revolution of 1789.

The story of the Jansenists of Port Royal would deserve attention as a romantic episode, had it no further bearing upon the history of the Church of Rome.

Early in the seventeenth century Madame de St. Arnaud was abbess of Port Royal, in the neighbourhood of Paris. Her family were remarkable for intellectual endowments : her brother, Antoine Arnaud, was the greatest controversial writer of the age ; her father, a distinguished advocate, had contested the rights of the French Church against the Jesuits in the forum and with the pen. The abbess sustained the reputation of her name. To a masculine decision of purpose and force of mind, she added feminine gentleness, a cultivated mind, and great devotion. Port Royal was no exception to the careless state into which all monastic establishments had fallen, and she determined to reform it. The rules which she adopted were severe. Her nuns practised austerities such as Benedict and Dominic enforced.

But the intelligence of the abbess imparted a peculiar character to the foundation over which she presided. It was no less a school of letters than a school of piety. She drew around her a body of men, who sought retirement at once for the purposes of religious devotion and of the highest intellectual pursuits. At the head of these was her brother; his associates were Nicole, Pascal, Le Maistre de Sacy, and Tillemont. Parisian society in a dissolute age bore witness to the purity of their lives, and the press soon proclaimed their learning and industry. The writings of the Port Royalists created the Augustine age of French literature; and, stooping to the lowest capacities, they sent forth elementary books, and works on education, which for more than a century were in general use in the best schools in Europe. The Jesuits viewed their rising influence with deep jealousy. Between them and the Arnauds there was the ancient feud. The education of the young was the most powerful instrument the Jesuits possessed for the aggrandizement of their order: they had engrossed it; and the Port Royalists, in one bold attempt, had now wrested it from them. The Calvinistic theology of Port Royal was a further offence; and at the middle of the century the Jesuits, it became evident, had resolved that nothing less should satisfy them than the destruction of Port Royal. The conflict lasted for more than fifty years, during which it assumed the forms we shall now briefly describe.

First of all, the morality inculcated by the Jesuits, their demand of absolute submission, their defence of the most criminal actions when done with a view to the interests of the Church, their claim not merely to guide but to subjugate the conscience, were exposed with the keenest wit and argument by Arnaud, and his greater ally Pascal, in the voluminous *Morale Pratique des Jésuites* of the one, and the incomparable *Provincial Letters* of the other. Underneath this controversy lay another of wider extent and of far more importance, inasmuch as it concerned the true nature of religion itself. The Port Royalists were Jansenists, and Jansen taught the doctrines of Augustine, known in modern times as Calvinism. On the doctrines of grace and predestination the Jesuits were committed to the contrary opinions, and on this ground a war of doctrine raged between the parties. Jansen died in 1638, but five propositions extracted by the Jesuits from his book, were sent to Rome and condemned by Innocent X, in the

year 1653, as impious and blasphemous. The Jansenists denied that these propositions existed in the sense in which they were condemned, and resisted the bull, although it had the king's sanction. The Jesuits made a second appeal to Rome, and the propositions were a second time condemned by Alexander VII. in 1656; the Port Royalists still protesting against the justice of the censure, and falling of course under the displeasure both of the pope and king. And lastly, the theory of true devotion, if we may so call it, maintained by the Jansenists, completed their demerits in the estimation of a court which was entirely led by the Jesuits. Molinos, a Spanish priest who lived at Rome and had a high reputation for sanctity, published a Guide to Devotion, in which he avowed sentiments with regard to the inward light, and the nature of spiritual worship, precisely similar to those which John Fox the Quaker had proclaimed in England just twenty years before. His little book was instantly translated into various languages; and his followers, a numerous party who still believed themselves true members of the Church of Rome, obtained the name of Mystics or Quietists. Except in their compliance with the rites of the Church they were the Quakers of the papacy. Madame Guyon became the leader of the Mystics in France; a woman of rank, earnest and devout, but, as her writings show, of confused judgment and wild imagination. Still truth lay essentially in the doctrine of Molinos, and it was cordially embraced by the Port Royalists. True religion they made to consist, not in external forms, but in the dispositions of the soul, and supremely in the love of God. The Jesuits soon perceived that the system was a tacit censure on themselves, if not upon the Church, which seemed to place the essence of piety in a certain round of ceremonies. Molinos was violently assailed, and, though a personal friend of the pope, was thrown into prison. He recanted, but was sentenced to imprisonment for life. Nine years afterwards, in 1696, he died an old man. But his doctrines had taken root, and even Fenelon defended them at the court of Louis XIV. Bossuet, who is said to have beheld with anxiety the rising fame and eminent talents of Fenelon, obtained, through Louis, the papal condemnation of the Mystics and of Fenelon himself. This was in 1699; and Fenelon, it must be told, whether from conviction or fear, admitted the justice of the decree, and read his own recantation at his church of Cambray

The Jesuits pursued their triumph; the Jansenists were crushed, and in 1709 the convent of Port Royal was levelled with the ground. Thus perished the most persevering and systematic effort to bring about internal reformation which the Church of Rome has ever seen. The hideous profligacy of France during the Orleans' regency followed the triumph of the Jesuits and the destruction of Port Royal; and to this again the Revolution of 1789, in which the Church and monarchy were lost!

A few Jansenists remained. At the beginning of the eighteenth century they were ably represented by Quesnel, a Dutch pastor, who published his well-known work, 'Moral Reflections on the New Testament,' in 1708. It was thought worthy of especial reprobation, and Clement XI. condemned one hundred and one propositions extracted from it as blasphemous and heretical, in the famous bull *Unigenitus*. The Jansenists asked for a general council to decide the question; and the parliament of Paris, and some of the French bishops, were dissatisfied; for the bull was inconsistent, in several particulars, with the rights of the Gallican Church. But the regent Orleans, in 1720, gave the sanction of the court to the papal edict, which had now been for seven years a subject of constant dispute. It was ordained, and the parliament of Paris was prevailed on to register the decree, that the constitution *Unigenitus*, received by the bishops, should be observed by all orders of people in the French dominions; that no university or incorporated society, and no individual of any description whatever, should speak, write, maintain or teach, directly or indirectly, anything repugnant to the ordinance, or to the explanations given of it, by the dignitaries of the Gallican Church; that all appeals and proceedings against it should be deemed void; and that the courts of parliament and all the judges should assist the prelates in the execution of spiritual censures. Under this last blow the Jansenists expired.

In the month of February, 1769, Lorenzo Ganganelli was elected to the papal throne. If the volume of letters which bear his name be genuine (a point which after much controversy professor Ranke appears to have decided),* he was a man of many

* In his "History of the Popes," vol. iii. p. 212 *note*. Amongst other reasons, "because they bear the stamp of an originality, a peculiar turn of thought, unchanged under all the circumstances of life, such as no one could have invented or forged." This alone would be sufficient.

virtues, disinterested, catholic, gentle in his conduct yet firm in his determination, and always in pursuit of what he believed to be the interests of truth. With him the Church, that is the papacy, was not the grand idea. One of still larger dimensions occupied his mind, the honour of God and the welfare of mankind. He took the name of Clement XIV.

The Jesuits in every country in Europe had accomplished their own disgrace. Protestant literature had left them far behind, and Protestant universities had taken the higher branches of education out of their hands. Their politics were odious; Choiseul, the prime minister of France, detested them. The bankruptcy of a mercantile house connected with the Jesuits, involved a multitude of other failures, and the sufferers appealed to the courts of justice. Louis XV. was unable to save the order from the indignation of his people; and on the 6th of August, 1762, the parliament decreed the suppression of the Jesuits in France. Carvalho, the minister of Portugal, was bent on their expulsion. They were charged with an attempt to assassinate the king in 1758; the rack and other torments were turned against them; and they were expelled the country under a tempest of popular rage. Even Spain and Italy refused to allow them to remain. All the great Catholic countries in Europe remonstrated with the pontiff, and demanded their suppression. On the 21st of July, 1773, the order was abolished. "Inspired, as we humbly trust," said the pope, "by the Divine Spirit, urged by the duty of restoring the unanimity of the Church, convinced that the company of Jesus can no longer render those services to the end for which it was instituted, and moved by other reasons of prudence and state policy which we hold locked in our own breasts, we abolish and annul the society of Jesus, their functions, houses, and institutions." What further reforms Ganganelli meditated were cut short by his death, in September, 1774,—it was said, by poison administered to him in a cup of chocolate during his celebration of the mass: a report from his physicians denied the fact without satisfying the public mind. The annual cursing and excommunication of heretical princes and others, by the public reading of the bull, *In cœna Domini*, was discontinued throughout his pontificate; it has been since revived by his successors, and is now practised at Rome on Maundy Thursday, in the presence of the pope and cardinals, and a vast assemblage.

The storm was now preparing which was soon to burst over Europe. The progress of infidel opinions was feebly met in France and Italy, by damnatory bulls and lists of books proscribed. The Church was no longer feared; succeeding events showed how little she was loved. Joseph, the German emperor, before the French revolution broke out, suppressed upwards of a thousand monasteries, forbade the purchase of papal dispensations, and declared himself supreme in all the secular affairs of the Church. From Austria, the spirit of independence was communicated to Tuscany and Naples; and in a short time, most of the German principalities asserted their independence by various acts vexatious to the papacy. But the French Revolution appeared, and in its surging tide these minor conflicts were forgotten, while the papacy itself seemed on the point of ruin. At the earlier periods of the Revolution, the National Assembly aimed only at the assertion of its own independence. But its claims became, day by day, more urgent. It declared its right, in 1790, to dispose of the estates of the Church as national property; substituted popular election for the installation of bishops under the concordat, and salaried the priesthood by the state, seizing upon the Church properties in return. The monastic orders were suppressed, vows dissolved, and dioceses altered, at the will of the government. But all this was transient. The Revolution advanced; Louis was dethroned and executed, a republic proclaimed, and religion under every form denounced. The Gallican Church was turned up by its roots, and not a trace remained. The campaign of 1796 placed Italy in the hands of France: Rome was invaded, and the Vatican invested. It was in vain that Pius VI., an old man of eighty, implored that he might die where he had lived; he was told that he could die anywhere. The room in which he sat was stripped and plundered; the ring was torn from his finger; and at length he was carried off to France, where he died in August 1799. A new century dawned, and the papal throne was vacant: it was fondly believed among Protestants, that the chair of St. Peter would never be occupied again.

In the history of the world there has been nothing more surprising than the sudden renovation of the Church of Rome. During the last half-century, she seemed to be at the point of death; she has reinstated herself in her long-lost dignities, and

asserts and wields a power, far less, it is true, than that which she once had, but immeasurably greater than that which she possessed during the two previous centuries. Her renovated life, the agents by whom it was produced, the means by which it was sustained, and the results to which it was made subservient, will form perhaps, in some future age, a marvellous and instructive history.

On the 13th of March, 1800, a few timid cardinals assembled in the church of St. George at Venice and elected Pius VII. pope. The battle of Marengo followed, and Napoleon was virtually master both of France and Austria. He determined that in France the Church should be restored. But his terms were hard. He insisted on the alienation of the Church lands, valued at no less than four hundred millions of francs; and the clergy henceforth were to be paid and appointed by the State. The pope on the other hand was allowed to retain the right of canonical institution, to its full extent. Pius VII. yielded a reluctant consent, and the concordat of 1801 was the consequence. Still no monks were permitted, nor any religious vows. The regulations concerning marriage, introduced into the civil code, were also at variance with the principles of the Church. The concordat was published in Paris in 1802, not without much opposition from the theologians and canonists at Rome. Yet, in 1804, Pius VII. complied with Napoleon's request, and came to Paris to assist at his coronation. He was suffered to return to Rome. But Italy had now become a dependent kingdom, and it suited the views of Napoleon to keep the pope in his own power. He demanded to be allowed to nominate a third of the cardinals, and made other claims which Pius at length determined to resist; he was in consequence torn from his capital, and lived for some years a prisoner at Fontainebleau, possessing the title of pope, but with scarcely a shadow of real power. By degrees his consent was gained on all important points to the emperor's demands, and a second concordat was framed at Fontainebleau in 1813 on the preliminary condition that the pope should not return to Rome. Napoleon fell in 1814; the Bourbon dynasties of France and Spain were restored; and the continent resumed the territorial aspect of the previous century. Pius VII. revoked the last concordat, received back the States of the Church which had been wrested from him, and on the 21st

of May, 1814, re-entered Rome in triumph. "This," says Ranke, "was the commencement not only of a new age for the world, but of a new era for the holy see."

It was now evident that Pius VII. had resolved to govern in the spirit which had animated the Vatican in the fifteenth century. One of his first acts was the re-establishment of the Jesuits; it was followed by another not less significant, the restoration of the Inquisition, which at once began its work in Spain. In Sardinia new bishoprics were founded, in Tuscany monasteries were restored, in the kingdom of Naples the clergy were again placed under the control of the Vatican. The Gallican Church was placed in 1815 in a state of dependence on Rome unparalleled in any former age. The power of the Church and of the restored dynasties was harshly used; there seemed to be a compact between the two; the Church was engaged to crush the civil liberties of nations, the restored dynasties were, in return, to uphold the Church however extravagant her pretensions. Resistance followed in Spain and Italy, and in 1820 the peace of Europe was again in danger. But the power of France and Austria was sufficient to repress the insurrections of Italian carbonari and Spanish patriots, and for some years longer the cause of legitimacy and of the Church of Rome prevailed.

In 1829 the Roman Catholics obtained in England a repeal of the statutes by which they had been, since the revolution of 1688, excluded from both houses of parliament. The nation was averse to the measure, which was carried by the influence of the duke of Wellington in the House of Lords, assisted by Mr. Peel in the House of Commons. It was viewed with great apprehension by many of the statesmen who had presided, during a long and stormy period, at the councils of George III. In the House of Lords, the duke of York, the heir apparent to the throne, had two years before protested against the introduction of such a bill, with deep emotion. It was his last address, and left a great impression on the nation. "Should this bill pass," exclaimed Lord Eldon, who had been high chancellor for a quarter of a century, "the sun of England will set for ever." The statesmen by whom it was introduced had in former years been loud and frequent in their opposition to it. The two arguments which induced the parliament to acquiesce were these: first the apprehension of danger from Ireland; and secondly, the hope that the Church of Rome

had abandoned her exclusive claims and persecuting principles. The revolution of July, 1830, in France once more crippled the papal party. During the seventeen years of Louis Philippe the Church of Rome rather retained its position than gained fresh victories. It was part of the cautious policy of that sovereign to uphold the clergy in public estimation, and yet to counteract their power. Another revolution followed, in 1848, and the dynasty of the house of Orleans was at an end. The convulsions in Paris were repeated in almost all the capitals of Europe. At Rome the populace rose upon the pope and assassinated his prime minister on the steps of the Vatican. Pius IX. escaped upon the coach-box of the Austrian ambassador, disguised as a servant in livery. The Inquisition was torn open, the Vatican was ransacked. A republic was proclaimed, and for a whole year the pontiff lived in exile. In France, too, a republic was proclaimed, and Louis Napoleon was chosen president. He furnished an army to the pope, who possessed themselves of Rome after a short siege, and Pius ventured to return. The republic was dissolved within three years, and Napoleon III. elected emperor by the suffrages of the people. The army of occupation still remained at Rome, nor to this day has it been withdrawn. At present the pope is indebted for his throne, perhaps for his life, to the presence of his French allies. The influence of the Church has greatly increased in France since the revolution of 1848. At present her position in France and through the whole of Christendom, is that of an institution which seems to be conscious of no decay, struggling intensely for the recovery of all that it possessed in the days of Hildebrand or Innocent III. and often with success.

In England, the Roman Catholic Relief Bill of 1829 removed the last of the disabilities imposed upon the worship, or the civil rights, of Roman Catholics. Except in the matter of their exclusion from parliament, these disabilities had long had no real being. The passing of this momentous law was immediately followed by visible signs of renewed activity and zeal. Churches, colleges, monasteries, and schools, sprung up with amazing rapidity. In the first year of the present century there were about sixty Roman Catholic chapels and two colleges in England and Wales, and no religious houses. In the year 1830, these institutions amounted to upwards of six hundred; they have

since increased to more than eight hundred. Magnificent colleges exist at Stonyhurst and Oscott; and the cathedrals of Westminster and Birmingham, though poor in comparison with our mediæval structures, far surpass in size and internal splendour any Protestant churches of recent date. For the last quarter of a century the condition of the Church of Rome in England has been that of perfect security, and unquestionably of great success.

That success, however, has dazzled the leaders of the Church, and brought on a conflict with the government and the Protestant feeling of England which is not likely to subside. In 1851, the pope consecrated Dr. Wiseman cardinal archbishop of Westminster. The prelate signalized his introduction to his new honours by a pompous address, in which he declared that "he governed, and should continue to govern," the several counties which comprised his bishoprick under the authority committed to him by the holy see. At the same time the Roman Catholic bishops ostentatiously appeared in public in their episcopal costume, and assumed titles such as those which belong to our Protestant bishops as barons of the realm. The Protestantism, and with it the indignation, of the people, was roused; scenes with which London had been once familiar were again enacted; the pope was dragged in mock triumph through the streets, and hung in effigy amidst jeers and laughter. Scarcely a parish in England which did not express its indignation in burning the pope or his popular representative Guy Fawkes. The government, indignant if not alarmed, allayed the public irritation by the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, rendering it penal to usurp ecclesiastical authority, or to assume or use the offensive titles. But a heavier blow followed; the attention of wise and thoughtful men of all parties was concentrated upon this aggressive movement. What principles did it enunciate, and what did it portend? Were the claims of the pope to govern England to be admitted? Was the progress of the Church of Rome consistent with national liberty? Our ablest divines took up the question in its theological bearings, and in Westminster Abbey and many other churches, sermons worthy of the best days of the English pulpit were again heard by thronging crowds on the long-forgotten topics of the pope's supremacy, the canon law, and the Romish doctrine of the sacraments. The Church of Rome had raised up against herself a new race of combatants. The English clergy of

the last generation were scarcely acquainted with the outlines of the controversy; it is now their familiar study, and one in which not a few of them are profoundly versed. The result of the momentous struggle is yet to be seen. The two parties once more stand to their arms, and Protestants and Roman Catholics have determined to renew the solemn conflict which the Reformation opened, but did not set at rest.

According to a tabular statement extracted from "Battersby's Registry for the whole World," the statistics of the Church of Rome in 1851 were as follows:—Pius IX. pope; conclave of cardinals, 72; patriarchs in the Roman Church, 12; archbishops and bishops, 690; coadjutors, auxiliaries, suffragans, &c., 90; vicars apostolic, 76, prefects, 9; total, 879.

BISHOPRICKS, with their POPULATION:—

	Bishops.	Population.
Europe	606	124,993,961
Asia	60	1,155,618
Africa	11	751,751
America	94	25,819,210
Oceanica	10	3,057,007
Grand total.	781	155,777,547
Add, in various missions		8,731,052

Total population of the Catholic world	{ 164,508,599
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RUSSIA, CHURCH OF.—The Slavonic nations were the last of the European family to receive the gospel. Its light reached them through the Eastern Church. The Germans attempted their conversion at various times on the shores of the Baltic, but, unfortunately, their weapon was the sword; and, as the heathen tribes resisted, they were either exterminated or reduced to bondage, by whole provinces, and their lands divided amongst the bishops and nobles who were forced upon them. Christianity became hateful as a badge of slavery, and consequently made no progress. But the tribes bordering on the Black Sea came into frequent contact with the Greeks, sometimes it is true, in hostile collision, but more frequently in commercial intercourse. Many Slavonians entered the service of the Greek emperors, and several of them occupied places of high trust at Constantinople in the sixth and seventh centuries. The Croats and Servians, from the north of the Carpathian mountains, were the first Slavonic nations amongst whom Christianity was established. The sovereign of Bulgaria was converted in the year 861, and the real foundation of the Slavonic Christian Church was laid by the translation of the Scriptures. The Moravian prince, Rostislav, in 863, requested the Greek emperor to send him learned men, well acquainted with the Slavonic language, in order to translate the Scripture and organise public worship in decent forms. The emperor sent Methodius and Constantine, or Cyrillus, who composed a Slavonic alphabet, and translated the Psalter, the Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles; they also rendered the Liturgy of the Eastern Church into Slavonic; and these ancient translations are those still in use in the Russian Church.

The name of Russia, which since the time of Peter the Great has been substituted for that of Muscovy, was first heard in the ninth century. Ruric, the captain of a band of Scandinavians called Russes, founded a state on the Baltic Sea by the conquest of several Slavonic and Finnish tribes, the capital of which was Novgorod. During his reign two Scandinavian chieftains are said to have been the means of introducing from Constantinople the religion of the Eastern Church. Be this as it may, there are many traces of Christianity since about this period amongst the Slavonians and their Scandinavian conquerors. Under teachers sent to Kioff by the patriarchs Photius and Ignatius, the Greek

Church found many converts in Russia. Monkish fables assert that the rapid spread of the new religion was chiefly owing to the miraculous preservation of a copy of the gospels, which when thrown into the fire lay uninjured, till it was removed by a faithful confessor over whose body the flames had no power.

For above a century paganism continued to prevail in Russia. The conversion of Olga, the widow of Ruric's son, prepared the way for its final overthrow ; and from her reign may be properly dated the introduction of the Greek Church into the northern parts of Europe ; though a long period elapsed before the prejudices of her pagan subjects finally gave way and Christianity was firmly established. The accounts of this interesting change are presented to us by monkish writers, and we must be content to receive the simple statements which gratified their own credulity. Awed by the solemn rites of Christian worship, which while yet a pagan Olga had witnessed at Kioff, she was curious to be made acquainted with its doctrines. The Greek clergy seized the opportunity to describe in lively colours the wonders of the church of Saint Sophia, and the splendours of the religion taught and practised at Constantinople. Olga resolved to visit the great seat of religion in the West, and receive instruction at what she conceived to be the fountain-head of truth. Delighted with her discoveries she became a Christian. She was instructed and baptized by the patriarch himself, who also became her sponsor at the font. Returning home she hastened to attempt the conversion of her son ; but her efforts seemed to fail. The ridicule of his courtiers, and the scorn of a rude soldiery, had more weight than the prayers and tears of his mother, and Vladimir the Great took his seat upon the throne a pagan, addicted to the gross vices of heathenism. But his enterprising spirit began to show itself. Curiosity, or perhaps some higher motive, led him to investigate the different religions of his subjects. In an empire stretching from the shores of the Baltic to the Black Sea in one direction, and from the peaks of the Caucasus to the Carpathian ridge in the other,—a territory including Mahometans, Jews, Greeks and Latins,—this was no easy task : he commissioned ten men for the purpose. The worship of the Eastern Church has always been addressed more to the ear than the understanding, and is more fitted to please than to instruct. In Russia it is to this day conducted in the original Slavonic

tongue, of which, it may be easily imagined, the hearers can understand but little. The messengers from Kioff chanced to enter the stately church of Saint Sophia while the patriarch was performing the service. The stillness of the worshippers as the swelling notes rolled along the nave, the gorgeous robes of the priests, the rich curtain that divided them from the people, half disclosing the blaze of numberless lamps, the chanting from a thousand voices, and above all, the solemn sense that seemed to pervade the assembled multitude, all combined to render the scene impressive to the rude strangers. Full of wonder and admiration they returned to Vladimir, and related all that they had witnessed. Their descriptions, aided by the address of the Greek envoy, Constantine, fixed his choice. In Vladimir we must remember, the ignorance of a savage, the ferocity of a pagan soldier, and the awakening conscience of a half-taught, yet probably sincere, convert were all combined. He was shown an icon, or picture of the day of judgment; his mind was filled with horror at the representation of unbelievers struggling in the flames of perdition, while the Christians in glory stood gazing at their misery. He resolved at once to be a Christian; and, to prove his sincerity, devoted his sword, in the true spirit of a crusader, to the honour of Christ, and vowed to make war upon the infidels. After besieging Kherson, he married a Greek princess, and was baptized by the name of Basil. Soon after he returned to Kioff, and the baptism of his twelve children followed. An edict was issued for the destruction of idols and idol temples throughout his dominions; and his subjects were commanded to receive baptism, for which the example of Olga had in some measure prepared them. Churches rose up in all directions, the first of which, built of stone, was dedicated by Vladimir himself with great solemnity.

The stroke by which the pagan usages, rooted in long habit, were thus swept away almost by a breath, is rendered more remarkable from the peculiar condition of the people. They were composed of different tribes, kept together neither by common institutions, nor by any regular system of government, but only by the bond of allegiance to a sovereign, whose authority seems to have consisted in levying tributes, the payment of which depended as much on the caprice of the subject as the power of the ruler.

The arts and refinement of Greece began to be valued in Kioff. Even before the establishment of religion a constant intercourse with Constantinople had imbued the Slavonic tribes with some degree of aversion for idolatry. A German annalist in 1018 speaks of its churches and market-places as rivalling those of Constantinople in elegance and wealth. At the death of Vladimir in 1015, a considerable number of Greek traders had already made it their abode.

Yaroslav, the next Russian monarch, built convents, which he filled with Greek scholars and artists: under his direction many works now in use were translated from Greek into the Slavonic dialects. In following up the attempts of his pagan ancestors against Constantinople his fleet was burnt by the Greeks, and his land forces after a desperate resistance met with a severe defeat at Varna. Warned by this resistance the Russians did not again embark on expeditions against the Greek empire. Torn by intestine struggles, and weakened by the rivalry of popular chiefs, the successors of Yaroslav were without the means of uniting their forces for foreign enterprise.

The government of the Christian Church in Russia remained for centuries in the hands of the mother church. The patriarch of Constantinople consecrated the first archbishop of Kioff about the year 900. Greeks and Russians indiscriminately filled the office, the Russian candidate being selected by a synod of Russian bishops; but the sanction of the patriarch of Constantinople was necessary to confirm the election. The Russian patriarchs resided at Kioff till the destruction of the city by the Mongols, when they transferred their residence to Moscow. At the invasion of the Mongols, A. D. 1250, Christianity was in danger of being rooted out; many of the churches and convents were destroyed, and the clergy were plundered or put to death; but as the power of the conquerors became more firmly established, they endeavoured to regain the favour of the Church by exempting the clergy and all persons connected with the churches, as well as their families, from those taxes and services to which the rest of the conquered nation was liable.

Many of the highest offices in the Church were filled by Russian nobles; its wealth and influence seemed to offer a security not elsewhere to be met with. Multitudes, goaded by the oppression of their barbarous masters, sought for that refuge in the pale of

the Church, which the retirement of their own estates ceased to afford them. Others to preserve a remnant of their property made it over to the ecclesiastics, and became their tenants; vast estates were thus added to the Church domains. The clergy alone seemed destined to survive the general wreck; and in the midst of national distress the Church increased in wealth and power.

On the fall of Constantinople, in the middle of the fifteenth century, the Russian Church began to assert its independence. The patriarchate was established at Moscow, and a question of precedence between the metropolitan of Moscow and the patriarch of Antioch soon afforded a plausible pretext for the independence of the former. The crisis was at length brought about in the following manner. Jeremiah II., patriarch of Constantinople, sought refuge in Russia from the sultan Amurath, whose vengeance he had roused by protesting against his oppression of the Church. Means were taken by the Czar, when his visit was announced, to provide for him the appearance at least of a cordial welcome. The clergy were enjoined to receive him on the road with every mark of respect, and the laity crowded around him to facilitate his journey and to receive his blessing. But under these outward signs of friendship deep caution and contrivance were concealed: a memorandum to the Czar's commissioners instructed them to treat the illustrious stranger with every possible courtesy, but at the same time to learn privately on the road, from his monks and attendants, the purpose of his visit and the real state of his affairs, with a multitude of other questions; and he was to be detained near Moscow till these inquiries were fully satisfied. The circumstances of his departure allowed of no concealment; he was a fugitive, and he had left his church in the hands of an infidel oppressor. The Czar at once perceived that his opportunity had arrived, and that he might now hope to establish in his dominions a separate priesthood and an independent Church. The patriarch was not in a position to refuse the request of a despotic sovereign, in whose hands his safety lay, and to whom he had fled for protection. Without much opposition he was induced, in the year 1589, to consecrate Job, archbishop of Rostow, the first patriarch of Moscow and metropolitan of all Russia. The new patriarch was placed upon the spiritual throne of Moscow with every circumstance of pomp and splen-

dour. His appointment was recognized by the other patriarchs ; as their junior he ranked after the patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Constantinople ; this, however, displeased the haughty Czar his master, who insisted that his own chief bishop should concede the right of precedence only to the highest prelate of the Eastern Church himself, and this demand was also yielded after much vain opposition. This step, however, was taken upon condition that each new patriarch of the Russians should ask the consent and suffrage of the patriarch of Constantinople ; and pay at stated periods a tribute of five hundred golden ducats. The compact was ratified in a council held at Constantinople in 1593, to which the Turkish emperor gave his solemn consent. But the privileges and immunities of the patriarch of Moscow were extended about the middle of the following century, when Dionysius II, the Constantinopolitan primate, and his three patriarchal colleagues, exempted him, at the renewed solicitation of the grand duke of Muscovy, from the double obligation of paying tribute and of depending for the confirmation of his election and installation on a foreign jurisdiction.

The independence thus obtained was a questionable advantage. Russia was a barbarous nation, or rather an assemblage of barbarous tribes. Her Church, released from its connection with Constantinople in its infancy, was unable to stand alone, much less to stem the brutality and lurking heathenism against which it feebly struggled. In doctrine and discipline it adhered to the Greek Church in all essential points ; but, in fact, neither doctrine nor discipline was either known or practised. Religion, where it existed, was a ferocious superstition, the ancient paganism accommodated to a few Christian forms. From a very early period reformers appeared and new sects were formed. The first of these arose at Novgorod so early as the year 1375. They were called Rascolnics, or Schismatics, and had probably caught something of the spirit of the Paulicians, or Waldenses. They reprobated confession to a priest, and the payment of fees for ordination, which they inveighed against as simony. Here was clearly seen the rippling of the distant storm which dashed itself in southern Europe about the same time against the pretensions of the papacy and the ecclesiastics. But there was no Luther to guide it in its course. These opinions spread with rapidity over

Siberia, amongst the Cossacks, and into the most distant provinces, till the Schismatics goaded to madness by persecution, broke out into the wildest fanaticism. Doubts had been raised as to the completeness of baptism without the purification of fire. The superstition spread, and soon assumed such an exaggerated form, that fires were kindled in every direction; deluded wretches cast themselves into the flames by hundreds; and in the villages, the towns, and the forests, multitudes thus devoted themselves to horrible destruction in the hope of gaining heaven. In the neighbourhood of Novgorod alone it is estimated that the bodies of a thousand victims of both sexes, were reduced to ashes in consequence of this Satanic frenzy. Remonstrances were unheeded; the bishops in vain attempted to stem the torrent of popular delusion. Aggravated by the mistaken enthusiasm of the lower clergy the evil continued to spread. A fanatical monk of Siberia constructed a huge funeral pile of pitch, resin, and similar materials; he mounted the scorching mass, repeating the Slavonic proverb, "When you cook groats spare not the butter," and, as the fire approached him on all sides, frantically addressed the multitude on the purifying efficacy of the devouring flames, urging them to share his martyrdom. Scores of them leaped upon the burning pile, and in a few minutes nothing remained but a revolting heap of blackened corpses. This fire-baptism consumed, it was supposed, seventeen hundred self-immolated victims. Some buried themselves alive; some shut themselves up in barns or houses, and setting them on fire perished in the flames with hymns or prayers upon their lips. This frenzy for self-destruction still lingers in Russia and breaks out at times. Within the last ten years a number of fanatics resolved on mutual slaughter. To carry out their horrible design, they assembled at the estate of one M. Gourieff on the left bank of the Volga. At the sight of thirty-six mangled corpses the courage of one of the devotees failed her, and she fled for life to the next village. When the people reached the hideous scene, out of forty-nine victims only two survived, too much exhausted with the carnage to complete the work of death upon each other.

It would be useless, if indeed it were possible, to repeat the extravagances and follies which disgraced the Russian Church till the strong hand of Peter the Great reduced it to order and

reformed some of its worst abuses. The very forms of Church government had melted away before the barbarism of Tartar hordes on one side of the empire, and the intrigues of Polish Jesuits on the other. The interior of Russia was a vast field on which contending chieftains defied the laws with impunity, and corrupted their tenantry by their profligate and vicious lives. The clergy were ignorant men; their disputes had reference to the correct form of the cross, the right position of the fingers, and the best means of preserving the sacramental bread from mould. In the code of ecclesiastical laws, called the *Stroglavnic*, or book of one hundred chapters, which was drawn up by an assembly of bishops at Moscow in the sixteenth century, the idleness and ignorance of the clergy are severely censured. They condemn various heresies, the worst of which they declare to be that of shaving the beard. They say, "Of all the heresies that have come under the ban of the Church there is none so abominable and worthy of punishment as that of beard-shaving; verily the blood of martyrs itself cannot wash away the guilt of so grievous a sin; whoso shaveth off his beard to please men thereby, he is a transgressor of the law and an enemy of God, who made man after his own image." From such reformers the Church had little to expect.

But in spite of these follies it cannot be denied that the influence of the clergy was often the only link by which a rude and barbarous society was held together. The little virtue or literature which existed was to be found in the convents. The clergy often formed a centre of union for the quarrelsome princes of the ducal family, whose restless ambition and mutual intrigues involved Russia in constant bloodshed. Their persons were sacred: they passed safely through the hostile camps, and by common consent were often the mediators between the contending parties. Savage as Russia was, and imperfect as her form of religion, the healing influences of Christianity were visible in her institutions.

Peter the Great came into possession of the whole of Russia in 1689. He perceived at once that although he held the reins of empire, his government was in fact divided with the clergy and the patriarch. He complained that the clergy possessed an independent authority of their own, and that "the people believed that small spiritual head, the patriarch, to be another

monarch of equal dignity with the true monarch or even greater ;” and he determined to remodel, rather than reform, the Church. The patriarch had been treated by former sovereigns with obsequious respect. On Palm Sunday the ass on which he rode through the streets of Moscow in commemoration of our Lord, was led by the Czar, walking by his side on foot, with his hand upon the bridle. This continued till the death of Adrian, whom Peter found on the patriarchal throne. On Adrian’s death, the bishops assembled in their synod to choose a successor ; Peter, to their surprise, entered the room, and broke up the meeting, declaring that he himself was the patriarch of the Russian Church. To wean the clergy by degrees from their established rights, he kept the office open for upwards of twenty years, appointing Stephen Gavonisky his deputy, and to him he intrusted the provisional guardianship of the Church until his plans of reformation should be matured.

Peter the Great resolved, in short, to frame the constitution of the Church anew. With the assistance of an obsequious prelate he drew up a spiritual code to which, with little difficulty, he obtained the sanction of the chief clergy and the nobles ; he then organised a supreme Court for the regulation of spiritual matters. This holy legislative synod was at first composed of twelve members, amongst whom were a president, a procurator, and a commissioner called the Czar’s eye ; who was always present to watch his master’s interests. This was the highest court of appeal for the clergy ; the bishops were accountable to it ; and the secular priests listened to its deliberations with alarm. To give a face of justice to these arbitrary measures, the approval of the mother Church of Constantinople was requested ; and the Greek patriarch, oppressed by Turkish despotism, was compelled to sanction the encroachment rather than offend the Czar, his only remaining friend. We give at length the document by which the patriarch renounced, in fact, the right of interference with the Russian Church, and consented to place it at the feet of the Czar.

“ Jeremiah, by the mercy of God, patriarch of the city of Constantinople. Our humility, by the grace and power of the all holy life-giving Spirit, the sole Author of all governance, legitimizes, confirms, and proclaims the synod which has been instituted in the great and holy kingdom of Russia, by the most

pious and pacific autocrat, the holy Czar, sovereign of all Muscovy, of Little and White Russia, and all the Northern, Eastern, Western, and many other countries, the Lord Peter Alexævich, Emperor, whom we love, and of whom we desire to have refreshment in the Holy Ghost. It is, and is to be named, our brother in Christ, the holy and sacred synod, by all pious and orthodox Christians, both clergy and laity, rulers and subjects, and by all official persons and dignitaries; and it has authority to do and perform all that is done or performed by the four apostolical and most holy patriarchal thrones. Moreover, we put it in remembrance. We exhort and enjoin on it to hold and preserve inviolably the customs and canons of the seven holy œcumenical councils, and all besides, that the holy Eastern Church acknowledges and observes. The grace of God, and the prayer and blessing of our humility be with you. In the year 1723, this 23rd day of September. (Signed) Jeremiah, by the mercy of God, Patriarch of Constantinople, your brother in Christ."

Peter the Great, it has been said, offered the Church his protection and then crushed her beneath his shield. The holy legislative synod was transferred to the new capital of St. Petersburg to be more immediately under the monarch's eye. Its numbers, too, were now unlimited; the president being allowed to introduce new members whenever it was necessary, that is, whenever the Czar's proposals wanted support. The Church property was taken under the management of the state. Schools were built, and the convents declared incapable of holding lands either by gift or purchase. A heavy tax was laid upon the Church, and to render the clergy more subservient, their emoluments were proportioned to the liberality of the reigning Czar; and allowances were granted them just sufficient to preserve their families from absolute want. This pillage drove the monks to agricultural labour, while the nuns devoted themselves to household duties. In 1764 the remnant of the spoil was torn from the Church by the Empress Catherine; all its remaining estates were confiscated, and nominal pensions were assigned instead to the clergy and the convents. More than nine hundred thousand male serfs are said to have changed masters under this decree.

The Russian Church is still nominally governed by the holy synod though really by the Czar. It is usually composed of two

metropolitans, two bishops, the chief secular priest of the imperial staff, and the following lay members: the procurator, two chief and five under secretaries, and a certain number of clerks. The procurator has the right of suspending its decisions for the Emperor's approval. All questions relating to the faith and order of the Church are decided by the synod, and reports on the state of the schools and churches through the empire are laid before it twice a year. The Church being impoverished, learned leisure and repose are unknown, though sloth and indolence are common, and clerical literature can scarcely be said to exist at all where the inducements to study are withdrawn. To supply the deficiency a compulsory system of education has been adopted. The clergy are compelled to send their sons to schools, in which many of them are educated without expense. The clergy form a separate class or caste. Their sons are expected to take orders, and a license is necessary to enable them to follow any secular occupation. By youths of talent this is easily obtained; the refuse become priests, or enter the monastic order, from which the higher officers of the Church are always chosen. Thus the clergy are divided into two ranks, the white and black, or the seculars or parish priests and the regulars or monks; the five chief ecclesiastical academies are at Kioff, Moscow, St. Petersburg, Kasaw, and Trowitza. In 1814 no less than twenty six thousand youths were educated in the Russian schools; the sons of two hundred and fifteen thousand clergy.

The Russian Church, from the days of Peter the Great, would not be inaccurately described as the reflection of the mind and will of the Russian emperor. The intercourse of the Muscovite court and nobility with the rest of Europe imbued the higher classes with scepticism, and this has tended to diminish the little respect they might otherwise feel towards an inferior and illiterate clergy. The Czar is represented in the catechisms taught to all the children of his empire as God's vicerent. Under this title he claims absolute submission; his designs assume a sacred character; and the subject who shall dare to thwart him is regarded as accursed both in this world and the next. The late Emperor Nicholas, following the precedent of Peter I., was patriarch as well as emperor; and, when occasion offered, he never hesitated to employ force in defence of his spiritual assump-

tions. He made thousands of proselytes by the aid of the bayonet and the dungeon. His predecessor Alexander encouraged the circulation of the Holy Scriptures; Nicholas forbade their perusal and excluded them from his dominions. The metropolitan archbishops are treated with pompous courtesy by the Czar, but they possess no real power; they are always liable, on the slightest opposition, to be imprisoned in their palaces or exiled into some unknown solitude. All the ecclesiastics swear fidelity to the emperor,—fidelity in the military sense. The holy Synod remains, to amuse the people, but it is a mere machine of the government; it possesses no independent rights whatever. The priests of inferior order, the village curates, are universally despised, even by the poor. Their ignorance is extreme, and their servility and avarice are proverbial. They are the tools and victims of the boyards; and it is not uncommon to see a priest who has been publicly whipped, like a miserable vagabond, perform his religious services a few hours after, before the parish which witnessed his disgrace. The interests of the Czars has been to keep the people in unreflecting ignorance. Their religion consists in childish superstitions, which the court promotes by its presence and example. The benediction of the waters, as practised at St. Petersburg, is thus described by Dr. King. “On the river, upon the ice, a kind of wooden church is raised, painted and richly gilt, and hung round with pictures, especially that of St. John the Baptist. This is called the Jordan. This Jordan is surrounded by a temporary hedge of the boughs of fir trees: and in the middle of it a hole is cut through the ice into the water: a platform of boards, covered with red cloth, is laid down for the procession to pass over, also guarded with a fence of fir boughs. After the liturgy is finished in the chapel of the imperial palace, the clerks, the deacons, the priests, the archimandrites, and the bishops, vested in their richest robes, and carrying in their hands lighted tapers, the censer, the gospel, and the sacred pictures and banners, proceed from the chapel to the Jordan, singing the hymns appointed for the office, followed by the emperor and the whole court. All the troops of the city are drawn up round the place, the standards of the regiments are also planted upon it, and all the artillery. The artillery and soldiers fire as soon as the service is finished, and then are sprinkled with the sanctified water. The water is held in such estimation by the common people, that they look on

it as a preservation from, as well as a cure of, not only spiritual but natural infirmities. The aged, the sick, and especially children, are brought in numbers to receive the benefit of these waters by drinking them, or by aspersion or immersion. Vast quantities are carried home by them in bottles, to be kept in the house for the use of their families during the ensuing year. It is considered as having great efficacy to drive away evil spirits. They have a singular custom in the evening, when this service is performed in the church, of marking a cross upon their window shutters and doors, in order to hinder those spirits, when chased from the water, as they are believed to be by the consecration, from entering into their houses."

Religious sects abound. Under the most absolute monarchy in Europe we have the singular phenomena of large bodies of dissenters, defying the sovereign's power and living in open secession from the national Church. The fact is thus explained by the Marquis De Custine. The Russians are fond of religious speculation, and their ignorance lays them open to every kind of extravagance. A peasant, for example, imagines some new doctrine, and makes a few proselytes. When the Greek bishop of the diocese is informed of this heresy, he would denounce it to the government; but the feudal lord prevents him, because he fears that the inhabitants of his domains will be transported to Siberia, and this would ruin him. Nothing is therefore done at the beginning, and when, at last, the supreme authority becomes cognisant of the heresy, the number of the heretics is so great that it is impossible to extirpate them. Violence would expose the evil without destroying it. The government has no resource but silence and forgetfulness, and feigns ignorance of what it cannot suppress.

Hence, the mania amongst the common people to dogmatise, the interested calculations of the nobles, the bishops' submission to the nobles, and the government policy to avoid everything that would produce excitement, cause a great multiplication of religious sects in Russia. We will now proceed to details.

The Rascolniki, or Schismatics, are divided into two great branches, those who have, and those who reject, a priesthood or clerical order. To the former belong the Starovertzi, or "those of the old faith." They have existed since 1659, when Nikon, a Russian patriarch, having corrected the liturgies, and introduced

a few alterations in the ceremonies, many of the rustics protested against the change, and refused to submit to Nikon's innovations. Their points of difference are few, and for the most part frivolous. They use the old Slavonic alphabet in their liturgical books; they make the sign of the cross differently from the parent Church; the processions in their churches walk from right to left, instead of from left to right, as Nikon ordered. They think it unlawful to eat certain kinds of food, including hares and potatoes; and they prove from the Old Testament the unlawfulness of cutting their beards. They never celebrate the Eucharist, and only administer baptism at the approach of death. Under Peter the Great they suffered dreadful cruelties. They regard him as the antichrist, and refer to his reign as the period when Satan was let loose amongst men.

Attempts have been lately made to reconcile them to the Church, which has met their prejudices so far as to declare that their prejudices do not amount to heresy. Their priests are even invited to receive ordination from the bishops of the Established Church; and they are termed co-religionists; but these concessions are looked upon with suspicion. They have a great number of convents governed by the same monastic rules as those in force in the Greek monasteries.

The sects which have no priests are numerous. Some of their opinions may be traced to the discussions which agitated the Eastern Church in the earliest ages; others bear no doubtful resemblance to the pagan worship of the ancient Slavonic races.

The Skoptzi, or Eunuchs, bury their tenets in profound secrecy. They have many followers amongst the tradesmen and jewellers of St. Petersburg and other large towns. Their origin is unknown, but they entertain great reverence for the Emperor Peter III., the murdered husband of the Empress Catherine. They maintain that he was not murdered but escaped to Siberia, and that the body of a soldier was buried instead; they believe Peter to have been a true emanation from Christ, and that, on his return, the great bell of Moscow will be tolled, and its sound will gather the true disciples from the farthest corners of the earth. Largesses and rewards are freely offered to those who join them; whoever can succeed in making twelve converts is called an apostle. They are known by mysterious signs, and

spend the night between Saturday and Sunday in performing their secret rites. It is known that they inflict upon themselves the most cruel tortures for the mortification of the flesh: their converts are forced to suffer self-mutilation after the example of Origen. Their penances far exceed in severity even the Romish discipline. Their naked bodies are tortured with chains, iron crosses, and frequent scourgings. Haircloth garments are always worn next the skin. Many of these fanatics have died under the rigours of their self-inflicted torments.

A lower grade of these eunuchs are the Khlisti, or Flagellants, who are victims to the same delusions. These are said to have a community of women. They also resemble certain small Protestant sects, who perform their worship by leaping and dancing. One of the great ceremonies of the khlisti is to assemble in a room divested of every kind of furniture, and dance and leap about, while they whip themselves, occasionally bathing their heads and hands in a vase of water in the middle of the room, until they finally fall exhausted.

The "Voluntary Martyrs," called Moreltschiki seem, in embracing Christianity, to have retained many pagan opinions, and resemble more the savage idolaters of Scandinavia than the disciples of the gospel. Some of them, on an appointed day in each year, meet in a secret place. With barbarous songs and strange ceremonies, they dig a deep pit, filling it with wood, straw, and combustible matter. The most zealous then descend into the burning pit, where they stoically burn to death, while their brothers applaud the saints who thus receive the baptism of fire! Others, without sacrificing life, cruelly mutilate their bodies, like the fanatics of India, who throw themselves beneath the triumphal car of their idol.

It is difficult to know what are the dogmas of these voluntary martyrs, because they have no printed books, and they do not confide to foreigners the mysteries of their sect. Regarding the Old and New Testament as having been corrupted, it is said that they give themselves the right to change it. They recognise God the Father, manifested to men under the double form of Jesus Christ and the Holy Ghost. They reject the true death and resurrection of Jesus, maintaining that the body placed in the sepulchre by Joseph of Arimathea was not the Lord's body, but that of an obscure soldier. They think that Christ will soon

return and make his triumphant entrance into Moscow, and that thither his true disciples will rush from every part of the earth. They do not observe the Sabbath. Their only religious holiday is Easter. They then celebrate the Lord's Supper with bread which has been buried in the tomb of some saint, supposing that it thus receives a kind of mysterious consecration. Their meetings are held on Saturday night. The following are a few lines of one of their hymns:—"Be firm, mariners! triumph over the tempest! fear neither fire or the whirlwind,—Christ is with us,—He will collect the faithful in his vessel, his masts will not break, his sails will never be rent, and he will hold the helm firmly, and land us in a safe haven. The Holy Spirit is with us; the Holy Spirit is in us."

The sectarians are to be found in the north of Russia, in Siberia, and even upon the banks of the Volga. There are a few also at Moscow, St. Petersburg, Riga, Odessa, &c. They try also to make proselytes in the army; but the imperial police pursue their missionaries, and when they are discovered, punish them most cruelly.

There are other sects in Russia, which seem to be remnants of the ancient Manicheans. The Philippons, whose priests are old men, or stariki, are recruited from among young boys, whom their parents dedicate to this ministry in youth. As soon as the child's vocation is decided he no more touches any animal food, renounces all strong drink, and remains unmarried all his life. The Philippons fast on Wednesday, because it was the day on which Jesus was betrayed, and on Friday, in remembrance of his passion. They celebrate three extraordinary fasts,—the first, before Easter, continues seven weeks; the second, up to the commencement of August, fifteen days; and the third, before Christmas, is prolonged six weeks. They cannot drink wine, except on special occasions. They cannot take an oath, but must substitute these words: "Yes, yes, in truth," which they pronounce with a peculiar gesture of the hand. Many take no food but milk and vegetables. They are extremely abstinent. These sectarians resemble the disciples of Manicheism, who, supposing that matter is the source of all evil, strive to diminish it by ascetic rigour.

The Beypoportchine priests recognise no priestly hierarchy. They dislike the national bishops and priests so much that, when

any one of them enters their houses, they hasten, so soon as they leave, to wash the seats and the walls. They believe that the Church is in a period of decline and apostacy; that the true apostolic succession has been interrupted, and that legitimate priests are impossible at the present day. They await the coming of the Lord to reorganise the Church upon regular and holy foundations. "The world," they say, in their strange theology, "has had four eras—a spring or morning, from Adam till the building of Solomon's temple; a summer, or noon, which lasted till the birth of Christ; an autumn, or evening, until the appearance of the Antichrist, who came two hundred years ago; and now we are in the cold winter, the dark night which shall continue till the Lord will descend upon the earth to save men, and open their eyes to the true light."

In the beginning of the present century, the purest of the Russian sects arose under the Chevalier St. Martin. The efforts of the Martinists were directed chiefly to practical religion. By avoiding as far as possible religious disputes and devoting themselves to works of benevolence and Christian morality, they soon gained extensive influence. At Moscow they founded a society for the promotion of literature; it was furnished with a splendid library, accessible to all; deserving young men were provided with the means of studying in foreign universities, and their ranks were swelled by many of the greatest and best men in the empire. But the sudden growth of liberal opinions roused the suspicions of the Empress Catherine. One of their most active leaders, Novikoff, was imprisoned, and others banished, and the library was destroyed. The Martinists were set free by the Emperor Paul: it is mentioned as an instance of his generosity that he wished to compensate Novikoff for his sufferings. Novikoff requested, as the only favour, the liberation of his fellow-prisoners in the same cause. The Martinists afterwards rose high in the esteem of the Emperor Alexander, and were frequently members of his council. For a short time they took a leading part in the affairs of Russia, and by their influence other religious societies were encouraged by the government. But the policy of the late Emperor Nicholas was on this, as on many other points, at variance with that of his elder brother: and the Martinists have met, of late years, with no encouragement. They seem to have been improperly termed a sect; they had no singularities

of creed or practice ; they were rather a society for the promotion of Christian knowledge and virtue than a sect.

The Malakanes, or True Believers, are so called from the Russian word *Malako*, milk, which is their food on fast days. The zeal of a Prussian prisoner of war first brought them into notice in the middle of the last century. He settled in a village under the government of Kharkow, and spent his life in explaining the Scriptures to the villagers, and visiting from house to house. After his death they began to look upon him as the founder of their sect, though it seems more probable that he only revived the knowledge of scriptural doctrines he found still lingering in the Russian Church. They acknowledge the Bible as the word of God, and the Trinity of the Godhead. They admit the fall of Adam, and the resurrection of our Lord. They maintain that Adam's soul only, and not his body, was made after God's image. The Ten Commandments are received among them. Idolatry and the worship of images are forbidden. It is considered sinful to take an oath, and the observance of the sabbath is strictly enjoined ; so much so, that, like many of the oriental sects, they devote Saturday evening to preparation for the sabbath. They are firm believers in the Millennium, and are improperly described as the followers of the fanatic Terenti Beloreff, who was, in fact, a member of their body. He announced in 1833 the coming of the Lord within two years and a half. Many Malakanes in consequence abandoned their callings, and waited the event in prayer and fasting. Beloreff persuaded himself that, like Elijah, he should ascend to heaven on a certain day in a chariot of fire. Thousands of his followers came from all parts of Russia to witness this miracle. Terenti appeared, majestically seated in a chariot, ordered the multitude to prostrate themselves, and then, opening his arms like an eagle spreading his wings, he leapt into the air, but dropping down on the heads of the gaping multitude, was instantly seized and dragged off to prison as an impostor. He died soon after, no doubt in a state of insanity, declaring himself to be the prophet of God. But many of the Russians still believe in his divine mission. A considerable number of his followers afterwards emigrated to Georgia, and settled in sight of Mount Ararat, expecting the Millennium. They spend whole days and nights in prayer, and have all their goods in common. Such delusions have frequently appeared in other countries, and may

be expected sometimes to return. The sublime truths of revelation operating on a disordered mind, and there mingled up with incoherent fancies, naturally break out in some wild extravagance. It would be unjust to charge upon the Malakanes the follies of a demented fanatic.

Mouravieff, History of the Church in Russia; Krazinski, Religious Hist. of the Slavonic Nations; Ricaut, Hist. of Greek and Armenian Churches, 1694; Dr. King, Travels in Russia; Picart, Religious Ceremonies, &c.; Sketch of Russian Sects, New York, 1854.

SCOTLAND, CHURCH OF.—If credit may be given to the early Scotch historians, sanctioned by such later writers as Knox and Buchanan, the Culdees introduced the gospel into Scotland in the second or third century. The name seems to have been descriptive of these primitive Christians—*Gille De*, in Gaelic, meaning the servants of God, from which probably the title Culdee was derived. Others suppose that it was formed from *Cuil* or *Cael*, a place of shelter, from the retreats and hiding-places of the first converts under persecution.

Of the Culdees little is known. It is even uncertain whether the name belongs to the ministers of religion or to the whole body. It is no less uncertain what was the constitution of their Church. In the absence of facts of deeper interest it has been warmly contended, on the grounds of probability, that the infant Church was purely presbyterian; and again, on the other hand, that it contained the germs of prelacy. The reader will, perhaps, acquiesce in the sensible remark of Dr. Cooke, himself an eminent Presbyterian. It is, in fact, he says, a matter of little moment; for however eagerly it may have been canvassed by the advocates of episcopacy or presbytery, it is obvious that, if any one form of ecclesiastical government has been exclusively sanctioned by divine authority, we must derive our opinions of its nature, and of the arrangements which are connected with it, not from the practice of an age enjoying few advantages for the investigation of truth, but from the positive declarations of the sacred Scriptures.

All that is known of the Culdees seems to amount to this: they existed before the year 431, for at that date Palladius was

despatched from Rome by Celestine, to take charge of "the Scots believing on Christ." The nation was inhabited by barbarous tribes of pagans, and the Christians living in comparative affluence on their own cultivated lands, with a few domestic cattle, would of course become, if on that account alone, the mark for these wild marauders. The persecution of Christian settlers in a savage country is easily explained, even without reference to the enmity which their faith provokes. They fled to the island of Iona, which afforded a safe retreat: it was insignificant in extent, and at the same time convenient as a centre of missionary labours amongst the Picts, Scots, and Irish. Columba, a native of Ireland and of royal blood, founded the monastery of Iona in the year 563, and was its first bishop, chief presbyter, or abbot. He was assisted in the government of the monastery by a council of twelve monks or presbyters; and when the Culdees formed new settlements they still adhered to the same apostolic number. Though termed monks by the ecclesiastical writers of the middle ages, it is to be observed that they were married; for they were often succeeded in their office by their own sons. Little is known of the progress made by the Culdees in the conversion of Scotland, further than that colleges, similar to that of Iona, were opened at Dunkeld, Arbroath, Brechin, and a few other places. The Picts and Scots were still known in southern Britain only as pagan warriors, and no general impression seems to have been made upon the national character. When the Romans withdrew from England, the northern tribes rushed down from their mountains, and the last traces of religion and of civilization disappeared before them. The remainder of the British family retired, with their persecuted faith, into the fastnesses of Wales, and here the relics of the Culdee system at length expired.

As the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms were formed Christianity returned. We have the authority of Bede that Oswald, king of the Northumbrians, had been brought up at Iona; and that he sent messengers to the sacred island to obtain a missionary to instruct his people in the Christian faith. Cormac and Aidan were the first evangelists; they erected a college at Llandisfarn upon the model of that at Iona; and, such was the esteem in which the parent institution was held, that the successors of Aidan in the abbacy of Llandisfarn were sent from Iona.

At a council held at Whitby in 662, Colman, bishop of Llandisfarn, was opposed to the Romish party on the dispute which then agitated Christendom as to the right period for the observance of Easter. Colman was borne down by Wilfred, the representative of Rome, and rather than abandon his tenets he returned to Iona. The struggle which in appearance was trifling was, in fact, of the utmost importance, the real issue being the supremacy of the Roman see, and the right of the bishop of Rome to dictate on questions whether of great or little moment to other Churches. Soon after furious wars broke out between the Scots and Picts, in which the latter disappeared. The Christians of Iona seem to have been great sufferers, and the adherents of Rome seized the opportunity and pushed their triumphs. In 716, Nectan, who is termed king of the Picts, is said to have attempted to introduce the forms of the Anglo-Saxon Church; but on his death, Iona again asserted her independence. The Danes now began their piratical incursions, and in 801 Iona was burned and a great number of the Christians put to the sword. In 877 the remainder fled from a second invasion to Ireland, taking with them the bones of St. Columba. Their affections still clinging to the ancient soil, they returned once more, and Iona rose from its ruins, but only to be again laid waste. In 985 the Danes pillaged and destroyed the monastery, and murdered the abbot with fifteen of his clergy. It was again restored, though with diminished splendour, to be destroyed by fire in 1059. There are traces of the Christians of Iona till the beginning of the twelfth century, when the papal party finally seized the stronghold of primitive religion in the north. The Scriptural principles of Columba and Aidan lingered in the western counties of Scotland till the days of the English Lollards, of Wickliffe, and the Reformation.

Soon after the Norman conquest, the English Church, now vastly augmented in power and splendour, began to exercise authority over her northern sister. In the year 1176 the archbishop of York claimed the supremacy of the Scottish Church, and a synod of the English and Scotch clergy was held at Northampton, by a rescript from the pope, to decide the question. The martyrdom of Becket, just five years before, and their victory over the king in consequence, had given fresh life to the English clergy and added wings to their ambition. John king

of Scotland had been taken prisoner at the battle of Alnwick in 1174, and he regained his liberty only on the humiliating condition of doing homage to Henry II. as his liege lord, for Scotland and all his other dominions. He brought up all his barons, prelates, and abbots to do homage likewise in the cathedral of York, and to acknowledge Henry and his successors as their superior lords. The spirit of Scotland was entirely broken; and it is probable that political intrigue had not been spared, for not one of the Scotch prelates resisted the demand of the archbishop. A solitary canon, Gilbert Murray, had the courage to assert, in that assembly, the independence of the Scottish Church. The consequence was probably foreseen, if not brought about, by the papal legate; it was, that an appeal was made by both parties to the pope himself. A bull was issued which declared in favour of the independence of Scotland in all ecclesiastical affairs. She was to acknowledge no other power than that of the pope or his legate. The triumph, which seemed to be great, was in fact a disaster. A union with the English Church and submission to its northern prelate would have been a slight misfortune compared with that subserviency to Rome which from this period to the Reformation disgraced the Scotch ecclesiastics, and plunged the kingdom in ignorance and superstition. Long before the Reformation, the wealth, and we must add the corruptions, of the Church had become enormous; they had grown, says Dr. M'Crie, in his life of Knox, to a greater height in Scotland than in any other nation within the pale of the Western Church. The full half of the wealth of the nation belonged to the clergy, and the greater part of it was in the hands of a few individuals, bishops and abbots, who rivalled the nobility in magnificence and preceded them in rank. They were privy councillors and lords of session, and they had long engrossed the principal offices of state. A vacant bishopric produced as many competitors as a disputed succession; and was disposed of in the same manner, namely, by gross intrigue, or by an appeal to the sword. Monasteries abounded, and these on a scale of luxurious grandeur which contrasted strangely with the surrounding poverty; the lives of the clergy were scandalous; preaching was utterly neglected by the bishops, and was practised chiefly by the mendicant friars for mercenary purposes. In Scotland, as elsewhere, their sermons were an appeal to the

credulity, the fears, or the folly of a gaping crowd, or merely to its love of coarse buffoonery. The popes did not demand in Scotland the right of nomination to the bishoprics; but they did not want frequent pretexts for interfering in the affairs of every diocese. The most important causes of a civil nature, which the ecclesiastical courts had contrived to bring within their jurisdiction, were carried to Rome, and large sums were spent every year in the confirmation of benefices, and the management of appeals. The one great advantage which Scotland reaped from her Church was, that its hierarchy checked the ambition, and in some degree softened the manners, if it did not elevate the morality, of a barbarous and tyrannical nobility. It answered some of the purposes which the House of Commons began, about the same time, to discharge in England; protecting the people by turns from the aggressions of the sovereign, and the power of baronial lords.

At length the Reformation came; introduced in Scotland, as in other countries, with cruel martyrdoms and civil war. The Lollards of Kyle led the van in 1494. Robert Blackater, archbishop of Glasgow, prevailed on James IV. to summon before the privy council about thirty persons from the western coasts on the charge of heresy. They had ceased to attend mass or to worship the virgin; they despised the reliques of saints, and declaimed against the pride of the clergy. They were defended with courage by one of their party, which included several persons of rank, and were dismissed with a reprimand. Patrick Hamilton was less fortunate. He was a youth of rank and talent when Beaton was archbishop of Glasgow and James V. a minor. The writings of the continental divines had probably fallen in his way; for in 1525, an Act of the Scotch parliament forbids "all disputations about the heresies of Luther;" and in the next year we find Hamilton at Wittemberg taking counsel with Luther and Melancthon. He returned to Scotland to proclaim his principles, and to fall at once into the hands of Beaton and the popish clergy. He was nearly related to the young king, but such was the power of the archbishop, who, in conjunction with the house of Douglas, ruled the kingdom, that he was condemned for heresy and burnt in front of the college of St. Salvador. He perished the 28th of February, 1528, in the twenty-fourth year of his age, the proto-martyr of the Scottish

reformation. Other victims followed; for the smoke, as a bystander said, of Patrick Hamilton's fire, infected as many as it blew upon. Seaton a Dominican friar, the king's confessor, Logie principal of St. Leonard's, and Wareham the subprior, openly taught the doctrines of the Reformation. Bitter persecution followed, and the fires were lighted at Glasgow, St. Andrew's, and Edinburgh. In February, 1538, Robert Forrester, Simpson, Kyllor and Beveridge, priests, with Thomas Forrest, a dean, were burnt on one huge pile on the castle hill. Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow, died in 1539, and the management of Church affairs in Scotland passed into the hands of his nephew, David Beaton, upon whom the pope conferred the rank of cardinal. He was a man of great ambition, tyrannical and stern; and to him the Church of Scotland owes the same obligations which Protestants in England render to the memory of the bloody Mary. During the life of James V. he ruled that monarch absolutely. His reign was spent in fruitless efforts to reduce the power of his nobility, and to carry on the war with England. He died in 1542, leaving an infant daughter, the unhappy Mary, his successor. The nobility assembled at Edinburgh, and in defiance of the cardinal, elected Hamilton, earl of Arran, who was the next heir to the crown, regent during the queen's minority. At first he was well disposed to the reformers, now a considerable party in the state. In a parliament held in the first year of his regency, an Act was passed allowing the Scriptures to be read in English. The cardinal and the clergy were violent in their opposition, but resistance was in vain. The effect of the new law was to betray the strength of the Reformation, and the extent to which it had already spread. Copies of the scriptures, which had been carefully hidden and read in secret, were now to be seen on every gentleman's table, and almost every man carried the New Testament in his hand. And, as if to settle the Reformation upon a firm basis, a treaty was concluded with Henry VIII. for a contract of marriage between his son Edward and the infant queen. But all at once the prospect changed. Whether from weakness of character or from other causes with which we are imperfectly acquainted, the regent quarrelled with the reformers, abjured the reformed religion, broke off the English treaty, and became the subservient instrument of the cardinal and the ecclesiastics. He now entered

into the project, of which Beaton was the author, of giving the young queen in marriage to the dauphin of France, a step which it was hoped would at once extinguish the reformation.

The cardinal having thus recovered his influence, employed it with the fury of our own Bonner for the extirpation of heresy. He began his barbarous career at Perth, where five men and one woman were brought before him on the charge of heresy; they were tried, condemned, and sentenced, the men to be hanged, the woman to be drowned. The offence of the latter was that she had refused to pray to the virgin Mary; she would pray to God only, in the name of Jesus Christ. On the day of execution she earnestly requested that she might die with her husband, who was one of the condemned; her appeal was refused, but she walked with him to the fatal spot, bearing her infant in her arms, and still exhorting him to patience in the cause of Christ. She saw him die, and was instantly dragged to a pool of water, her babe still clinging to her bosom. She consigned it to the charge of a pitying neighbour. She was flung into the water and died in peace and without a struggle; for to her the bitterness of death was passed. The cardinal pursued his journey through the infected counties; and his assize, like that of Jeffreys after Monmouth's insurrection in the west of England, was to be tracked in blood. The indignation of the people was smothered for a time: they waited for leaders and for an opportunity; but the day of reckoning was at hand.

The cardinal's last victim was George Wishart, a gentleman of family, brother of the laird of Pittarow. He had been early imbued with the doctrines of the reformation, and had been banished at the instigation of the bishop of Brechin for teaching Greek at Montrose; for the love of Greek was a sure sign of heresy in every university in Europe in the sixteenth century. He retired to Cambridge, where his principles were of course confirmed, since Cambridge was the cradle of the English reformation. In 1544 he returned home, and immediately began to preach the new doctrines at Montrose and Dundee. Expelled from thence, he opened his mission in the town of Ayr. The archbishop of Glasgow excluded him from one church, and the sheriff of the county hindered his preaching in another. This opposition increased his influence; he preached in the fields and at the market-cross. He was warm and eloquent, but his manner

was refined, and his preaching was gentle and persuasive. Plots were laid for his destruction; but he had many friends, and amongst the number was John Knox, at that time residing as tutor in the family of a neighbouring laird, who did not scruple to carry a sword for the protection of his friend, the gentle, non-resisting Wishart. In 1546, during the night, the house in which he slept was beset with a troop of horse, headed by the earl of Bothwell, while the regent and the cardinal himself were at a short distance with a larger force. The laird of Ormiston, whose guest he was, refused to give up Wishart till Bothwell pledged his honour to protect him from the cardinal. He was immediately placed upon his trial, which took place in the abbey church, before the archbishop of Glasgow and other dignitaries, attended by a large body of soldiers. He defended himself from the charge of heresy with his usual mildness, but with great force of reasoning and a ready command of Scripture. He was condemned by the unanimous voice of the assembled prelates and clergy, and burnt as a heretic the next morning, the 2nd of March, 1546.

Some of the circumstances of his death made a deep impression at the time, and have been ever since a fruitful source of acrimonious controversy both to historians and divines. Wishart refused the assistance of two friars, who were sent to hear his confession on the morning of his death; but would have received the Lord's Supper from the subprior had he been permitted. Being humanely invited to breakfast with the captain in command of the castle, he prayed, exhorted, and then distributed the bread and wine devoutly, as a sacrament, to the company. Wishart was a layman; and this act has been denounced with the utmost severity, even by some Protestant writers. We know no scene in history in which party spirit has revelled with less decorum. Wishart, a man of the purest life and gentlest spirit, has been charged, not merely with acting under a mistaken impulse, but as impious and profane; and the martyr has received as little justice from Protestant writers as from the cardinal himself. But a much heavier charge has been insinuated. In many of the accounts of his sufferings it is related that, looking towards the cardinal (who feasted his eyes from a window of the castle, where he sat in state, upon the last agonies of his victim), he exclaimed, as the flames gathered round him, "he who from yonder place

beholdeth us with such pride, shall within a few days, lie in the same as ignominiously as now he is seen proudly to rest there." The violent death of the cardinal, which followed, gave rise to a conjecture that Wishart was privy to the conspiracy, and affected to foretell that which he knew would be attempted. On the other hand, the spirit of prophecy is supposed to have descended on the expiring saint, and the solemn utterance is regarded as a token of the Divine presence, in a moment when, if ever, the presence of the Head of the Church may be expected by those who are called to suffer in his cause. The subject has been discussed in Scotland, with great warmth on both sides.

There is reason, however to believe, notwithstanding the bold assertions of even contemporary writers, including Foxe the Martyrologist, to the contrary, that Wishart uttered no such prediction. Knox, his most intimate friend, was not many miles distant from St. Andrews when he suffered. From personal affection, as well as from zeal in the cause of the Reformation, he would naturally make the most minute inquiry into all the circumstances of his death, and more particularly as to his last words. Knox, in other parts of his history, has actually represented Wishart as endowed with the gift of prophecy, and, had he believed the story, would undoubtedly have recorded it. He relates the last words of Wishart thus:—"I beseech you, brethren and sisters, to exhort your prelates to the learning of the word of God, that they may be ashamed to do evil, and learn to do good; and if they will not convert themselves from their wicked errors, there shall hastily come upon them the wrath of God, which they will eschew." From these concluding words no doubt the fiction had its rise. It was easily believed by those who, from a false respect for this good man, were willing to invest him with prophetic gifts, as well as by his enemies, who found in the story the materials with which to gratify their hatred and malignity. The innocence of Wishart might be safely assumed, were the evidence even less conclusive, from the habits of his life, his singularly gentle and forgiving spirit, and the general complexion of his character.

The death of Wishart gave but a short triumph to the cardinal and his friends. It was followed by a proclamation forbidding prayers for the soul of the heretic under the heaviest censures of the Church. But the murmurs of the Reformers were deep;

the nobles, indifferent perhaps to the religious aspect of the quarrel, were disgusted with Beaton's insolence ; even the Papists abhorred his cruelty. The time was come when his career was to be stopped short and his victims signally avenged.

The laws of Scotland, and of the Church of Rome, required that capital punishment for heresy should be inflicted only by a warrant from the civil powers. In the present case not only had this law been disregarded, but Wishart had been condemned by the cardinal and his faction in express opposition to the governor's command. His trial and execution, thus divested of legal sanction, were justly regarded as an atrocious outrage, a murder perpetrated with the most refined cruelty. Many were persuaded that the death of the cardinal might justly be sought without the forms of law, which indeed could not be set in motion against the man who governed the sovereign himself and poisoned the stream of justice at the fountain-head. John Leslie, brother of the Earl of Rothes, vowed in secret that the blood of Wishart should be avenged. A band of conspirators was formed : his nephew Norman Leslie, Kircaldy of Grange, Peter Carmichael, James Leslie, James Melville of Carnbee, and others, to the number of thirty-five, placed themselves under Leslie's guidance, and resolved to inflict upon the cardinal the punishment which his crimes deserved. They assembled at St. Andrews privately, entering the city by night and at different times ; but on the 29th of May they were prepared for their enterprise of blood. Beaton was just then strengthening the fortifications of the castle, for he knew that he had incurred the hatred of a resolute people, and that his ultimate success still depended on the sword. A great number of workmen thronged the castle, and it seemed almost impossible to gain admission unperceived ; however, Kircaldy and six companions concerted their plans, passed through the castle gate at day-break, and entered into conversation with the warder. Norman Leslie and his party passed unmolested, but his uncle betraying some emotion, the warder was alarmed, and suddenly attempted to draw up the bridge. He was at once secured. The workmen, terrified by the presence of thirty-five armed men, offered no resistance ; the keys were seized and the governor arrested. The conspirators, guided by Norman Leslie, then hurried to the chamber where the cardinal was yet asleep in his bed. They demanded admis-

sion, and being refused prepared to burn the door. After a short parley, during which, according to some accounts, the conspirators promised the cardinal his life, though others assert the contrary, the door was opened, the wretched man exclaiming, "I am a priest; ye will not slay me?" John Leslie and Carmichael fell upon him with their dirks, but Melville interposed. "This," said he, "is the judgment of God, and though it be done in secret, yet ought it to be done with gravity." He then called upon the cardinal to repent of all his sins, and especially of the death of Wishart; and, protesting that he was moved thereto by no private enmity, but only because he was an obstinate enemy of Christ and his holy Gospel, thrust him twice or thrice through the body. He fell back into his chair, and died imploring mercy. The murderers then exposed the dead body from the window and quietly retired without interruption. Thus perished David Beaton, cardinal and archbishop of St. Andrews, on the 29th of May, 1546.

The death of the cardinal gave at once a new aspect to the affairs of Scotland. The clergy were filled with horror; they had the sympathy of the queen-dowager and the Court, but the great barons looked on with unconcern. Outrages of this kind were not so rare, in a barbarous and lawless age, as to excite that abhorrence which the bare recital of them now creates in those who have been trained to a purer sense of justice. The nobles considered the cardinal as their sworn foe; they looked upon the possessions of the Church with envious eyes, and upon its enormous pretensions with a hatred which they did not affect to hide. Many of them had heard Wishart preach, and some had been deeply affected by his ministry; all of them perceived that the new opinions struck at the very foundation upon which the power of the clergy rested, and that their reception would not only wrest from the Church her immense possessions, but might possibly transfer them back again to their ancient proprietors, from whom, by a long course of fraud and superstition, they had been alienated. Thus the great majority of the nobility were favourable to the Reformers, and encouraged the diffusion of their principles, though a few of the most ancient families still adhered to the religion of Rome.

The conspirators had retained possession of the castle of St. Andrews. They were cited, when the news spread, to appear on

a summons of treason before the Parliament at Edinburgh, on the 30th of July. Instead of submission they returned a lofty defiance, shut themselves up in the castle, and prepared for a siege. The Pope appointed in the place of Beaton a new archbishop, John Hamilton, the regent's brother, who immediately excommunicated the garrison, and induced the earl of Angus, Sir George Douglas, and others, to press the siege. Thus harassed the conspirators took the desperate resolution of soliciting aid from Henry VIII. He was then at peace with Scotland, and bound by treaty to abstain from every act of hostility and aggression; but the obligations of honour and good faith were little thought of in the sixteenth century, and several vessels were despatched from England with arms and other succours. The garrison were now in a condition to insist upon easy terms. It was agreed that the government should procure for them from the Pope absolution for the slaughter of the cardinal, and that, until this were obtained, they should retain possession of the castle; and, further, that they should enjoy all their privileges and rights, spiritual and temporal, as freely as though it had never been committed. The first article shows how much the power of the Church was still dreaded. The garrison listened with delight to teachers who stigmatized the Pope as antichrist. In stipulating, therefore, for his absolution, they must have been guided, not by any conviction of its inherent value or sanctity, but by the belief that, unless it were obtained, the pardon of the regent would be despised by the clergy, and thus they would still be exposed to the fury of a resentful faction.

The castle of St. Andrews was visited during the siege by two memorable men, John Rough and John Knox. Rough had once been chaplain to the regent, and now preached in the castle, and, during the armistice, in the town of St. Andrews. In the beginning of 1547, he was joined by Knox, who sought an asylum from the fury of the popish clergy, and was anxious, too, to assist his friend in a controversy with Annan, the dean, who had challenged him to a public disputation. Knox was still a layman; but his piety, his intrepidity, and his superior learning, placed him at once at the head of the Reformers. Rough joined his influence to the solicitations of the people of St. Andrews, and implored Knox to become their pastor. When the proposal was first made to Knox, he pointed out the objections which

presented themselves with the greatest force to his own mind. He declared that he would not run where God had not called him ; that he would not, without a lawful vocation, intrude as a teacher in the Church. Rough, in a sermon upon the election of ministers, laid down the following positions :—That every Church has the power to nominate, as teachers or pastors, those whose faith and zeal fit them for the office ; and he represented the will of the Church, thus expressed, as imposing an obligation which no man could lightly disregard. He then addressed himself to Knox, enjoining him, as he tendered the glory of God, the edification of mankind, and the purity of the gospel, not to refuse the holy vocation which he now gave him. Then turning to the audience, he said, “ Was not this your charge to me ? and do ye not approve this vocation ? ” they answered, “ Yes ; ” and Knox, though, as he declared, with an awful sense of the ministerial office, accepted the call at once, and became their pastor : thus were laid the foundations of the Presbyterian Kirk of Scotland. The one simple principle upon which it stands is this,—that the call or invitation of a Christian congregation constitutes a Christian minister.

Knox entered upon the ministry with all the fire which burned in him till life itself, exhausted by its own heat, was spent. Other reformers had skirmished against the outposts of papacy ; he attacked the citadel. His earliest discourses, delivered with fervent eloquence, were meant to prove that the Church of Rome was thoroughly corrupt ; that its religious doctrines and its canon law were alike repugnant to the Gospel ; that the titles which the pope assumed were blasphemous ; and that the papal Church was antichrist. His hearers declared that, while others had hewn down the branches of popery, Knox had struck at the root. The power of the Church was already weakened ; for now tenets, infinitely more offensive than those for which Wishart had so lately been condemned, were hazarded by the youthful preacher in the presence of the Romish clergy in a manner which seemed to challenge and defy them, and yet he escaped their violence.

In the same year in which Knox commenced his ministry the kings of France and England, Francis I. and Henry VIII., expired. War almost immediately broke out between France and Scotland on the one hand and England on the other. The

Reformation was in peril. Knox shared the fate of the conspirators who had murdered Beaton although he was no party to their crime. The garrison surrendered to a French armament; he was carried abroad, and, in violation of the promise under which they had surrendered to the French allies, condemned during the ensuing winter to the galleys. On his release which took place in consequence of the interference of the English ambassador, he returned to England where it is said a bishopric was offered him, which he declined. On the accession of Mary he withdrew to Frankfort, where he became the pastor of a church formed of English refugees; soon afterwards he removed to Geneva, where, in the society of Calvin, his principles, as a reformer and a presbyterian, were of course confirmed. Rough was destined to receive the crown of martyrdom. He went to England where he lay some time concealed, working as an artizan for the support of his family. He was seized and burnt as a heretic during the Marian persecution.

In the absence of its leaders the Reformation languished. The queen-mother governed Scotland, with the blind fury of a zealot. The infant queen of the Scots was sent over to France to receive her education. It was such as might be expected from the bigotry of her uncles, the Guises, to whom she was intrusted. Meantime the clergy recovered their influence, and, had it not been for the resistance of the nobles, the Reformation must have perished. The lords and gentry at the head of the new opinions met at Edinburgh to consult upon the gloomy state of affairs, and determine, if possible, upon some active measures. Knox was still absent, though letters had passed betwixt him and the leaders at home, and in consequence his return was daily looked for. The assembled lords and gentry, unprepared for active measures, drew up a bond or covenant, pledging themselves to stand by each other in defence of the principles of the Reformation. This document was the first of the several covenants which occupy so conspicuous a place in the religious history of Scotland. It was subscribed at Edinburgh on the 3rd of December, 1557; and from the frequent recurrence of the word congregation in it, those who framed and signed it were afterwards termed the Lords of the Congregation. "Perceiving," they say, "how Satan rages to destroy the gospel of Christ and his people, and that we ought to strive in

our Master's cause, oven unto death, being certain of the victory in him,—the which our duty being well considered, we do promise before the majesty of God and his congregation, that we, by his grace, shall with all diligence apply our whole power, substance, and our very lives, to maintain, set forward, and establish, the most blessed word of God and his congregation; and shall labour at our possibility to have faithful ministers, purely and truly to minister Christ's evangel and sacraments to his people. We shall maintain them, nourish them, and defend them, the whole congregation of Christ, and every member thereof, at our whole powers, and spending of our lives, against Satan and all wicked power that does intend tyranny and trouble against the aforesaid congregation. Unto which holy word and congregation we do join us, and also renounce and forsake the congregation of Satan with all the superstitions, abominations, and idolatries thereof, and moreover shall declare ourselves manifestly enemies thereto by this our faithful promise before God testified to his congregation by our subscription to these presents." The covenant bore the signatures of the earls of Argyle, Glencairn, and Morton, the lord Lorn, Erskine of Dun, and other men of note amongst the reformers. It was also immediately signed by numbers of inferior rank. From this moment the sword was drawn, and for several years the Reformation forced its way in Scotland through civil war and fields of blood. The congregation immediately proceeded to set up the reformed worship in the parish churches. This they did by publishing two resolutions. The first declares that it is expedient that, in all parishes of the realm, common prayer be read on Sunday and other festivals in the churches, with the lessons from the Old and New Testament. The second declares that, till God moved the prince to grant public preaching by faithful and true ministers, preaching should be had quietly in private houses without great assemblies of the people. Nothing could exceed the irritation of the clergy when they saw a rival Church thus rooting itself, as if at the bidding of a few private laymen, in the heart of Scotland. They seized Walter Mill and burnt him on the charge of heresy. He was an aged man and had been in his youth a priest, but ever since the introduction of the Reformation he had been one of the suspected. He now avowed his principles and sealed them with his blood. The lords of the

congregation acted on the occasion with firmness and discretion. They first addressed their petition to the queen-regent, imploring protection from the tyranny of ecclesiastics, liberty to worship God according to the dictates of their conscience, and a speedy reformation of the Church. They made similar requests to an ecclesiastical council which sat in Edinburgh; and when the Parliament met in 1558 they laid before it a petition consisting of various articles to the same purport. They received at first assurances from the regent which satisfied them. But they discovered that she was not sincere, and that the Parliament was about to be dissolved before its attention had been directed to the state of religion in the kingdom. They now drew up a manly protest, in which they claim the rights of freemen and Christians, and protest that, if any tumult or uproar should arise, and if it should chance that abuses be violently reformed, the crime should not be imputed to them but to those who refused to listen to their petitions for reformation.

In 1559 Knox returned to Scotland. The enthusiasm of the people could no longer be restrained, and it broke out, in opposition, as Knox affirms, to the admonitions of himself and the other preachers, as well as the remonstrances of the magistrates, in acts of violence. At Perth and Cupar images were broken, altars torn down, and a splendid monastery levelled with the ground. The outrage was deplorable, but it was at least free from selfishness; no plunder was attempted, the monks were permitted to carry away their private property, and the rest of the spoil was distributed amongst the poor. The queen-regent swore, it is said, that the atrocities committed at Perth should be expiated in the destruction of the town and the blood of its citizens. She hastened thither at the head of a small army, supported by the clergy, the duke of Hamilton, and Dosell, the French general, whose influence with her was great. The Congregation retired from Perth as she approached, hoping to allay her passions, and a convention was agreed upon to the effect that both armies should be disbanded and the town left open to the queen-regent, and that none of the inhabitants should be molested on account of religion, and that no Frenchman should enter the town. Every condition was violated. On the 30th of May, 1559, she entered Perth in military triumph; a tumult occurred, and the son of an eminent citizen, a Reformer, was

shot; her own friends were shocked, and the prior and the earl of Argyle at once retired in disgust, and joined the Congregation at St. Andrews. Here, on the 11th of June, Knox preached to the excited multitude. He chose as the subject of his discourse, the casting out of them that bought and sold in the temple; "and so," said he, "should our churches now be purified by the casting out of idolatrous pageantry." His sermon not only inflamed the common people, but aroused the zeal of the magistrates and of all classes of the citizens. They rushed to the cathedral, tore it down, and left it, when night set in, the naked ruin which it now stands.

The queen-regent died on the 9th of June, 1560. Elizabeth was now upon the throne of England; and the French court, convinced that nothing would shake her resolution of defending the Protestant cause in Scotland, proposed as the basis of a treaty that the troops of both countries should be withdrawn. To this she readily agreed, and a few days after the death of the queen-mother, the congregation assembled in St. Giles's church, to return thanks for the restoration of peace and the success which had crowned their exertions.

A parliament was held at Edinburgh on the 1st of August, and the question of the national religion was immediately brought forward. A confession of faith, drawn up by Knox, assisted by five ministers, Winram, Spotswood, Willock, Douglas, and Row, was laid before it, and publicly read. The clergy were silent; indeed, most of the lords spiritual and temporal, who were still attached to the old religion, absented themselves. The archbishop of St. Andrews and the bishops of Dunkeld and Dunblane were present, but either from policy or fear they said nothing in defence of the ancient faith. An act was at once passed, by which the confession was pronounced to be the standard of the Protestant faith in Scotland. On the 22nd and 23rd of August three other acts were passed. By the first the parliament abolished the power and jurisdiction of the Pope in Scotland; by the second they repealed all the acts formerly made in favour of the Church and against the Reformation; and by the third they ordained that all who said mass, or were present at the celebration of it, should be punished, for the first offence, by imprisonment or confiscation, for the second by banishment, and for the third by death. Over the last of these statutes every friend to true religion would wish

to cast a veil. "It too plainly shows," to use the words of a great Scotch divine, "that the worst parts of popery had not been taken from the hearts of those who so vehemently opposed it."

The great preachers of the Reformation were invited to the chief towns. Knox was settled at Edinburgh, Row at Perth, Methven at Jedburgh. The remote parts of the kingdom, where ministers were much needed, were divided into districts, or departments, and committed to the care of superintendents, who ministered from place to place. On the 20th of December, 1560, the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland met for the first time. It consisted of forty members, and of this small number only six were ministers of religion.

It was necessary to frame a scheme of Church government, and the General Assembly deputed the task to the committee of five who had drawn up the confession of faith. They prepared in consequence the First Book of Discipline, which was approved by the General Assembly, as well as by the privy council in the following year. This Book of Discipline contains the great principles of the Church of Scotland. It met with considerable opposition, not only from the court but from many of the Protestant nobility. Some of them regarded its restraints as unreasonably severe; a greater number, who, to use the language of Knox, "had greedily nipped the possessions of the Church," were unwilling to be deprived of their ill-gotten wealth. The majority of the privy council, however, subscribed to the Book of Discipline, though it was not formally ratified by the council itself. It was the honest boast of those who drew up this first Book of Discipline, that they took their example neither from Geneva nor from any other Church, but from the word of God. It was modified in some respects by the Second Book of Discipline of 1578, which was ratified by parliament in 1592, and still continues to be received as an authority in the Church of Scotland; but as the first book contains the deliberate opinions of the Scottish reformers on the great principles of Church government, and is, in fact, with a few unimportant changes, the statute-book of the Scotch Church, it seems necessary briefly to examine its contents.

Knox, and the other ministers who were associated with him, assumed, as the foundation of their proceedings, the right of a Christian Church to institute that form of government which

policy might dictate. "We do not think," they say, in the Confession of Faith, "that one policy can be appointed for all ages, times, and places." The excellence of any particular form of government is to be estimated, in part at least, according to the situation of those amongst whom it is established. That Knox had not that abhorrence of episcopacy which is frequently ascribed to him by those who profess to be his followers, is very apparent, yet he agreed with Calvin in rejecting it. The Book of Discipline enumerates four classes of teachers—superintendents, parochial ministers, ruling elders to assist the minister in enforcing discipline, and deacons, who had the special charge of the alms of the congregation and the oversight of the poor.

The superintendents have long fallen into disuse. They were invested with powers in many respects similar to those which, in churches governed according to the episcopal model, were committed to bishops. Particular provinces, sometimes agreeably to the ancient custom denominated dioceses, were allotted to them; they had jurisdiction over the great body of ministers in their respective districts; they were enjoined and authorized in their visitations to try the life, diligence, and behaviour of the clergy; to inquire into the order observed in their churches and into the manners of their people; to investigate how the poor were supported, how the youth were instructed; to admonish where admonition appeared to them to be requisite, and to redress whatever by counsel and prudence could be remedied. From all these marks of distinction many advocates of episcopacy have contended that, although in Scotland the title of bishop was overlooked, the office was virtually retained; yet when we examine the limitations to which the superintendents were subject, as well as the duties imposed upon them, there seems to be no ground on which to rest the argument. They were rather itinerating missionaries of a superior class. They were required to remain in a particular place for several months, exercising the pastoral office; during their visitations they were to preach at least three times a-week, providing also ministers, if possible, or, at least, readers in every parish. Far from being exempt from the control of the clergy, they were liable to their censure and correction, and even the elders of the large towns might complain of them when they became remiss in their duties; if convicted of any scandal they might be deprived like other ministers. Instead

of governing the Church, they lived, in short, beneath its strict control, and the office was probably designed only for the present necessity. A similar scheme was attempted in England about the same time. Select preachers were appointed to visit from town to town, assisting less gifted ministers, and preaching faithfully in those parishes where a zealous preacher was unknown; and it would have been well for our Church had the plan been vigorously pursued in later days.

To the superintendent succeeded the minister or pastor, who dispensed the sacraments, preached, and resided in the parish. It was found impossible at first to obtain a sufficient number of these properly qualified; they were therefore assisted by readers, whose duty it was distinctly to read a form of prayer and the Holy Scriptures to the people. Sometimes the reader, or doctor as he was termed, seems to have been set over the pastor; it was then his province to interpret Scripture and confute errors, and from this rank were taken the tutors in the schools and universities, who taught theology. The elders assisted the minister in all the public affairs of the Church, and watched with a cautious eye over the moral conduct of the people. They were also empowered to take heed to the life and doctrine of the pastor himself. The deacons distributed the alms. They were permitted on particular occasions to act as elders, and to become readers, if qualified and duly called; "for in a reformed Church," says the Book of Discipline, "or even in one tending to reformation, none ought to presume to take the clerical office till regularly called." This call consisted in three particulars, election, examination and admission. The election lay absolutely with the people: "it appertaineth to the people and to every several congregation to elect their minister." If within forty days they failed to elect, the superintendent with his council chose a pastor for them. Examination took place in an open assembly and before the whole congregation: a candidate was required to interpret and expound some passage of Scripture selected by the examiners; he was questioned as to his motives, principles and piety; he was appointed to preach upon a given subject, in the church for which he was destined,—upon justification, upon the offices of Christ, upon the number, use, and effect of the sacraments, and, generally, upon all those tenets by which Protestants are distinguished from the Church of Rome.

The act of admission followed. It consisted merely in the consent of the people to receive a particular person as their teacher, and in the formal approbation of the ministers who had judged him qualified to become a religious instructor. This was done however with much solemnity. The candidate was publicly warned to attend carefully to the flock over which he was to be placed, to walk in the presence of God sincerely, that the graces of the Holy Spirit might be multiplied upon him, and in the presence of men soberly and uprightly, that, by his exemplary life, the word which he taught might be confirmed. The people, likewise, were exhorted to reverence and honour their minister as the servant and ambassador of the Lord Jesus, obeying the doctrine delivered to them out of the word, as they would obey God himself. This was all that was requisite for admission. Imposition of hands was not thought to be a necessary form in the ordination of ministers, though it has since been introduced, and is now practised in the Church of Scotland.

The elements of the Presbyterian government as it still exists in Scotland are developed in the Book of Discipline, together with its present modes of worship. There is the Kirk Session, consisting of the pastor and his elders, meeting every week; the Presbytery or classis, a weekly meeting for devotion of all the ministers and principal laymen of a great town or district; the Provincial Synod, which took cognizance of ecclesiastical matters within a wider range; and last of all the General Assembly, the superior ecclesiastical court and parliament of the Church of Scotland, a body so peculiar in its structure, so important throughout its varied history, and now at length so venerable from its antiquity, that its constitution demands the attention of every student of Scottish history.

The General Assembly is a representative body, in which all the parochial clergy, with the ruling elders of the Church, are supposed to have a voice. In the inferior courts, the Provincial Synod, Presbytery, and Kirk Sessions, each minister and elder is present; but in the Assembly they are *represented* by a system which affords to every parochial minister an opportunity in rotation of becoming a member of the court. The several bodies which possess the elective franchise and the number of representatives returned are thus arranged. Presbyteries which include not more than twelve parishes, return two ministers and one lay elder;

those which contain from twelve to eighteen parishes three ministers and one elder. Presbyteries containing between eighteen and twenty-four parishes are represented by four ministers and two elders, and so on of still larger presbyteries. Each of the royal burghs, each of the universities, and, in recent times, the Presbyterian Church in India, is represented by at least one member; Edinburgh sends two. The total number of lay and clerical members is 363; of these a majority, that is, at least 200, are necessarily clergymen; laymen are eligible only if elders of the Church. The Assembly meets once a-year in Edinburgh; the sovereign is represented in it by a nobleman of rank, who is styled the Lord High Commissioner. He opens the sessions and is present at all the proceedings, rather to sanction the acts of the Assembly by the civil authority than in any way to interfere. He is allowed a salary of two thousand pounds a-year to uphold his dignity; as the representative of royalty he holds a court, and is expected to give a courteous reception to each of the members of the Assembly. The business of the Assembly commences with prayer, after which a moderator is elected, when the royal commission is read, committees are formed, and the business of the house begins. Being a court of justice, counsel are admitted to plead at the bar on behalf of the accused. In cases purely spiritual the sentence of this court is final. It may deprive a delinquent clergyman of his office, and by consequence of its emoluments. Since the events of 1842, of which we have given an account in the history of the Free Church, it has been generally supposed, or at least frequently asserted, that the Assembly no longer possesses, even in spiritual things, this ultimate jurisdiction; but causes have since been tried before it (in the instance of deposed ministers) from which the Court of Session has refused to entertain an appeal; the judges declaring that while the Assembly kept within its own province the secular courts had no right to interfere, even though the sentence it pronounced might be wrong; the judicial authority of the spiritual courts being entirely independent of the civil.

The Assembly is also a deliberative body, with whom it rests to rescind, alter, or create laws ecclesiastical for the government of the national Church. To prevent impatient legislation, the Assembly, in 1697, imposed a curious restriction upon itself, enacting that no law should have force until it received the sanc-

tion of at least forty presbyteries ; it was found difficult, however, to obtain the attention of so large a number of these inferior courts to acts which were sometimes of little general interest or importance, and from the obstacles it created in the way of all immediate legislation it was termed the Barrier Act. The difficulty was at length met by converting every new law into an interim act, which gives it immediate force until it shall be rejected by the presbyteries. Since all the inferior ecclesiastical courts are amenable to the Assembly, it may readily be supposed that difficult cases will occur, and anxious discussions arise, in the review of their proceedings. These, with other matters of immediate interest, furnish an arena on which ambitious eloquence, party spirit, and the love of victory will sometimes show themselves ; but, upon the whole, the debates in the General Assembly are said to be conducted in a spirit not unworthy of its venerable character. The Assembly meets once a-year in the month of May, and sits in general about ten days. As a civil court, it is formally dissolved by the commissioner in the name of the sovereign ; and afterwards by the moderator in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, the head of the Church, as a spiritual synod.

Returning to our history, it is necessary to bear in mind that when the Book of Discipline was published, the revenues of the Church had yet to be dealt with. The reformers proposed that the tithes should go to support the ministry and the poor, and that the revenues of the bishops, abbeys, and cathedrals should be appropriated to the endowment of universities and public schools. These proposals, and especially the latter, gave great offence to the nobility, and produced a scene of confusion through which the Reformation waded with uncertain steps for several years. The outline of the story may be given in few words—a volume would scarcely unravel the minute perplexities of this intricate period of Scottish history.

The young king of France, Mary's husband, died in December, 1560, and feeling that her influence was at an end abroad she returned to Scotland. There were two parties at home: the clergy and the old nobility devoted to the ancient faith, and the burghers, led on by no inconsiderable number of the gentry and the reformed preachers, in behalf of the Reformation. Mary placed herself at the head of the former, went publicly to

mass, and though she promised freedom of worship to the reformers, soon showed that she had resolved on the suppression of the new opinions. Tumults broke out in consequence, and the kingdom was distracted. The Protestants were divided amongst themselves, for in the spoil of the Church their leaders expected to have shared, and the abbey and bishoprics being suppressed, to have been allowed, after the example of the English court favourites of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., to appropriate a considerable portion to themselves. Knox had evidently placed the Reformation in peril, partly by the severity of his Book of Discipline, and perhaps still more by the rigid appropriation of the whole of the Church property. Whether he ought to be more lauded for his high integrity or censured for his want of prudence is a question upon which even Presbyterian historians have not agreed, and one upon which we shall therefore offer no opinion. In 1561 the reformed clergy were still without a stipend, for though Popery was legally suppressed, no steps had yet been taken to apply the tithes or ancient foundations to the Reformation. The privy council determined that the revenues should be divided into three parts, that two of these should be given to the ejected Romish clergy, and that the third part should be divided between the court and the ministers of the Reformation. "Two parts," exclaimed Knox, "freely given to the devil, and the third part divided between God and the devil!" On the other hand, this distribution of Church property has been much commended. The ejected clergy had but a life-interest in this allowance, which, as they disappeared, was secured by an act of the privy council to the nobility. The revenue attached to the crown had never been very great, and on Mary's accession the royal income, dissipated by the wars in which the kingdom had been involved, was totally inadequate to the necessary expenses of the court. The poverty of the nation rendered any scheme of taxation fruitless. To the clergy or to the crown the whole patrimony of the Church, in law or in equity, belonged. The full possession of it by the preachers might have again introduced the luxury which had disgraced the ancient priesthood, and it has been argued, with some appearance of truth, that it was obviously more for the advantage of the kingdom that what remained after giving comfort to the teachers of religion should be divided amongst a class of men whose industry it stimulated, and whose

civilization and refinement it advanced, than that it should have been vested in the sovereign, whom it might have enabled to sap the foundations of liberty, and even to establish an arbitrary government.

These points were still unsettled when the queen, in 1565, was married to Lord Darnley, a zealous Papist. She gave him the title of king, and they jointly strove to repair the injuries which the Reformation had inflicted on the Romish faith. The ecclesiastics were restored to their seats in parliament, and St. Giles's church, in Edinburgh, was prepared for the celebration of the mass. Mary became a party to the *league* by which the extirpation of the Huguenots in France was undertaken by her family, the house of Guise, and the Protestant lords of Scotland were still in exile. Rizzio, her secretary, was supposed to be her adviser in these measures, which were avenged by his assassination, in Holyrood Palace, in 1566. Darnley's mysterious death, or murder, followed in 1567, and in a few weeks the queen's marriage with Bothwell, who was more than suspected of the crime. The nation at once abandoned her. She found herself universally abhorred, a prisoner at Lochleven, in the hands of the Protestant nobles, and without a friend. Her resignation of the crown in favour of her son, who was yet an infant, her escape from her confinement into England, her long imprisonment, and cruel death in 1588 upon the scaffold, are subjects too familiar to be repeated here.

The deposition of Mary was favourable to the Reformation. The young king was crowned, and the earl of Murray, a Protestant, was appointed regent. On accepting the office he took a solemn oath in public to maintain the Reformation and abolish popery. The General Assembly also met and expressed their determination to support the lords hostile to the queen; and they seized the occasion to confirm the Protestant Church in Scotland. The associated lords subscribed without hesitation the scheme prepared by the Assembly. It consisted of six articles, which provided effectually for the security of the Protestant cause. The reformed faith is not only declared to be the religion of Scotland, but is taken under the especial protection of the state, and bound upon the monarch by his coronation oath. The restitution of the patrimony of the Church for the support of the ministry is expressly demanded in these terms: that in the first lawful parliament that

should be held, or sooner if an opportunity should occur, the Church in this kingdom shall be put in possession of the patrimony of the Church. The seminaries of education were also to be filled with Protestants, and there was to be in future only one established religion. The inconsistency of a Popish and a Protestant establishment, the one deprived of all power to teach, the other destitute of the means of support, was now done away. The nobility, barons, and others subscribing to these articles, faithfully promise "to root out idolatry, especially the blasphemous mass, without exception of place or person, and also to remove all idolaters and others not admitted to the preaching of the word from being any function in the Church." From this period the Protestant religion, though it passed through many conflicts, was firmly established, and the reformation in Scotland was complete. A parliament met in 1567, in which the proceedings of the Assembly were confirmed, the acts of Mary in favour of popery were repealed, and the Protestant Church declared to be "the only true and holy Church of Jesus Christ within the realm." No judge, procurator, notary, or member of any court, no teacher of youth or public examiner, was allowed to be a Papist.

In 1570, Murray, the good regent, was assassinated by a nephew of the archbishop of St. Andrews, to avenge his uncle's death. His loss was soon followed by one of yet greater importance to the Reformation. John Knox expired, worn out with toil rather than age, on the 20th of November, 1572. He was followed to the grave by the earl of Morton, the new regent, and all the nobility in Edinburgh; and as the grave closed, the regent thus pronounced his eulogy: "There lies he, who never feared the face of man." The memory of Knox, in England at least, is ungenerously treated, for his character is little understood. Living in an age and country where the refinements and courtesies of life were still unknown, his manners were rude and his conduct sometimes barbarous. In this, however, he was not singular; he would rather have been singular had he acted otherwise. If his behaviour be placed beside that of the barons, or the Romish clergy, it will be found to suffer nothing from the comparison. It was an age of rude and savage men; firmness of character had not yet learned to divorce itself from roughness and brutality in manners. The feudal system was unknown in the greater

part of Scotland ; and so too were those laws of courtesy by which the feudal system made some amends for the systematic appetite for war, and those other social injuries, which it inflicted upon the southern nations of Europe. As a divine, Knox cannot be compared with Calvin, or even with the leaders of the English reformation. As a reformer he was perhaps too impetuous. The moderate divines of the Presbyterian Church seem to be of opinion that by gentler methods, and a process more circuitous, though not less upright, he might have obtained for the Scotch Church some advantages which it does not possess, and have established it on a more comprehensive basis. These views, however, are decried by more rigid Presbyterians as those of a timid and unfaithful policy. After fair criticism, nay after prejudice and party spirit, have made every abatement, Knox stands before us still, one of the nobles of our race. Few ever possessed in a higher degree the rare faculty of governing men ; perhaps no man ever exercised that faculty under greater difficulties or with more success. His piety was fervent, his integrity was never impeached. The nobility who espoused the Reformation were often guided by self-interest ; though not indifferent about religion, their zeal for its purity was mixed up too often with covetous or ambitious motives. Knox never, for an instant, either deserted what he believed to be his duty, or, affecting to pursue it, was in fact in the pursuit of sinister or selfish ends. He forfeited the warmest friendships, as he flung aside, with far less concern, the patronage of the great and powerful, whenever the choice lay between these on the one hand, and the liberty, the honour, and above all, the religion, of Scotland on the other. The worst faults of an unpolished age and a rugged temper detract but little from merits such as these.

After the death of Knox, a long struggle of five-and-twenty years ensued ; the court and the old nobility attempting the restoration of episcopacy, against the remonstrances of the clergy and the indignant protests of the citizens and middle classes. It is too true, that the greatest outrages which the institutions of Scotland have received, have been inflicted by her own children, who have unnaturally turned their weapons on themselves. Even before the death of Knox, the regent Morton had begun to intrigue for the destruction of the Presbyterian Church. He had summoned a convention at Leith in 1572, consisting of several of

the privy council, assisted by a few obsequious ministers, who agreed that until the king's majority, the titles of archbishops and bishops should be retained, and that the dignitaries of the Church should be again admitted to sit in parliament as before the Reformation. In order to conciliate the Presbyterian leaders, it was decreed, that the bishops should be chosen by an assembly of learned ministers ; and that they should be subject to the General Assembly in spiritual matters. These decrees were confirmed by the regent and council on behalf of the young king. The archbishopric of St. Andrews was immediately filled by Douglas, a creature of the earl of Morton. The object appears to have been twofold. It was, first, by means of the bishops to exercise a power over the Church, similar to that which Elizabeth possessed in England ; a power which they could not fail to see contributed greatly to the stability of her government. Had the regent been able to pursue his scheme openly, and by fair means, Presbyterians would have had little ground for complaint. It was no less competent to the regent and the nobles to encourage episcopacy, than for Knox and his friends to promote Presbyterianism, had the settlement of the Church been an open question. But this was not now the case. The nobility and the parliament had decided in favour of the existing form of Church discipline, and the regent was bound by his oath of office to protect it. But another motive, and probably a still more powerful one, was the sordid wish, by means of the bishops, to retain the plunder of the Church. This was done in the most unblushing manner by the nobility, both by obtaining the appointment of bishops, who paid large sums for the honour, and by the union of parishes, three or four of which were placed under the charge of a single incumbent, who received the tithes of but one parish, while the patrons received the rest. It was obvious that such arrangements could not bear the scrutiny of a General Assembly where every grievance of the Church was publicly discussed ; and therefore the interest of the patrons was, if possible, to suppress the Assembly as well as the other Presbyterian courts. Thus, however, for several years, the Church of Scotland presented a strange anomaly prelacy coexisting with Presbyterianism, and each to the utmost of its power thwarting the other.

King James, a boy of twelve years old, was allowed to assume the government in the year 1578, and Morton resigned the re-

gency. The Assembly, which had all along protested against the regent's acts, and obeyed them with reluctance, at once regained courage. The Second Book of Discipline, which is still the law of the Church of Scotland, was at once drawn up and sanctioned. It was agreed that the bishops should, for the future, be addressed in the usual style of other ministers; and this was soon followed by a second act, which ordained that no new bishops should be made, and the existing ones were commanded to submit themselves to the Assembly under pain of excommunication. These proceedings were sanctioned by the parliament and the young king; still the king was prevailed upon to protect the bishops from the interference of the Assembly, even when their misconduct was palpable. This induced the Assembly, in 1580, to pass an act for the abolition of episcopacy, an office, they declared, without warrant or authority from the word of God, a mere human invention, tending to the great injury of the Church. With five exceptions the bishops immediately submitted and laid down their charge. Besides the Book of Discipline, the Assembly passed another act, known as the first national Covenant of Scotland. It was intended as a test by which to discover suspected adherents of prelacy and popery, and as a bond by which to confirm the attachment of the nation to the Presbyterian Church. It was subscribed with great solemnity by the king himself, the nobility, gentry, and a vast number of the common people, as well as the ministers of religion.

Young as he was, the king felt and resented the restraints which the house of Assembly had imposed upon him. With little respect to the obligations of his oath, he made over the revenues of the archbishopric of Glasgow to the duke of Lennox; but as these revenues still belonged to the Church, a nominal archbishop was created, in whose name the revenues were drawn and paid over to the duke. The transaction was disgraceful, and in every view of the case illegal, and the Assembly at once excommunicated the nominal prelate. The king interfered on his behalf, and commanded them to stay their procedure; they refused to comply, and the sentence was pronounced. Had the leaders of the kirk been satisfied thus constitutionally to maintain their ground in the face of an arbitrary court, their firmness would have deserved respect, and their example would have been highly beneficial; but in a violent and lawless age, they, too, were

faction. Andrew Melville was their leader: he had the courage of Knox without his sagacious wisdom: he was one of those men who are rather boisterous than bold, and who mistake an overbearing manner for true courage. On behalf of the Assembly he presented a remonstrance to the king, which, admitting its truth, was rude, and, beyond necessity, discourteous. It began thus: "Your majesty, by devise of some councillors, is caused to take upon you a spiritual power and authority which properly belongeth unto Christ, the ministry and execution whereof is only given unto such as bear office in the ecclesiastical government in the same; so that, in your highness's person, some men press to erect a new popedom, as though your majesty could not be full king and head of this commonwealth unless as well the spiritual as temporal sword be put into your highness's hand; unless Christ be bereft of his authority, and the two jurisdictions confounded which God hath divided, which directly tendeth to the wreck of all true religion."

The question which Melville decided in this peremptory way was not to be so easily dismissed. After agitating Scotland for nearly three centuries, it has at last produced the lamentable secession of nearly one-half of Scotland from the national Church. It is, in fact, a question that can never be adjusted. Christian churches, if national establishments, possess a power over their members which the state must always regard with jealousy. The state, on the other hand, in asserting its right to control its subjects, may, in the hands of unscrupulous men, bear hard upon the rights of conscience; and, since there is no third party to whom such differences can be remitted for adjustment, the abstract question must, to a great extent, give way to considerations of practical utility; while, with a spirit of mutual confidence, with forbearance on both sides, a compromise may be affected by which neither party shall be disgraced. The earl of Arran, the king's chief adviser, exclaimed, when the remonstrance was read, "Who dares to sign these treasonable articles?" "We dare," said Melville, taking up the pen and signing his name, while the other ministers followed his example. A warrant was issued shortly after to inquire into what was termed the late sedition, and to punish its authors. It was stopped by a daring outrage characteristic of the times. A plot was laid by the nobility of the Protestant party—the king was

seized in Edinburgh, and carried off by force to Ruthven Castle. Lennox and Ruthven, the king's advisers fled, and a proclamation was issued in the king's name, extorted by his new councillors, annulling his recent measures against the Church. The Assembly met in October the same year, 1582. The lords connected with the Raid of Ruthven, as it was termed, explained the motives of their conduct, and requested the Assembly to give their sanction to the affair. The Assembly, whether from respect to their sovereign, or to display their power as a judicial court, determined to hear both sides before they gave judgment, and sent a deputation to the imprisoned king to receive his own statement of the facts. They then expressed their approbation of the deed, and they proceeded to the trial and deposition of the other prelates. James felt that he was a prisoner and affected to approve their conduct, but he soon contrived his escape, and hastened to St. Andrews, where he found the Earl of Arran and a powerful body of the nobility prepared to support him against the Assembly.

Acts of violence against the sovereign, if not fatal to the throne, proverbially recoil. Public opinion in Scotland, callous as it was, felt the outrage and resented it. In 1584 the parliament was induced to pass, with little opposition, three acts which lay the kirk prostrate at the monarch's feet. By the first of these the proceedings taken for the abolition of prelacy were overthrown; by the second the Church courts, unless they sat by special commandment and licence, were closed; by the third the king was empowered to commission the bishops or others to regulate all ecclesiastical matters, each in his diocese, and above all, perhaps, in importance, it was ordered "that none should presume in sermons or in private conference to censure the king or his council under the penalties of treason." Numbers of the clergy fled; others who remained at home submitted; not a few were preparing for stern resistance, when the king, always fickle, grew weary of the struggle and of his favourite, Arran, and the storm exploded in threats and harmless bravado. In 1587 the parliament gave to the crown those Church lands which had not been already alienated to the nobles and gentry. If James still wished to restore episcopacy, this measure was short-sighted, for it was now impossible to endow the bishops with revenues such as became lords of parliament. The next

year witnessed the execution of his mother in England; and James, probably under feelings of just exasperation, soon afterwards denounced the Church of England, and "praised God," in the presence of the Assembly, "that he was born at such a time as to see the full light of the Gospel, and in such a place as to be the king in the sincerest kirk in the world." But the prospect of succeeding to the English throne again abated his attachment, and the remainder of his life was spent in thwarting the exertions and undermining the power of the Church of Scotland. Yet in 1592 the Presbyterian party were able to carry a measure through parliament of so much importance as to have been termed the great charter of the Church of Scotland. It gave to the General Assembly the right of meeting once every year. It construed the Act of 1584, respecting the royal supremacy, so as to exclude Church censures from its operation, and it declared the commissions granted to the bishops null. It also determined the respective rights of patrons and Church courts in the matter of appointments to vacant livings.

James succeeded to the throne of Elizabeth in the year 1603. He left Edinburgh with professions of reverence for the kirk on his lips, but being now at liberty, and having the power to carry his wishes into effect, his dislike for Presbyterianism broke out, even in his conversations, with indecent violence. He virtually suppressed the Assembly, proroguing it from time to time before it could proceed to business, and restoring the bishops as opportunity occurred. At length in 1606, a parliament was held at Perth which erected seventeen sees, and reinstated the bishops in their ancient dignities. It is evident that the nobility and a large proportion of the people of Scotland must have been, if not in favour of the measure, at least indifferent spectators of it. It met with opposition only from the ministers. The violence of the Assembly had produced its natural reaction, and they fell beneath the recoil of their own blow.

James now felt that he could venture still further. In the month of February, 1610, a commission was issued under the great seal, to the archbishops of Glasgow and St. Andrews, empowering them to hold two courts of high commission. These were united in 1615, and held thenceforth at St. Andrews. They were formed upon the model of that which had been called into being at the opening of the reign of Elizabeth, and by means of

which she vainly attempted to crush the Puritans. The power of this court was absolute ; it was subject to no rules of evidence or precedents of law. It was, in the fullest sense, an arbitrary tribunal. In England it was universally detested, and was now seldom put in motion. Its introduction into Scotland was an audacious act of tyranny ; and the placing it in the hands of the prelates, a proceeding of at least equal folly. If the attempt succeeded, there was an end of the liberties of Scotland, both civil and ecclesiastical. An Assembly was held in Glasgow, and a majority was found base enough to lend the sanction of its approbation to the measures of the court. In 1618, in a General Assembly held at Perth, the struggle between the court and the ministers was renewed, and, as it seemed to the men of that generation, finally decided. Spotswood, archbishop of St. Andrews, took the chair, supported by the nobility, gentry and prelates ; the cause of the Church of Scotland being now abandoned to a few of her faithful and courageous ministers. Five articles were proposed and carried ; one peer, one doctor, and forty-five ministers daring to vote against them. The articles enforced all those forms which were most abhorrent to the Presbyterian Church, namely, kneeling at the communion, the observance of saints' days, private baptism, and the administration of the eucharist in private houses. Three years afterwards the parliament ratified the articles, and thus, in fact, completed the overthrow of the Presbyterian Church. Four years of bitter persecution followed ; and the Presbyterian Church in Scotland suffered those insults, fines, imprisonments, and depredations, with which the prelatic party in England had vainly attempted during forty years to bend the stubborn spirit of the English Puritans.

James I. expired in 1625, leaving his native land in a state of deplorable disquietude. Gradually the spirit of the burghers and men of the middle class had revived ; the prelates were odious, and the nobility unpopular ; while the courageous meekness of the persecuted ministers placed them high once more in the affections of an ardent people. It was remarked with sorrow, not unmingled with a deep sense of shame, that every one of those destructive measures by which the Presbyterian Church was overthrown, had originated in some court or commission of the Church itself ; her own children had shorn her of her glory, and trampled her in the dust.

Charles I. resolved to carry on two great designs which his father had set on foot. The first of these was the recovery of the Church lands and tithes, the second was the restoration of Episcopacy. In the year of his accession to the throne, he entered on the former of these perilous schemes by a proclamation, revoking all his father's acts in prejudice of the Crown, as well as those which had been made during his father's minority. That the two great families of Hamilton and Lennox might appear to set an example to the nation, they were induced to make over the abbey of Aberbroath and the lordship of Glasgow, to endow the two archbishoprics of Glasgow and St. Andrews. Several smaller estates were purchased from men of less note. The jealousy of the nobility subsided, and it became a fashion with those who affected the favour of the court to offer their Church lands for sale at a low rate. In the year 1633, the king went down in person to be crowned at Edinburgh. The coronation was magnificent, and the country, being scarcely able to bear the expense, suffered much in consequence. But he took no pains to conceal his dislike of the Presbyterian Church, nor his contempt for the best feelings of his subjects. He introduced ten Englishmen into the Privy Council of Scotland, and one of these was archbishop Laud. The lords of the articles (a sort of high committee by whom business was prepared for the consideration of parliament) were chosen from subservient creatures of the court: they prepared an Act declaring the royal prerogative to be absolute; thus affirming the decision of the parliament held at Perth in 1606. They also confirmed another Act, passed in 1609, by which the bishops had been restored to the civil jurisdictions they possessed before the Reformation. Burnet asserts that the Act was rejected by a majority, and that the clerk of the register was instructed to declare falsely that it was carried in the affirmative. The king, while in Scotland, erected a new bishopric at Edinburgh, and made one Forbes the bishop. According to Burnet, he was a very learned and pious man, with the strange faculty of preaching for five or six hours at a time; his way of life was monastic, and his learning lay among the schoolmen; he was a very simple man, and knew little of the world; he died soon after, suspected of popery; and the suspicion was increased when his son declared himself a Papist. So unfortunate were the king's first measures.

The bishops of Scotland now resolved to frame a liturgy, and

a body of canons for the use of the Church. These were not submitted to any public assembly of the clergy, but everything was managed by four or five aspiring bishops ; namely, Ross, Galloway, Dunblane and Aberdeen, acting under Spotswood, archbishop of St. Andrews and lord chancellor, who again, in his turn, was obsequious to archbishop Laud. A proclamation, dated at Edinburgh the 20th of December, 1636, commands all his Majesty's subjects, "to conform themselves to the said public form of worship, which is the only form which we, having taken the counsel of our clergy, think fit to be used in God's public worship in this our kingdom ; commanding also all archbishops and bishops, and other presbyters and churchmen to take a special care that the same be duly obeyed and observed, and the contraveners condignly censured and punished." To enforce the proclamation, the bishops obtained commissions from the high commission court, and set up in their several dioceses institutions which were thought, except in name, to differ little from the inquisition. With regard to the book itself, though in substance that of the Church of England, it differs from it in some points of importance ; and those are the very points on which Laud had already joined issue, not merely with the Puritans, but with the sound and Protestant portion of the Church of England. In the service for the administration of the Lord's Supper, God is entreated to bless and sanctify with his word, and Holy Spirit, "these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved Son." A prayer of oblation follows, in which the communicants "celebrate and make before the divine Majesty with these his holy gifts, the memorial which his Son hath willed us to make." The changes may seem unimportant ; they were sufficient to inflame a nation who already saw, as they supposed, the restoration of popery in the use of liturgical forms, however scriptural ; nor were their suspicions lessened when, turning to the rubric, they found that "it was lawful to use wafer bread," "that the elements should not be carried out of the church," or that, "to the end there may be little left, he that officiates is required to consecrate with the least, and if more be wanting to repeat the words of consecration." All this excited deep misgivings. The book of canons had appeared in print a few months before the prayer-book, yet one of its articles denounced excommunication against all who should malign it, as

contrary to Scripture ; another excommunicated all who should deny the king's supremacy ; a third decreed that no General Assembly should be called except by the king, and that no ecclesiastical business should be discussed except before the episcopal courts. In short, the book of canons subverted the Presbyterian Church, and episcopacy, after the Laudian model, was substituted in its stead.

The great civil war was approaching. The rashness of Charles in provoking the resistance of his subjects was equalled only by his feebleness in action. He was now attempting to change by force the whole constitution both in Church and State of the kingdom of Scotland ; he was endeavouring to wrest the Church lands and tithes from powerful chieftains, who would scarcely part with them without a struggle, and yet his government was weak, and he had provided himself with no force at hand to compel submission. All men saw the imbecility, while they complained of the rigour, of the government. Every one who returned from England swelled the clamour of the king's inexorable stiffness, the queen's influence, the favour shown to the pope's nuncio, and the report of proselytes daily falling away to Rome. The 23rd of July, 1637, was the day appointed for the introduction of the new services in public worship. The dean of Edinburgh, officiating at St. Giles's, was interrupted by a mob of women. No force was at hand to restore order : in a few hours the tumult swelled into a formidable insurrection, and the cause of prelacy was already lost. In the church of the Grey Friars the bishop of Argyle was interrupted with groans and exclamations. In a few days all Scotland was aroused ; most of the clergy refused to make use of the service-book ; some assembled in deep distress, and took counsel with each other and with their flocks ; some petitioned the king to withdraw the book, and others, in a sterner mood, prepared for the final decision by force of arms. During the winter angry recriminations passed on all sides. The prelates blamed the magistracy for their supineness, the magistrates retorted and upbraided the bishops with arrogance and haste. The king protested and equivocated, at one time giving way to the Presbyterians, at another urging the bishops to proceed with all severity. Laud in this affair was Charles's adviser ; his counsels were disastrous to the Church at home, they were necessarily still more mischievous in Scotland, from his

profound ignorance of the character of the nation, and its deep attachment to the institutions he was endeavouring to subvert. The passionate feelings of a people impatient of insult and indignant under a deep sense of wrong were at first peaceably expressed. A national Covenant had been resorted to in former days. It was proposed once more, and all Scotland, with deep enthusiasm, pledged herself anew to the cause of Wishart and of Knox.

A kind of provisional government was formed at Edinburgh until the king's decision should be known. It was called the four houses, or tables—one of the nobility, another of the gentry, a third of the burgesses, and a fourth of the ministry. The four united formed one General Table. The Tables requested Henderson, at that time one of the best divines of Scotland, with Warriston, uncle to bishop Burnet, and a few assistants, to prepare the Covenant. They took as their basis that which had been subscribed by king James in 1580, and again by the nation in 1598, and to this they added several protests suited to the crisis. After declaring their abhorrence of popery, which they promise to oppose to the utmost of their power, they undertake "to defend the ancient doctrine and discipline of the kirk under the pains contained in the law, and danger both of body and soul in the day of God's fearful judgment, protesting and calling the Searcher of all Hearts to witness that their minds and hearts do fully agree with this their profession, oath, promise, and subscription." "Under the same oath and pains, they engage to preserve the king's royal person and authority with their goods, bodies, and lives." They further "pledge themselves to support the authority of parliaments upon which the security of their rights and properties depend, and without which neither any law or lawful judicatory can be established;" and "they declare the late innovations brought into the kirk to be contrary to the doctrine and discipline of it, and contrary to the Covenant above mentioned, and therefore they will forbear the practice of them till they are tried and allowed in a free assembly and in parliament, and not only so, but they promise and swear, by the great name of God, to resist all these errors and corruptions to the utmost of their power all the days of their lives." This was the substance of the Covenant. It was subscribed with a degree of enthusiasm which scarcely bears description, first in the great

church of Edinburgh, and then in every shire and parish. It became the test of each man's principles. If it united the friends of the kirk it marked their opponents, tore the kingdom into hostile parties, widened the breach already so deep and broad, and made any future compromise impossible. The privy council, the law officers of the crown, and the episcopal clergy refused to subscribe. Two of the universities opposed it, and that of Glasgow received it with some hesitation.

The defence of this bold measure rests entirely upon its necessity. "Never," exclaims an ardent votary of the Presbyterian cause, "except amongst God's peculiar people, the Jews, did any national transaction equal in moral and religious sublimity that which was displayed in Scotland on the great day of her sacred national Covenant." It is represented as a sublime appeal from the tyranny of man to the righteous Judge of all. Other writers, not unfriendly to the kirk, have viewed it in a different light. Neal is of opinion that such a combination of subjects, without the consent of their sovereign, in a well-settled government, is unwarrantable, especially when confirmed with an oath, for no oath ought to be administered but by commission from the chief magistrate. The only ground, therefore, he concludes, upon which the Covenant can be vindicated, is the apprehension of the Scotch that their legal Church establishment was violated, and their fundamental laws subverted, by the king's assumption of the spiritual supremacy in the court of high commission, and by the imposition of a book of canons and a liturgy by the royal prerogative without the consent of Parliament or of the General Assembly. It is clear that Charles had violated the fundamental laws of Scotland in each of these particulars. The question then immediately resolves itself into the more general one, whether passive obedience is, under all circumstances, the duty of a Christian state? The prudence of the measure is, of course, a distinct consideration.

At first the king was violent. He sent the marquis of Hamilton, his high commissioner, to Scotland, with instructions to suspend the service-book for the present, but at the same time to dissolve the Tables and to demand the Covenant itself, now revered as a sacred document, to be delivered up within six weeks. He was empowered to use force, and to treat the Covenanters who might not return to their duty as in open rebellion. But again,

he had no forces at hand, and Hamilton was obliged to temporise. By a proclamation he called together the General Assembly at Glasgow on the 21st of November, 1638. The ministers chosen were, with scarcely an exception, the men who had signed the covenant, and Henderson was elected moderator. The bishops presented a useless protest, declaring the Assembly unlawful; for the king, as the lesser evil, was obliged to sanction it, and he presided in the person of his commissioner. The bishops' protest was at once rejected. The covenanters, it was now perceived, would carry all before them; they would dissolve the bishoprics, and repeal, by an Act which the Parliament would unquestionably confirm, all the offensive laws by which Charles had provoked the contest. The commissioner was now prepared to make great concessions; his Majesty was willing to recall the Service Book and the Book of Canons; to dissolve the high commission; to grant that the articles of Perth should not be urged; that no oath should be required of any minister at his entrance into the ministry, but what was required by Act of Parliament; that for the future there should be general assemblies as often as the affairs of the Kirk require, and that the bishops be censurable by the Assembly according to their merits: and that the Confession of Faith of 1580 should be subscribed by all his Majesty's subjects in Scotland. But even these concessions fell short of the Assembly's demands, and Hamilton dissolved them, forbidding them to continue their sessions on pain of treason. The Assembly now at last, resolved to place themselves in hostility to the Crown. They published a manifesto, declaring, amongst other matters, that his Majesty's presence in their assemblies, either in his own person or by his commissioners, implied no right of interference, "but merely as princes and emperors of old, in a princely manner, to countenance their meetings and preside in them for external order;" and they proceed to assert the position, always maintained with such tenacity by the Church of Scotland, of its independence of the Crown. "It is clear," they say, "by the doctrine and discipline of the Kirk, contained in the Book of Policy registered in the Book of Assembly, and subscribed by the Presbyters of this Kirk, that it is unlawful in itself, and prejudicial to the privileges that Christ hath left to his Church, for the king to dissolve or break up the assembly of this Kirk, or to stay their proceedings; for then it would follow that religion and Church government

should depend absolutely upon the pleasure of the prince." They proceed to affirm that the conduct of the king in abruptly closing the sessions was without precedent; that it would lead every man "to despair hereafter to see innovations removed, subjects complaints regarded, or offenders punished." And they conclude with declaring that "the present Assembly is, and shall be esteemed and obeyed as, a most lawful and free General Assembly of this kingdom, and that the acts, sentences, censures and proceedings of it shall be obeyed and observed by all the subjects of this kingdom." Henderson, the moderator, closed with prayer, but, as if the exasperation on both sides were not yet bitter enough, he added this defiance: "We have now cast down the walls of Jericho. Let him that rebuildeth them beware of the curse of Hiel the Bethelite." The dreadful curse which he imprecated on his king was this: "Cursed be the man before the Lord, that riseth up and buildeth this city Jericho: he shall lay the foundation thereof in his firstborn, and in his youngest son shall he set up the gates of it," Joshua vi. 26.

The irritation of the Court when these tidings were conveyed to London may be conceived. Archbishop Laud writing to the Marquis of Hamilton, exclaims, "I will be bold to say, never were there more gross absurdities, nor half so many, in so short a time, committed in any public meeting; and, for a national assembly, never did the Church of Christ see the like." But threats and proclamations had now lost their terrors. The Assembly, in defiance of the king, continued sitting. The acts of the six late Assemblies, since the year 1606, were one and all of them repealed. Sentence of deposition was then pronounced against the bishops; eight of whom were excommunicated, four excluded from the ministerial office, and two only allowed to officiate as pastors or presbyters. Spotswood, bishop of St. Andrews, felt the bitterness of the stroke. "All that we have done," he exclaimed, "these thirty years, is thrown down at once." He retired to London in deep dejection, and died the next year. Most of the bishops fled; four remained in Scotland, of whom three renounced their episcopal orders, the fourth, George Guthrey, bishop of Murray, kept his ground and weathered the storm. At the close of the session, the Assembly addressed a courteous letter to the king, complaining of his high commissioner who had proclaimed them traitors and forbidden the people to obey them, and imploring

him to regard them still as good and loyal subjects. They also published a vindication of their proceedings, addressed to the good people of England, which the king immediately suppressed ; and in return, he issued a proclamation, denouncing the seditious conduct of the covenanters, which he commanded to be read in all the churches of his southern kingdom. Both sides had now gone too far for any peaceful adjustment of the quarrel. The Scotch fortified their castles ; the king raised troops in England. On the 27th of March, he placed himself at the head of his army, and marched to subdue his rebellious subjects. The Scotch, under the command of General Leslie, met him on the borders, and men saw once more, with deep forebodings, a king and his subjects drawn up in array against each other.

Yet the cloud did not burst at once. While the two armies faced each other at Kelso, it became apparent that the royal troops had little disposition for the contest. In fact, there was nothing which seemed to justify the quarrel. Englishmen might love episcopacy, but neither then nor at any other period were they disposed to enforce it by violent measures upon foreign lands. All the enthusiasm was upon the side of Scotland. The Scotch standard displayed the motto, "For Christ's crown and covenant." It is certain that the English army was not hearty in what they considered to be the king's personal quarrel. On the 18th of June a treaty was signed in the camp ; the terms were, the ratification of the promises made to the Glasgow Assembly in 1638, and an assurance from the king that a free assembly should be held forthwith, and a parliament convened, by whom all the ecclesiastical and civil affairs of Scotland should be finally determined. The Assembly met in August, and renewed the national covenant ; the Earl of Traquair, the royal commissioner, himself subscribing it on the king's behalf. Traquair made other concessions, one of which was, that episcopal government was unlawful in the Kirk. This the king absolutely refused to sanction, though he was ready to allow that it was contrary to the constitution of the Kirk and State of Scotland. Charles, by some Scotch writers, is blamed as for a base equivocation in this affair. We cannot agree with them. At the treaty of Newport, when a captive and overwhelmed with disasters, he still maintained the position that episcopacy was a divine appointment, against Hen-

derson and others, in whose hands he knew that his liberty and his crown were placed, and at the peril of both.

In 1640 the war began in earnest; the king being now resolved to reduce the Scotch to subjection by force of arms. He took the field with an army of twenty thousand men. The Scotch were beforehand with him. They crossed the Tweed and entered England, to carry on offensive war, before Charles was prepared to meet them. To relate the events that followed would be to write the history of the most stirring period in the annals of Great Britain: we must presume upon the reader's acquaintance with the story, and confine ourselves closely to the affairs of the Church of Scotland.

The reverses of Charles in England were fatal to episcopacy. It had been the ambition both of James and his unhappy son to unite the Churches of the two kingdoms, and to provide each with the same canons, forms of government, and modes of worship. And this was now the ambition of the Scotch themselves, as well as that of many of the Puritans in England. Only with this difference: that, whereas the Stuarts would have established episcopacy, the Scotch leaders and their English allies would have brought about the union by conforming the Churches of both kingdoms to the Genevan or Presbyterian model. Commissioners were sent to London, at first with the design of consulting with the parliament upon various measures in their common warfare with the king. Gradually, however, the scheme occurred of bringing the English nation to an agreement with the Church of Scotland. They presented to the English parliament, in the year 1641, a memorial suggesting "conformity of Church government as one principal means of a continued peace between the two nations." Disclaiming "the right of interfering with another free and independent church and kingdom," they were satisfied with pointing out the weakness occasioned by division in matters of religion, and expressing the wish that there were one confession of faith, one form of catechism, one directory for the common worship of God, and one form of Church government in all the churches of his Majesty's dominions.

The Westminster Assembly was the fruit of these suggestions. Commissioners or delegates were chosen to attend it by the Church of Scotland, who were instructed to endeavour to bring

about a union between the two kingdoms in all spiritual matters. The solemn league and covenant, afterwards adopted by the Westminster divines, was drawn up by Henderson, and in the first instance submitted to the General Assembly and the Convention of Estates, who now governed Scotland. It was then transmitted to London, and accepted by the Westminster Assembly and the parliament. In England it was never rigidly enforced, and in fact was soon forgotten, but in Scotland it was received with enthusiasm. The Convention of Estates, who governed in the king's name, issued their commands that every man should subscribe to it under the penalty of the confiscation of his goods, and such other punishment as they might see fit to inflict. The Lords of the Council were summoned to sign and swear to it on the 2nd of November, 1643, and again on the 14th of the same month, under the severest penalties. A few of the king's party refusing to attend were declared enemies to religion, to their king and country; and on the 17th an order was issued for the confiscation of their property and the apprehension of their persons. These measures were the more severe because superfluous. The whole kingdom of Scotland, with the exception of a mere handful of men, was prepared to embrace the covenant; and this was done in a tumult of religious fervour and political enthusiasm.

The Westminster Confession was no sooner laid before the English parliament than a rupture took place between the divines and the civil power. The point of difference, again, was that which has never ceased to agitate the Church of Scotland,—the independence, or rather the supremacy, of the spiritual courts. The English parliament determined that from the highest of the Presbyterian courts an appeal should always lie to their own tribunal; but, when the scheme of government thus amended was laid before the Scotch parliament, they demurred to the power claimed by the State, and their commissioners in London were instructed to protest against it. The dispute ran high; the parliament was angry; "they think it strange," they say, in their answer to the commissioners' papers, printed April 17, 1645, "that any sober and modest men should charge them with unwillingness to settle the government of the Church, after they had declared so fully for the Presbyterian form, only because they cannot consent to the granting an arbitrary and unlimited

power and jurisdiction to near ten thousand judicatories, to be erected within this kingdom ; and this demanded in such a way as is not consistent with the fundamental laws and government of the same ; and by necessary consequence excluding the parliament of England from the exercise of all ecclesiastical jurisdiction." And they add another consideration, which in England has always had great weight ; " we have the more reason not to part with this power out of the hands of the civil magistrate, since the experience of all ages will manifest that the reformation and purity of religion, and the preservation and protection of the people of God in this kingdom, has under God been owing to the parliament's exercise of this power. . . If then," they conclude, " the minds of any are disturbed for want of the present settling of Church government, let them apply to those ministers who, having sufficient power and direction from the houses on that behalf, have not, as yet, put the same in execution."

But the Scotch determined to adopt the whole Confession as it came from the Assembly ; it was ratified accordingly by the General Assembly at Edinburgh on the 4th of August, 1647. The Westminster Confession became thenceforward the authorized standard of the Church of Scotland. Her forms of worship and discipline, as they still exist, were framed by the Westminster divines. A coolness, however, had arisen which led to painful consequences, and the Scotch commissioners returned home, deploring the hardships under which the Presbyterians in England still laboured. A solemn fast was appointed to lament their own defection from the covenant, in several points, and " the distressed condition of their brethren in England, zealous for the work of God, but now suffering oppression under pretence of liberty, from those who aimed at nothing less than tyranny and arbitrary power." The growth of the Independents and of republicanism gave them unfeigned concern. They entered into a secret treaty with Charles, by which they undertook to restore him to his throne ; the king engaging on his part to confirm the Presbyterian government for three years, till an assembly of divines, aided by twenty commissioners whom he might nominate, should frame " such a system of discipline as they should conclude to be most agreeable to scripture." When the treaty became known it was highly unpopular with the covenanters. It was in truth a direct violation of the covenant. Scotland was

therefore divided against herself. To complete her sorrows Cromwell defeated the army which the Duke of Hamilton led into England to the king's rescue, and the general himself died upon the scaffold. The death of Charles I. in 1649 did not remove the difficulty. No sooner did the Scotch receive tidings of his death than Charles II. was proclaimed king; at the same time the confession of faith was ratified by the parliament, and the young sovereign was informed that he must embrace the Covenant as the condition of ascending his father's throne. He did so, and repeated the ceremony at his coronation on the first of January, 1651. The crown was placed on his head by the Marquis of Argyle. The National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant were then read, and the king solemnly swore to observe both of them. The oath to defend and support the Church of Scotland was then administered to him. Kneeling and holding up his right hand he exclaimed, "By the Eternal and Almighty God who liveth and reigneth for ever, I shall observe and keep all that is contained in this oath." But the battle of Worcester, in September, 1651, put an end to the shadow of royalty, and left Cromwell master of both kingdoms. While he lived the Church of Scotland was in peace; for his policy was to give the largest toleration to all parties, so far as toleration was consistent with the public safety. The discussions of the General Assembly might, however, have caused him some uneasiness, had he not suppressed their sittings just as he suppressed the long parliament at Westminster. In July, 1653, his troops entered the house, and Colonel Cottrel, their leader, demanded by whose authority they met. A few brief sentences were exchanged; the ministers were ordered to withdraw, and the colonel and his soldiers escorted them out of the city, and courteously intimated that they would do well to retire to their own parishes, and not to return to Edinburgh. The Assembly sat no more for five and thirty years.

From the restoration of Charles the Second to the revolution of 1688, the Church of Scotland existed only in the persons of the covenanters. We have already told their melancholy story—an episode of horrors and of blood. The Scotch parliament signalized its obsequious loyalty by the rescissory act of 1661. This, says Burnet, with great truth, "was a most extravagant act, and only fit to be concluded after a drunken bout;" it

annulled all the acts of previous parliaments since the year 1633, thus leaving the Church where Charles the First had placed it when prelacy was introduced. It was followed immediately by other acts by which the Kirk was overthrown. Several of the provincial synods maintained their ancient character of honest independence, and protested against the tyrannical conduct of the king and parliament. But the times were changed; both nations were obsequious and servile, and in both the life and spirit of religion was extinct except amongst a few persecuted men. In 1662 bishops were sent down to Scotland, and a proclamation followed prohibiting synods, presbyteries, and sessions, till the bishops should convene them. Of course presbyterianism was at an end. Diocesan assemblies were established, termed bishops' courts, and by an act of parliament ministers were required to repair to these, and to abstain from other ecclesiastical assemblies. In 1662 an act was passed, which had precisely the same effect as the English Act of Uniformity of the same date: four hundred ministers resigned their livings, and according to Burnet two hundred parish churches were at once closed. The Scotch ejection was accomplished thus: all the ministers who had entered on their duties since the death of King Charles, in 1649, were required to obtain presentations from the several patrons, and to present themselves to the bishops to receive collation and admission after the episcopal forms and usage. In England the ejection of two thousand ministers produced no impression; in Scotland the ejection of four hundred aroused the deepest sympathy. It cemented the covenanters by the closest bonds: instead of tolling the knell of their cause, it summoned them to a combined and heroic resistance, patient and resolute, under protracted horrors to which even the annals of the Church of Christ, in her deepest sufferings, scarcely afford another example.

William III. was invited to the English throne by a vote of the convention parliament, which declared that King James had broken the original contract between the king and people, violated the fundamental laws, withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, and thus abdicated the government. Scotland followed the example; but the resolutions of her convention were expressed in stronger and perhaps more consistent language.—“Whereas,” they say, “King James being a professed papist, did assume the regal power and acted as king without ever taking

therefore divided against herself. To complete her sorrows Cromwell defeated the army which the Duke of Hamilton led into England to the king's rescue, and the general himself died upon the scaffold. The death of Charles I. in 1649 did not remove the difficulty. No sooner did the Scotch receive tidings of his death than Charles II. was proclaimed king; at the same time the confession of faith was ratified by the parliament, and the young sovereign was informed that he must embrace the Covenant as the condition of ascending his father's throne. He did so, and repeated the ceremony at his coronation on the first of January, 1651. The crown was placed on his head by the Marquis of Argyle. The National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant were then read, and the king solemnly swore to observe both of them. The oath to defend and support the Church of Scotland was then administered to him. Kneeling and holding up his right hand he exclaimed, "By the Eternal and Almighty God who liveth and reigneth for ever, I shall observe and keep all that is contained in this oath." But the battle of Worcester, in September, 1651, put an end to the shadow of royalty, and left Cromwell master of both kingdoms. While he lived the Church of Scotland was in peace; for his policy was to give the largest toleration to all parties, so far as toleration was consistent with the public safety. The discussions of the General Assembly might, however, have caused him some uneasiness, had he not suppressed their sittings just as he suppressed the long parliament at Westminster. In July, 1653, his troops entered the house, and Colonel Cottrel, their leader, demanded by whose authority they met. A few brief sentences were exchanged; the ministers were ordered to withdraw, and the colonel and his soldiers escorted them out of the city, and courteously intimated that they would do well to retire to their own parishes, and not to return to Edinburgh. The Assembly sat no more for five and thirty years.

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the oath required by law, whereby the king at his accession is obliged to swear to maintain the Protestant religion, and did invade the fundamental constitution of this kingdom, and alter it from a legal limited monarchy to an arbitrary despotic power * * * therefore the estates of the kingdom of Scotland find and declare, that King James VII. hath forfeited the right to the crown, and the throne has become vacant." Leaving the question of the original contract between the king and people to those political casuists by whom it has been so long discussed, it cannot be denied that, in simplicity and force, the Scotch manifesto has the advantage: but James had yet a strong party in the heart of Scotland, and it has always appeared to English writers that their power was increased by the tenacity of the Presbyterians in the needless assertion of abstract principles. In the Scotch claim of right, for example, which forms the basis of the revolution settlement, they felt it necessary to advance the following proposition: "That prelacy and the superiority of any office in the Church above presbyters is, and hath been, a great and insupportable grievance and trouble to this nation, and contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the people, ever since the Reformation, they having been reformed from popery by presbyters, and therefore ought to be abolished." This was followed by an act "abolishing prelacy, and all superiority of any office in the Church in this kingdom above presbyters:" and by another, excluding Episcopalians from places of trust. King William, though a Presbyterian, was displeased. He was anxious to effect a comprehension in both his kingdoms; in England by extending the terms of subscription so as to embrace orthodox dissent; in Scotland by admitting the Episcopal clergy on the condition that they recognised the authority of the General Assembly. He was met in both countries, and foiled, by the same objection; in England the divine right of Episcopacy, in Scotland the divine right of Presbyterianism. In each case the stumbling stone lay at the threshold, and the question was never advanced so far as to permit of a discussion on the details. William, indeed, gave great offence by the terms in which he gave the royal consent to the establishment of the Presbyterian Church, "as agreeable to the word of God;" whereas the high Presbyterians maintained, in the words of Knox, "that it was grounded upon the infallible truth of God's word." The General Assembly met on the 15th

of January, 1692, when the king, by letter, expressed his regret that those of the clergy who were willing to conform should be excluded by the Presbyterians from the privileges which they themselves enjoyed. His desire was, that those of the episcopalian persuasion who were willing to sign the Confession of Faith should not only retain their churches and benefices, but also be admitted to sit and act in Church judicatories; and that the Commission of Assembly should consist of Presbyterians and of those admitted prelatists, in equal numbers. To this the Assembly were unwilling to consent, and they were abruptly dissolved in consequence. The next year the king declined calling them together, and it was with difficulty the moderate Presbyterians prevailed upon them not to meet as a spiritual synod, as if in defiance, at the summons of their own moderator. The Scotch parliament stepped in, and passed "an act for the quiet and peace of the Church," which empowered the king to secure to the Episcopalians the possession of their churches and stipends without reference to the Assembly. In this decision the Assembly with reluctance acquiesced. Their conduct is viewed in different lights by historians of different principles; but with the exception of Bishop Burnet, there is no English writer of that age who has spoken with any tolerable degree of candour and information upon Scotch ecclesiastical affairs, and even he is charged with prejudice. He sums up between both parties thus: the Presbyterians by their violence and their foolish conduct were rendering themselves both odious and contemptible. In the General Assembly they exposed themselves by their weakness and peevishness; little learning or prudence appeared amongst them; their preaching and harangues were pitiful; they were partial and unjust to those who differed from them; and thus they weaned the nation most effectually from the Presbyterian cause. To these infirmities he ascribes whatever partial success attended the king's project. The episcopal clergy were only required to make an address to the General Assembly, offering to subscribe to the Confession of Faith, and to acknowledge presbytery "to be the only government of that Church," with a promise to submit to it. Upon these conditions the Assembly was to receive them, and to allow them a share in the government of the Church; or, if they could not be induced to make this concession, the king would take them under his own protection, and

maintain them in their churches without any dependence on the presbytery. This, he proceeds, was a strain of moderation that the Presbyterians were not easily brought to listen to. A subscription which owned presbytery to be the only legal government of the Church, without owning any divine right in it, was very far below their usual pretensions, and this act vested the king with an authority very like that which they were wont to condemn as Erastianism. There are still two parties in the Church of Scotland; the one of whom applaud King William's scheme for a comprehension as wise and good, while the other speak of it with indignation as an insolent invasion of the Church's dearest rights. By the former it is argued, that by the revolution settlement the Church of Scotland abandoned some of its ancient principles, widened its basis, and became, to use the expression most frequently employed in the controversy, somewhat Erastian. The Assembly seems to have been apprehensive of such a charge; for in 1698 they sent forth "a seasonable admonition," in which the following passage occurs: "We do believe and own, that Jesus Christ is the only head and king of his Church, and that he hath instituted in his Church officers and ordinances, order and government, and not left it to the will of man, magistrate, or Church, to alter at their pleasure; and we believe that this government is neither prelatical nor congregational, but Presbyterian, which now through the mercy of God is established among us: and we believe we have a better foundation for this our Church government than the inclination of the people, or the laws of men."

The points of historical interest in the Church of Scotland, from the beginning of the eighteenth century, are three:—The question of patronage, the growth and character of the moderate party, and the repeated secessions which occurred, creating in Scotland a new species of dissent. The question of patronage, which ended in the disruption of the Church in 1842, has been sufficiently explained in our article on the Free Church. The other points deserve a careful examination.

The doctrinal basis of the Church of Scotland, as settled at the Reformation, was that of rigid Calvinism. The episcopal clergy had gradually introduced the Arminian principles of Laud, which, ever since the synod of Dort, in 1618, had been gaining ground in the Church of England. Before the Revolution it had

been for some years the custom of the more aspiring and intelligent youth of Scotland to complete their education in the German universities. In these Arminianism, properly so called, was now superseded by the still lower views of Episcopius and his party, verging towards Socinianism. With these extreme opinions the English Presbyterians were deeply affected, and they now began to make their appearance even within the well-guarded pale of the Church of Scotland. In the year 1710 the Assembly passed an act "for the preservation of the purity of doctrine," which indicates the existence of those divisions which had long troubled the National Church in England. Professedly the act was intended to exclude opinions "not agreeable to the form of sound words expressed in the word of God and in the confession of faith," but, in fact, according to the statements of Dr. M'Crie, Mr. Hetherington, and other evangelical Presbyterians, it was intended by the *moderate* party to exclude those very doctrines which the Reformation taught; and it was carried in the Assembly by the votes of the episcopal clergy, assisted by a considerable number of young men who had imbibed those lax notions of a modified Arminianism which were prevalent both in the English and continental churches. The act was especially directed against a catechism, written by a minister, on the covenants of works and grace. It contained some inaccurate statements, of which the Assembly appears to have taken an unfair advantage. The contest was renewed in 1714, when Simpson, professor of divinity at Glasgow, was accused before the Assembly of teaching Arminian or Pelagian tenets. The Assembly is said to have thrown every difficulty in the way of the prosecutors, and, after three years' delay, finally dismissed the case with a gentle censure. The very same year, however, the Assembly visited with severity some unguarded statements of the presbytery of Auchterarder, who closely adhered to the Calvinistic scheme. The proposition which they condemned was this:—"It is not sound and orthodox to teach that we must forsake sin in order to our coming to Christ, and instating us in covenant with God," with several others of a similar kind. The Assembly declared its abhorrence of the aforesaid proposition as unsound and most detestable, and summoned the presbytery to answer for its misconduct. This affair of the Auchterarder creed, as it was termed, formed the starting point from which two systems of divinity began to be

openly avowed in the Church of Scotland ; the ancient Calvinistic scheme being retained by the Covenanters and rigid Presbyterians, and an extreme Arminianism by the moderate party with whom the episcopalians were united. The latter regarded the Auchterarder proposition as embodying the darkest Antinomian tenets, whereas, to quote a sentence from one of their opponents, "a little more discrimination and candour, and a little less party spirit, might have enabled them to perceive that, although loosely expressed, it was intended merely to guard against the unsound doctrine that a man must, of himself, first abandon sin and cease to be a sinner before he can be at liberty, or entitled, to come to Christ and to enter into covenant with God." The dispute was still hot on both sides, when, in the course of the year 1718, two ministers republished, with a commendatory preface, an old English book of Calvinistic theology, called 'The Marrow of Modern Divinity.' The work was attacked by the Principal of St. Andrew's, in a sermon preached before the synod of Fife, in 1719. His sermon was published at the request of the synod, and the discussion immediately assumed the form of a controversy between two parties in the Church, the evangelical or Calvinistic party, who adhered to the original principles of Presbyterianism, and the Neonomian or moderate party, who now displayed their readiness to alter its constitution both in government and doctrine. We should have spoken with more respect of the moderates if they had acted with more integrity ; but instead of avowing their intentions, and proceeding in a manly course to the point they had in view, they disguised their intentions under an affected and dishonest profession of respect for the ancient principles of the Church of Scotland. In 1719 they issued a commission "to inquire into the publishing books and pamphlets tending to the diffusion of the condemned proposition of Auchterarder." The commission entered with alacrity upon its task, and chose a committee "for preserving the purity of doctrine" to assist them. They reported to the General Assembly, who, by an act, condemned certain false doctrines, arranged under five heads. The propositions condemned are these, and they savour strongly, it must be confessed, of Antinomianism ; first, concerning the nature of faith, the charge being that assurance is of the essence of faith ; secondly, universal atonement and pardon ; thirdly, holiness not necessary to salvation ; fourthly,

fear of punishment and hope of reward are not motives of a believer's obedience; fifthly, that the believer is not under the law as a rule of life. The Assembly not only condemned these theses, but they prohibited 'The Marrow of Divinity' in a manner worthy of the Vatican and the 'Index Expurgatorius.' They "strictly prohibit and discharge all the ministers of this church, either by preaching, writing, or printing, to recommend the said book, or in discourse to say anything in favour of it; but, on the contrary, they are enjoined and required to warn and exhort their people in whose hands the said book is, or may come, not to read or use the same." Their opponents asserted, and still maintain, that the five propositions are not fairly contained in the volume in question, though incidental expressions, taken apart from the context, may seem to countenance the charge; and that, under the pretext of excluding antinomianism, the General Assembly formally condemned the principles of Knox and Calvin and of the Church of Scotland.

From this period to the close of the century the power of the moderate party was supreme, and, whatever were their merits in other respects, in their hands religion fell into a state of deplorable decay. The leaders of the party lived on terms of intimate friendship with the men who not only avowed infidel principles, but devoted their lives to the promulgation of them. In 1755 a discussion arose on the infidel writings of David Hume, whose essays, in one of which the ministers of religion are attacked with vulgar and insolent asperity, had just then been published. The Assembly condemned the work, without venturing to name the author, and Hume was defended by Dr. Blair in a pamphlet anonymously published, to avoid the unseemliness of a minister of the gospel appearing before the world as the apologist of an infidel. Dr. Robertson, the historian, led the General Assembly for nearly thirty years. His influence was such that this period is always spoken of by Scotch writers as that of his *administration*. He ruled the Assembly as Mr. Pitt ruled the House of Commons. His influence was entirely given against the popular right of election, and in favour of the absolute claims of patrons. His argument upon the subject (which may be seen in his biography by Dugald Stewart), is a fine specimen of clear reasoning, but it leaves almost untouched the legal merits of the question, and still less does it remove those scruples of conscience

which, taken together, made up, in later days, the case of the Free Church against the moderate party. Religion continued to decline till Dr. Robertson himself seems to have been shocked by the rapidity with which his own disciples were hastening to a state of scepticism. He retired from the General Assembly in 1780, vexed, as his friend, Sir Henry Moncrieff, declares, with the importunities of his friends, who had now embarked with zeal into a scheme for abolishing subscription to the Confession of Faith and other formularies of the Church of Scotland. To such proposals Robertson was too wise to listen, and he retired in disgust from public life. Socinianism was openly maintained, particularly in the west of Scotland, by a party termed the New-light men. In 1790 Dr. M'Gill, the minister of Ayr, even ventured to publish an essay on the death of Christ, in which Socinian principles were boldly maintained. Proceedings were threatened and the work was withdrawn, but he still continued to officiate as a minister of the kirk. The shock of the French revolution aroused both of the British nations from their deep spiritual slumber, and we mark in each the dawning of a brighter day. In 1796 a proposal was made to the Assembly that an act be passed in aid of the several societies for propagating the gospel among the heathen nations; it met with little encouragement, and was, in fact, rejected. The proposal was even treated by several leading members of the house with the utmost scorn; but the Assembly have since rescinded the disgraceful resolution of 1796, and the moderate party, as it existed in the last century, ceased to control the affairs of the Church of Scotland soon after this display of folly and irreligion. Under Dr. Hill, Principal of St. Andrew's, at the beginning of the present century, it assumed a more scriptural and evangelical character, and since the great secession of 1842 it remains in almost undisputed possession of the Assembly and the Church.

But to the old moderate party the Church of Scotland is at least indebted for its literary fame. At the beginning of the present century they were the only men whose writings had obtained a general circulation; for they alone had risen above the barbarisms to which educated Scotchmen still cling with strange pertinacity, and dared to imitate the great classic models. As authors, it is true, one fault pervades them, which has made their triumphs short, and is now consigning them to a neglect

from which they will never emerge. Their style is deficient in the idiomatic graces. It moves on with a pompous and a leaden march, wanting variety and relief. The histories of Henry and Robertson scarcely fall within our province. With the faults we have mentioned they are undoubtedly great works, and formed an epoch in the literature of Great Britain. Of Blair's Sermons the popularity was once amazing, and they still deserve to be read by those who would cultivate a style of theological composition, cold, indeed, but chaste and vigorous. They appear to have been written upon the scheme which Tillotson introduced in England with unhappy consequences, that of divorcing Christian ethics from Christian doctrine, enforcing the one and studiously avoiding the other. The consequences are too well known to be repeated; like plucked flowers, Christian morals wither from the moment they are severed from Christian principles. It may be doubted whether Blair's Sermons ever converted an infidel, reclaimed a sinner, or impressed with sentiments of true devotion one human heart. Other writings of the moderate school on metaphysics and biblical criticism have gained distinguished honour. Under the former class must be placed those metaphysical writers who shed so great a lustre on Scottish literature during the latter half of the last century. They have one great fault, and it is owing no doubt to their defective views of religion, and the slender influence it exerted upon their literary pursuits. They throw no light whatever upon the grand question of spiritual religion in its influences upon a compound being such as man. They neither help us to detect the mental delusions of the enthusiast, nor to defend the doctrines of a Divine influence upon the soul. They have furnished us with a rigid analysis of our mental powers, and this is all. Their speculations, when they have ventured into the region of theory, have had no reference to religion. A race of clerical metaphysicians flourished and disappeared, and made no contributions whatever through the medium of mental philosophy to the nobler science of theology, which it should have been the business of their lives to teach. The critical and exegetical writers of the Church of Scotland are less known in England than their merit deserves. The Dissertations of Dr. George Campbell on the terms and phrases of the New Testament, are not only of great value in themselves, but as the first examples of a kind of writing which

has since become extremely popular. No English author has written so well as Dr. Blair on the rhetoric and the secular studies of the pulpit; and this acknowledgment must still be made, notwithstanding the appearance of Dr. Whately's more learned and more deeply-thoughtful treatise upon rhetoric. In practical divinity the Church of Scotland abounds; but the aim of her ministers seems to have been chiefly directed to the instruction of their own parishioners, and a stranger feels that he is reading that which was not intended for his use. We hesitate to speak of the divines and authors of the present century. Dr. Chalmers for zeal, philanthropy, and purity of mind and purpose, will ever be revered. Whether his projects were wise, when he had in view the improvement of civil economy or the reformation of the Church, another generation will be more competent to decide. To the same tribunal we refer the question of his claims as a Christian philosopher, an orator, and a writer; for these are points on which no inconsiderable difference of opinion as yet exists.

The Church of Scotland during the present century has displayed all the tokens of a renewed and vigorous life. Long before the rupture of the Free Church, the dominant party had renounced the unsound principles of the moderates of a former generation, and with these their secular habits and spiritual indifference. The doctrines generally preached in her pulpits now are those of the Confession of Faith and of the Bible; and the clergy are, for pastoral diligence, an example to most other Churches. The public services of the Church, depending for their efficiency upon the zeal and gifts of the officiating minister, the faculty of extemporaneous address is generally cultivated. Till recent times written sermons were never carried into the pulpit, though the practice of mandating or committing to memory and repeating them by rote was almost universal. The prejudice against written sermons has disappeared since the pulpit triumphs of Dr. Chalmers, who carefully adhered to his written notes. At the same time, habits of deeper thought, and a wider range of study, mark the character of the Scottish clergy.

The Church of Scotland is the only national Protestant church which, in its corporate capacity, has undertaken the work of missions to the heathen. The honour of proposing this undertaking and carrying it into effect is due to Dr. Inglis, a member of the

moderate party. His attention was directed to the subject in the year 1818, and in 1824 he brought before the Assembly the unchristian character of the resolutions of 1796 on the question of missions. The weight of his character, and his high position, secured the attention of all parties: the disgraceful resolutions were removed; and in 1825, a committee was appointed to consider and report upon the whole subject of missionary enterprise. In 1826, a pastoral address to the people of Scotland appeared from his pen, which tended powerfully to direct the attention of Scotland to the duty of evangelizing the heathen; and collections were made, and a fund set apart, in consequence: and in 1829, Dr. Duff, the first missionary, set sail for India. The mission which he set on foot is unquestionably amongst the most efficient of these sacred exploits, as Dr. Duff is, in his own person, an illustrious example amongst Christian missionaries.

We must close our brief history of the National Church of a sister kingdom without any attempt to recite its long roll of famous men. And we must be content to mention, as those of recent times whose biography will well repay a nearer investigation, the names of such men as Dr. M'Crie, Dr. Cook, Principal Hill, Dr. Andrew Thomson, and Dr. Chalmers. Of such men Scotland has reason to be proud.

The statistics of the Church of Scotland lie within a narrow compass. At the Reformation there were nine hundred and fifty parishes. Some of these have been united; in parts of the Highlands the population has diminished, and several ancient parishes no longer exist. No accurate return has been taken of the value of Church property in recent times. The average of ministerial incomes is probably not more than one hundred pounds a-year; none are destitute; and there are on the other hand no wealthy sinecures or extravagant endowments. Almost every parish has its manse or parsonage, with a small glebe; and every parish has its school.

Seceders from the National Church are numerous. They have, however, as compared with English dissenters, this peculiarity—that while the latter have forsaken the Established Church on account of its alleged impurities in constitution or in doctrine, the former have withdrawn because, as they maintain, the kirk is unfaithfully administered. English dissenters in general object

to the principles of their National Church; Scotch dissenters only to its practice.

An Act of the General Assembly in 1708 "For the suppression of schism and disorders in the Church," is the first record of dissent in Scotland. The Rev. John Macmillan, minister of Balmaghie, had petitioned the Assembly against the Revolution Settlement. He held the rigid principles of the Cameronians, and found at that period no sympathy from the dominant party in the Church. Refusing to submit to their decision, he was suspended from the ministry. From this sentence he "appealed to the first free Assembly," accepted a call from the Cameronians, and became their minister. He was joined by John Macneile, a licentiate, who died soon after; and Macmillan continued his ministrations alone till he was joined in 1743 by the Rev. — Nairn, when the two ministers with their elders constituted a presbytery, under the title of the Reformed Presbytery. They differ in no respect from the ancient Presbyterians, the fathers of the Church of Scotland, except it be in the rejection of national endowments; a conclusion which appears to have grown out of their peculiar circumstances rather than to have been a cause of their secession. From their own authorised statements embodied in "the testimony of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland," we make the following extracts: they view Presbyterianism as the law of Christ, providing for the unity, extension and perpetuity of the Church, in a happy medium between the extremes of episcopacy and independency. The Reformed Presbyterian Church is not political in the popular sense of this term; but they hold that the word of God is the supreme standard of the political conduct of men in everything respecting morality and religion. Christianity does not interfere with previous moral relations, obligations and institutions, excepting as it sheds upon them a clearer light and confirms them with its peculiar sanctions. They hold the doctrinal standards of the Kirk, and conduct their worship in the same form. In Scotland this ancient secession is still weak in numbers. They have about forty ordained ministers, and six presbyteries, forming one synod. In Ireland they have several congregations, as well as a few in England; and in America their numbers exceed those of the parent Church at home. The Reformed Presbyterian Church have missions in various parts of the world

Another secession arose in the year 1731 which led, about thirty years since, to the formation of the United Presbyterian Church. Of this second secession Ebenezer Erskine, minister of Stirling, was the father. It arose out of the quarrel concerning the Marrow of Divinity, of which some account has been given. Erskine and eleven other ministers issued a protest against the judgment of the Assembly by which that work had been condemned. They extracted from the Marrow a number of propositions, censured by the Assembly, but in perfect agreement with the standards of the Church ; thus exhibiting the supreme tribunal of the Church as the corrupter of its doctrine and the persecutor of its faithful children. Erskine and three others were severely censured. They refused to admit the justice of the sentence ; protested a second time against the proceedings of the Assembly ; seceded from the Church, and formed an " Associated Presbytery." They also drew up a " Testimony," in vindication of their conduct, which they published to the world.

The Assembly was alarmed ; and in 1734, the year after the Associated Presbytery was formed, an attempt was made to conciliate the seceders. A recent act, forbidding protests to be received, was repealed ; a declaration was made in favour of the freedom of ministers (as not being in any way affected by the late censures), and the synod of Perth was instructed again to take into consideration the case of the seceders with a view to their restoration to their parishes. With these concessions they were by no means satisfied ; demanding from the Church, not only that its acts should be reversed, but that it should make an acknowledgment of its own sinful misconduct. The charges against them had not been cancelled, and they were not content to assume the attitude of culprits respited or even pardoned. But the prevailing party could scarcely be expected to stoop so low. It is enough if a government recalls its measures ; a confession of error is a precedent full of danger to those who are still to be entrusted with the reins of power. And there was in the Assembly a large body of ministers who agreed substantially with Erskine and his friends, and yet felt that they were growing unreasonable. The Assembly, too, in order further to conciliate them, agreed upon an address for the repeal of the acts of patronage, and against the intrusion of ministers into vacant congregations, and last of all, in 1738, resolved that, " choosing

still to treat them in the spirit of meekness, brotherly love, and forbearance, they enjoin all the ministers of this Church, and especially the ministers of the synods and presbyteries within which these seceding brethren reside, to be at all pains by conferences, and other gentle means of persuasion, to reclaim them to their duty and the communion of this Church." But concession was of no avail. The seceders denounced the Church courts; "finding and declaring that the present judicators of this Church are not lawful nor rightly constituted courts of Christ." The General Assembly had now no alternative before them. They delayed the last step for a whole year, but at length in 1740 finally deposed the leaders of the secession.

The Relief Secession dates from 1761. It arose entirely from the question of patronage. The people of Kilconquhar, displeased with their minister, built a church for Mr. Gillespie, of Charnock, and elected him to the pastoral office. With the aid of the Rev. Thomas Boston and a few other friends, he formed the first presbytery of relief at Colingsburg in Fife; intimating, by the title assumed, that the step was taken to obtain relief from the oppressions of the law of patronage.

These various secessions met with great success. In 1766 an overture, or petition, to the Assembly states that there were already one hundred and twenty meeting-houses in Scotland in connexion with them. In 1773 the congregations of the different seceders amounted to one hundred and ninety. Before the rupture of 1842, the seceding congregations amounted to about five hundred.

The Erskine secession soon divided itself into two sections, the Burghers and the Antiburghers. The origin of the schism was this. An oath was imposed on the burgesses of the large towns of Scotland which ran in these words: "I profess and allow with my heart the true religion presently professed within this realm and authorized by the laws thereof; I shall abide thereat and defend the same to my life's end; renouncing the Roman religion called Papistry." The seceders could not agree in their interpretation of this oath; some of them construing it into a virtual approval of the National Church which they had forsaken; others maintaining that it was merely a declaration of Protestantism and a proper security against Popery. The contest was soon embittered by personal asperities, and in 1747 a schism

took place. Those who rejected the oath were called the General Associate Synod, or Antiburghers, the others were known as the Associate Synod, or Burghers. The former party were in matters of Church government rigid adherents of the old presbyterian system. They published a declaration in which the principles of the Covenanters are distinctly avowed; and they could advance their opinions with consistency, inasmuch as they no longer claimed the privileges resulting from a national endowment. The statement of their views is expressed with brevity and force, and we lay it before the reader as one of the best which the controversy has produced. They say :

“ 1. That the Church is a spiritual kingdom. Her members, as such, are spiritual persons. The same character belongs to her doctrines, ordinances, and office-bearers; but the kingdoms of the world are secular and earthly societies, the members of which, as such, are considered as capable of performing the duties and of enjoying the privileges belonging to a civil state. The power of the Church is wholly spiritual, and is exercised by her office-bearers, in its whole extent, solely with respect to the spiritual interests of men, and in no other name but that of Christ. But the power competent to worldly kingdoms is wholly temporal; their rulers have no spiritual power, because this cannot reside in a civil body, and therefore cannot be communicated to them by those who have entrusted them with power. The rulers of the Church are bound to publish and execute the laws given her by Christ, but have no right to make new laws, or in the least to deviate from his; but civil society may choose what form of government, and make what civil laws they please, if they do nothing contrary to the eternal law of righteousness, which is the rule of civil society as such.

“ 2. That neither of these kingdoms have power over the other. The Church hath a spiritual authority over such of the subjects and rulers of earthly kingdoms as are in her communion, and the civil powers have the same authority over the members and office-bearers of the Church as over the rest of their subjects, but she hath no power over earthly kingdoms in their collective and civil capacity, nor have they any power over her as a Church. Christ, her head while on earth, disclaimed all exercise of civil authority, and there is not the least evidence from the New Testament that he entrusted his servants with any. On

the other hand, neither these kingdoms, nor their sovereigns, have any power in or over the Church. Christ, her only sovereign, hath, neither directly nor indirectly, given them any spiritual authority. In matters purely religious civil rulers have no right to judge for any but themselves."

The two parties, Burghers and Antiburghers, divided the great body of Scottish dissent between them in nearly equal proportions; at length, after seventy years of discord, their quarrel was adjusted both in England and America. The synods of the two bodies met in Edinburgh, in November, 1820, and reunited themselves into one Church, under the title of the United Associate Synod of the Presbyterian Church. They had all along adhered to the same doctrines and Church government, and it was felt that the burgher's oath was no longer a sufficient ground of difference. When the union took place the United Presbyterian Church now consisted of two hundred and sixty-two congregations, of which one hundred and twenty-three had previously belonged to the Antiburghers and the remainder to the Burghers.

The Relief Church has since been received into this communion. This was effected in May, 1847. The synod of the United Presbyterian Church, and that of the Relief Church, assembled in Edinburgh, and agreed upon the articles of union. They are ten in number. They are moderate and conciliatory. The Westminster Confession and its Catechisms are received as "the authorized exhibition of the sense in which we understand the Holy Scriptures," but with the following proviso, "it being always understood that we do not approve of anything in these documents which teaches, or may be supposed to teach, compulsory or persecuting and intolerant principles of religion." The Presbyterian government is recognized, not as exclusively a divine ordinance, but "as founded on and agreeable to the word of God." Those who think free communion lawful are to enjoy "the right of acting on their conscientious convictions." And, with regard to their past differences with each other and the National Church, they agree upon an act of oblivion, no concessions being asked by any of the contracting parties; and thus, at length, was formed the United Presbyterian Church. The Relief Secession brought into its pale one hundred and fourteen congregations.

Thus dissent in Scotland is now gathered, with a few exceptions,

numerically of no great amount, into a single head. The United Presbyterian Church is a powerful competitor with the National Establishment, and a rival on nearly equal terms with the Free Church of 1842. It has upwards of five hundred congregations, a theological hall or college, with five professors, one hundred and fifty thousand members in full communion, besides large churches in Canada and Australia, and missionary stations in various parts of the world. In the course of a discussion in the General Assembly in 1834, it was stated that within the space of a century nearly six hundred dissenting congregations had risen up in Scotland; while only sixty-three chapels of ease, or *quoad sacra* churches in connexion with the Established Church, had been erected during the same period. It was in consequence of this discussion, that an Act was passed which placed the ministers of the *quoad sacra* churches on the footing of parochial ministers. Thus a large body of men, hitherto regarded as curates, were made admissible to the Assembly, where their presence contributed in a great degree to the secession of the Free Church in 1842.

The national feeling of Scotland has always been strongly in favour of Presbyterianism; yet some seceders are found who adopt the Independent principle. These are chiefly Scotch Baptists or Sandemanians. The former body we have briefly mentioned (see BAPTISTS). The latter originated about the year 1730. Their first leader was John Glas, minister of Tealing, near Dundee, who was cited before the synod of Angus in 1728 for certain strange opinions. He was deposed, but still continued to preach in the fields, maintaining (if his opinions are fairly represented) these propositions: that the faith which justifies is no more than an assent to the truth of the gospel history, and that every church or congregation is independent, and in its discipline subject to no jurisdiction under heaven. He appealed from the decision of the Presbytery to the General Assembly, by whom however the sentence was confirmed. In his own parish he succeeded in establishing a church on independent principles, but beyond this he met with little success. His spirit was narrow and exclusive, and he is charged with having confined religion to his own little community. He condemned all national establishments as essentially hostile to the kingdom of Christ. His opinions, hitherto almost unknown, were avowed with more

success, in 1755, by Robert Sandeman, an elder in one of these Independent churches. In bitterness he surpassed Glas himself, assailing the most zealous and useful men of his age both in England and Scotland, and denouncing their most venial errors with merciless fury. He expounded in several controversial writings Glas's theory of faith. The sole requisite to justification, he says, or acceptance with God, is the work finished by Christ upon the cross. The whole benefit of this event is conveyed to men only by the apostolic report concerning it. Every one who understands this report to be true, or is persuaded that the event actually happened as testified by the apostles, is justified and finds relief to his guilty conscience. These views, coupled with an austere discipline, were sufficient to confine his cause within narrow boundaries in Scotland. Sandeman removed to London in 1760, and his followers became an English sect, or at least were no longer confined to Scotland. He gathered a congregation in London, but in 1764 he sailed for America, where at present his disciples are said to be more numerous than at home. The following inscription was placed upon his tomb, at Danbury, in the United States, where he died. "Here lies, until the resurrection, the body of Robert Sandeman, who in the face of continual opposition from all sorts of men, long and boldly contended for the antient faith, that the bare death of Jesus Christ, without a deed or thought on the part of man, is sufficient to present the chief of sinners spotless before God." This small community is marked by strong peculiarities. In all acts of discipline the whole Church must be unanimous. If the minority remain dissatisfied they are at once expelled, for the voice of the Church having been expressed they are now regarded as contumacious. No new member is admitted, except by the votes of every member of the Church. An excommunicated member may be restored once on repentance, but not a second time. The Scriptures they say, the only guide in ecclesiastical affairs, give no sanction to any second restoration, nor can they have better evidence of contrition than that which they had before, and which has once proved fallacious. With an excommunicated member they hold it unlawful to maintain social intercourse. They observe certain customs of the primitive Church. The Lord's Supper is received weekly, and the Love Feast is retained; they abstain from things strangled and from blood, and they wash

each other's feet. In the choice of their pastors, or elders, the want of learning is no disqualification ; but, placing a peculiar interpretation upon St. Paul's injunction to Timothy, they exclude both the unmarried and those who have married a second time, from the ministry. In Scotland their numbers are small. In England, by the census of 1851, they had six congregations.

Spottiswood (Archbishop of St. Andrews), History of the Church of Scotland. Life of John Knox, by Dr. M'Crie. Burnet's History of the Reformation. History of the Reformation in Scotland, by George Cooke, D.D. History of the Church of Scotland, by W. M. Hetherington, M.A.

SCOTTISH EPISCOPAL CHURCH.—The episcopacy which now exists in Scotland dates from the year 1661. Of the old episcopate, Beatson, archbishop of Glasgow, who died in 1603, was the last survivor. James I. revived the order, by the consecration of three bishops in 1610. These were Spottiswood, Lamb, and Hamilton, who were consecrated in London by the English bishops, and appointed to the sees of Glasgow, Brechin, and Galloway. But the Solemn League and Covenant followed soon after, and episcopacy was again suppressed. The last of this line of bishops was Sydserf, bishop of Orkney, who died in 1663.

Charles II. was scarcely seated on the throne when he was advised to restore episcopacy, and to suppress, if not all at once, yet by gradual encroachments, the Presbyterian government in the Scotch Church. The earl of Lauderdale warned him of the danger ; the earl of Middleton assured him, on the contrary, that the task was easy. Sharp, once a zealous Presbyterian, now an Episcopalian, urged him to take the step at once—while the people were in the first transports of joy after the restoration. Few, he said, but the most violent were against it ; not twenty of the Resolutioners themselves (the warmest adherents of the Covenant) would oppose it. The king hated presbytery ; it was not, he told the earl of Lauderdale, the religion for gentlemen ; a council of the Scotch nobility was held at Whitehall, and they decided in favour of the measure. The privy council of Scotland offered the same advice. Thus, with a strange mixture of levity and violence, it was resolved to establish episcopacy once more in Scotland.

The choice of bishops was now to be made. Archbishop Sheldon and the English bishops were averse to the Presbyterian clergy, who had, all of them, sworn to the Covenant, and they would have chosen some of the old episcopalians. They were much opposed to a body of Presbyterian bishops, who, they believed, would have no influence and but little zeal. Sharp was in London and hastened to Lord Clarendon, who was high in favour with the king. He represented to him that the old episcopalians had been long absent from Scotland and knew nothing of the present generation; they were irritated by the ill usage they had suffered and would run into extremes. It was only by cautious measures, and the greatest moderation, that Scotland would be induced to accept the change. Then, there would be a division amongst them; some priding themselves on their consistent loyalty during the commonwealth, some atoning for past delinquencies by harshness and intolerance. Thus Clarendon was persuaded; and the management of the whole affair was remitted to Sharp himself, who was placed at the head of the new establishment as archbishop of St. Andrews. On the 16th December, 1661, the new bishops Sharp, Fairfoul, Hamilton, and Leighton were consecrated to the sees of St. Andrews, Glasgow, Galloway, and Dunblane; the officiating bishops being those of London, Carlisle, Worcester, and Llandaff.

The selection was unfortunate. Some of them might perhaps have been useful bishops in quiet times; not one of them was equal to the difficult task before them, which was to conciliate the affections of Scotland to a religion it had been tutored to abhor. Sharp abandoned his pacific views from the day of his consecration, and was chiefly known, through the whole period of his episcopate, as the unrelenting foe of the Presbyterians. Fairfoul, as described by Burnet, whose pen, however, was credulous, and too prone to detraction, was a pleasant and facetious man, with a life not free from scandal; a better physician than divine, and eminent in no one branch of his profession; and his faculties began to fail almost as soon as he was raised to the episcopate. Hamilton was good-natured and weak; and both he and Fairfoul had been zealous in past times to enforce the Covenant. When he administered the sacrament, his custom then was to excommunicate all who were false to the Covenant, shaking out the lap of his gown, after a custom of the Jews, and thus

casting them out from the Church and her communion. Leighton was a man of primitive holiness; but in other respects not well qualified for an office which he accepted with extreme reluctance. He was an accomplished scholar, and a profound and eloquent divine; but he had little regard to his person, except to mortify it, nor to his rank, except to hide it from observation. He had the meanest thoughts of himself, and his wish seemed to be that others should think as meanly of him. He was retired in his manners, and, except in temper, an ascetic. He had been brought up with the greatest aversion to the Church of England, for he was the son of that Dr. Leighton who suffered in the pillory with Prynne and Bastwick for libels on the Church and government in the days of Charles I.; yet, strange to say, he was now an episcopalian, and stranger still, without a spark of resentment against his old associates. His humility bordered upon weakness. Though the ablest preacher the Church could boast, with perhaps the exception of Dr. Jeremy Taylor, he seemed ignorant of his powers, and was always ready to give up his pulpit and sit as a listener before inferior men. In short, Leighton was one of those whose example affords a brilliant light to such as are already disposed to submit to its direction. That commanding energy which arrests attention and moulds unruly dispositions to its own purposes, he does not appear in any measure to have possessed. His virtues were of the highest class, and therefore unperceived except by those who were men of lofty principles themselves.

The new institution was in danger from another source. Sharp and Leighton had not received episcopal ordination; the others had been ordained by the Scottish bishops, and they now insisted that the orders of Sharp and Leighton were invalid; and that they must be ordained deacons and presbyters before they could be raised to the episcopate. Sharp resisted the proposal with great firmness. Leighton was more disposed to yield. He did not doubt the validity of Presbyterian orders. He thought that forms of Church government were not laid down as positive laws in the New Testament; but he was of opinion that episcopacy, as the best form, had the sanction of apostolic practice and usage. Still it did not seem to him essential to the being of a Church; but he thought that every Church was at liberty to make such rules on the subject of ordination as it pleased, and that it might

reordain if it saw fit. "The reordaining of a priest," he contended, "implied no more than that they received him into orders according to their rules, and did not infer the annulling the orders he had formerly received."—(Burnet's Own Times, i. 195). These arguments prevailed; Sharp and Leighton were privately ordained priests and deacons, and all the bishops were then publicly consecrated in Westminster Abbey.

Leighton entered upon his episcopate with two schemes in view; the one was a comprehension with the Presbyterians, the other an endeavour to elevate the morals and raise the tone of piety in Scotland. He suggested to Sharp the outlines of a plan by which he thought these great objects might be gained. With respect to the first of them, he proposed the adoption of archbishop Usher's reduced episcopacy. This would allow great scope for the peculiarities of Presbyterianism, its synods, presbyteries and representative courts of General Assembly, while at the same time it retained the episcopal office in all that was essential to its integrity. With respect to the second, he suggested the adoption of some simple liturgy. This he thought of more importance for Scotland than any forms of Church government. Public worship, being entirely extemporary, had suffered in common with the ministers themselves; it was the dull echo of their ignorance, their animosities, and their spiritual indifference. To raise the ministers it seemed reasonable to raise the tone of their public worship. The forms of a devout and sober piety might suggest the necessity for a higher spirit of devotion, and even lead the way to it; but Sharp was not disposed to enter upon either of the projects. He was anxious, in the first place, to obtain the sanction of Parliament for their legal possession of the bishoprics, and then other matters would follow in their place, each bishop doing the best he could to induce both ministers and people to acknowledge his authority. Leighton soon lost all heart and hope, and saw, as he mournfully said to Burnet, that the hand of the Almighty was against them. They were not the men to build up his Church; "the struggling about it appeared like a fighting against God."

The new bishops went down to Scotland and were received in great state at Edinburgh. Leighton disliked the pomp, and remained at Morpeth till it was over. Six other bishops were then consecrated, but though their orders were those of the Presbyter-

rian Church, they were not reordained priests and deacons. Wishart, who had been chaplain to the Marquis of Montrose, and had suffered for his loyalty, was appointed to the see of Edinburgh. The Scotch Parliament opened in 1662, and the bishops were waited upon, and formally invited to take their seats according to the ancient constitution.

The meeting of the clergy in their presbyteries was immediately forbidden by proclamation "till such time as the bishops should appoint." This step was fatal. The presbyteries were courts recognized by the laws of Scotland, both civil and ecclesiastical; and they were now suppressed by the sole authority of the Archbishop of St. Andrews; for Sharp it was known had obtained the proclamation, and he had acted without the advice even of his brethren. The irritation was only bursting out, and had scarcely reached its height, when the first Act of the new Parliament was passed. It vested the whole government and jurisdiction of the Church in the several dioceses in the bishops, who were to call to their assistance such of their clergy as were of known loyalty and discretion; and all those who held any benefice were required to submit to the government ecclesiastical as now by law established. By this Act episcopalian government was placed upon a basis hitherto, since the Reformation, unknown. Under the modified episcopacy which James I. had set up, the presbyteries had possessed a voice in the administration of the diocese; the bishops had never pretended to an absolute authority; they were the presidents of these courts, with a negative voice upon their decision. Now the whole power was lodged in the bishop; the presbyters who might form his council were to be chosen by himself; they would be selected, no doubt, from amongst his personal friends, and thus all real power was wrested from the presbyters. Indeed, the bishop's council had no real power; it might recommend or advise, but as to authority and the right to govern, that was vested solely in the bishop. These murmurs were heard not merely from Presbyterians, but from well-affected members of the Episcopal Church. Many of them carried the argument in favour of episcopacy no farther than to concede to the bishop the office of a president, some authority in the ordination of ministers, and a veto in matters of jurisdiction. They even held that the body of the clergy ought to be a check upon the bishops, and that, without their

consent, given by a majority of votes, no bishops ought to possess the powers with which the Act invested them. Many of the clergy never would subscribe according to the terms prescribed, and the more prudent of the bishops did not enforce it. The whole frame and temper of the Act was wrong. Except Archbishop Sharp, all the bishops disclaimed having had any share in it, nor did he himself ever venture to enforce it in all its points. Even the forbearance of the bishops was used as an argument against their office. The law, it was said, asserted on behalf of episcopacy a power so tyrannical that the bishops themselves did not venture to assume their rights. "The Act was then thought," says Burnet, "an inexcusable piece of madness," and by those who revere episcopacy, and are distressed that a sacred institution should be made to suffer from the folly of its advocates, it is thought an inexcusable piece of madness still.

The ejection of the Presbyterian ministers followed. The bishops held their synods throughout their dioceses in October. In the northern parts most of the clergy attended, and were instituted anew into their parishes, but in the west few condescended to appear. A proclamation was issued, requiring all who had not obeyed the late Act (that is, who held their livings only by virtue of a call from the people, and an appointment by the presbytery), to desist from preaching and other ministerial functions. Above two hundred churches were closed in one day, and many more within a few weeks. The archbishop knew nothing of this rash proceeding till he saw the proclamation in print. It was the work of the Privy Council.

Several counties were deprived of the public means of grace as effectually as if a papal interdict had been laid upon them, for the Privy Council had acted on the persuasion that few or none of the Presbyterians would allow themselves to be ejected when the day of trial came. There was now a sort of general invitation, a hue and cry, sent over the kingdom, to students and candidates for orders to accept of the vacant livings in the west. The ejected ministers were, in general, men of weight and of good abilities; the intruders were raw lads, unfit for the ministry under any circumstances, and their position was the more disgraceful from the force of contrast. "They were," Burnet says, "the worst preachers I ever heard; they were ignorant to a reproach, and many of them were openly vicious. They were a

disgrace to their orders and the sacred functions, and were indeed the dreg and refuse of the northern parts. Those of them who arose above contempt or scandal were men of such violent tempers that they were as much hated as the others were despised."

Such were the fatal omens amidst which the Episcopal Church was re-established amongst a reluctant people.

The Conventicle Act, which passed the English Parliament in 1663, was immediately adopted by the Scotch legislature, and almost in the same terms. A meeting for religious worship in a private house, at which five persons besides the family were present, was a conventicle. Every person above sixteen years of age who was present was liable to a fine of five pounds, or three months' imprisonment, for the first offence; six months or twenty pounds for the second; and for the third transportation for life to any plantation except New England or Virginia, or to pay a hundred pounds. It was carried in the Scotch Parliament by large majorities. Another Act followed, which substituted a national synod in the place of the General Assembly. It was to be composed of the two archbishops, all the bishops and deans, and two ministers deputed from each presbytery, of whom, however, one must be the moderator of the presbytery, and he was nominated by the bishop of the diocese. The business of the national synod was to be laid before it by the crown, and whatever should be agreed to by a majority, and confirmed by the president, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, was to become, when sanctioned by the king, one of the ecclesiastical laws of the land. Such a constitution was of course unwelcome to the Presbyterians, and of the episcopal party none but a few intemperate men approved of it. It seemed little better than a mockery to assemble a deliberative body, and then tie up their hands; precluding them from the consideration of any other business than what the crown might lay before them, and crushing their voices, it might be, by the single veto, not of the episcopal order, but of one man. In short, the national synod never met for the discharge of business, and it is mentioned here only to show the disposition of the ruling party.

Archbishop Sharp had now the management of the ecclesiastical affairs of Scotland virtually in himself. He was met on all sides by difficulties which soured his temper, and for which seve-

city was his only remedy. Never, perhaps, has a Protestant Church been more unfortunate in its leader. The Covenanters were rude and lawless, and those scenes began which reflect an infamy on his character which not even his atrocious murder can obliterate.* But it is unjust to lay these offences to the charge of episcopacy or of the Scottish clergy. The whole affair was political, and religion the disguise. A large proportion of the Scotch gentry, and a still greater number of the nobility, had felt themselves oppressed and insulted by the Presbyterians. The triumphs of the Covenant had been won at their expense, and these were their reprisals. They were still the days of faction in Scotland and of lawless violence. The nation had never yet, during any period of fifty years, been free from intestine wars, conducted with a fierceness to which England had for ages been unaccustomed. The Court in London, indolent and wicked, was always ready to give the largest powers to the man who promised to be the most unscrupulous. Unhappily, the political chieftains found in Sharp both a colleague and a dupe. But there were many of the Episcopal clergy who deplored his conduct, and some, even amongst the bishops, who protested against his violence. Leighton, after a short struggle, implored permission to retire from the bootless effort, and surrender a bishopric in which he could do so little good. As the bishoprics fell vacant, they were declined by several eminent men, on the ground of the archbishop's severe measures. They would not lend their names to sanction the wickedness, which, under pretence of religion, covered the land with violence. They detested the measures of the government, not only as impolitic, but as opposed to the spirit of the Gospel, and some of them had the courage to protest against them.

The Covenanters, maddened by oppression, rose in arms, but in an abortive attempt at Pentland, in 1666, they were entirely subdued. As a rebellion the affair was insignificant; it was of no more consequence than the insurrection of the Fifth Monarchy men in the streets of London; but it afforded a pretext for revenge; and the two archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow stimulated the government to those severities, which, by every consideration, they ought rather to have checked. Burnet, now archbishop of Glasgow (not the historian of that name), advised

* See Vol. I., page 159, Art. COVENANTERS.

the hanging of all those who would not renounce the Covenant, but this was thought severe even in the days of Charles II. ; yet he was sent up to London on purpose to obtain an instruction from the king that the declaration renouncing the Covenant should be tendered to all suspected persons, and that those who refused it should be proceeded against as seditious. The Episcopal clergy, as a whole, were incompetent and worthless men, but amongst them there were some who clearly saw the folly and wickedness of their leaders, and the calamitous result of triumphs gained by the help of the public executioner. They represented to the bishops that if, instead of persecutors, they were to become intercessors for the prisoners, they might hope at once to regain the affections of the people. The advice was equally politic and just ; but Sharp was inexorable, though many of the bishops showed a better spirit. Wishart, of Edinburgh, who had himself been a sufferer from Presbyterian violence, set a noble example of Christian charity. He sent daily supplies of food to the prisoners in the Tolbooth ; the whole town imitated his good deeds, and the hungry Covenanters were in greater danger from their plenty than from the hazards of their late campaign. But a few instances of Christian principle made only a faint impression in the midst of systematic cruelties. It was an affecting spectacle to see ten of the prisoners hanged on one gibbet at Edinburgh. Thirty-five more were sent to their own counties, and hanged before their own doors, their ministers all the while treating them harshly, and declaring them damned for their rebellion. The sufferers might have saved their lives if they would have renounced the Covenant, and every man of them could have saved himself by accusing another. They were really martyrs for the Covenant, and they died expressing their adherence to it. The people's hatred of the Episcopal ministers was deep and dreadful ; they were looked upon as wolves, and not as shepherds ; the flocks they should have tended fled at their approach.

At last the heart of Charles relented, though Sharp and the civil powers were still inexorable. In 1667 he resolved on more gentle methods in the government of Scotland. The state of affairs nearer home probably suggested to the court the folly of nursing a sedition in the northern kingdom. The Dutch had sailed into the Medway, and burnt the fleet at Chatham. There was a change of administration in Scotland ; the instruments of

the persecution were recalled, and even Sharp grew meek and humble. Still there was no great improvement in the working of the Church, for the bishops seemed concerned only for their authority and revenues, and took little care to regulate either the worship or the discipline. The army which had dragooned the Covenanters being now disbanded, the people forsook the parish churches, the Presbyterian ministers appeared again amongst them, and crowded conventicles were held. Leighton was induced to go up to London, where he had two audiences with the king. He laid before him the madness of the former administration of Church affairs, and the necessity of moderate counsels. Again, too, he proposed a comprehension, and to this the king was favourable, though Leighton stood alone among the Scottish bishops. As a proof of Charles's sincerity, Leighton was promoted to the archbishopric of Glasgow, which Burnet, whose severity had brought him into disgrace, was compelled to resign.

Schemes for the comprehension of different churches, which agree in the great truths of Christian doctrine, have frequently been proposed. Hitherto they have been, in general, unsuccessful. They have always to encounter two enormous difficulties; first, to gain admission for the principle of a compromise, and then to conciliate tenacious rivals on questions of detail. The compromise which Leighton offered was to this effect:—

He proposed that the Church should be governed jointly by the bishops and their clergy, who should assemble in ecclesiastical courts or judicatories. In each of these the bishop should act only as the president, every question, both in matters of jurisdiction and of orders being determined by a majority of the presbyters who were present. To the Presbyterian clergy a further concession was offered; on taking their seats, they should be allowed to declare that their recognition of a bishop was made only for the sake of peace, and did not involve an admission of prelatic government. The bishop had no veto after the decision of the presbyters. He was to ordain candidates for the ministry only with their approbation and concurrence, and the licentiate might, if he thought proper, declare at his ordination that he regarded the bishop only as the chief presbyter. Every third year, if not more frequently, the king was to summon a provincial synod, in which complaints against the bishops might be heard,

and they censured accordingly ; and he proposed that a national synod should be called forthwith, with power to remodel the ecclesiastical laws of Scotland, so as to accord with this amended constitution.

Thus the scheme was one of pure concession. Its only merit consisted in this, that it reduced episcopacy to the lowest point of authority compatible with its bare existence. But why retain an office when it is despoiled not only of its honours but of its utility? A bishop without a veto was nothing more than a chairman for life of the ecclesiastical assemblies. In many respects he would have been rather the inferior of his clergy than their head. A majority of them would have had it in their power to compel him to ordain to the sacred ministry those candidates whom he might disapprove. Archbishop Leighton's love of peace is worthy of high respect ; but an upright man would have found himself sorely trammelled as the nominal bishop of a diocese thus administered. Leighton, however, defended his concessions, which left little more than the name of a bishop, thus :—As to the protest of the Presbyterian clergy against the Episcopal order it would be little heeded and soon forgotten : there would be a practical union, and the protest would be a mere dead letter. As to the veto, it would seldom be required : if an imperious necessity at any time demanded it, the king might interpose at the bishop's request, the veto being lodged in the king's name with some secular person. If the bishop could but tide it over the present generation all would be still, and these disputes forgotten. With regard to ordination, he thought it much more proper that the bishop should go from place to place, and, after prayer and fasting, ordain the candidate at his own parish church, at the request of the neighbouring ministers, “than to huddle the work over in a cathedral at a distance and among strangers.” It was perfectly reasonable, he thought, that bishops should be liable to censure, and a court, which was to consist of bishops and deans, and representatives from each presbytery, was competent to inflict a censure. He defended the permission granted to licentiates, of pronouncing their opinion against episcopacy, as a liberty of which very few would take advantage. The patronage being, to a great extent, in the hands of the king and the bishops, would, of course, be given to sound Episcopalians, and if by these concessions the schism could be once healed and the Church and

State of Scotland brought to work together harmoniously, the price to be paid was not too great.

The Presbyterians were consulted, but they showed no disposition to accept the terms. The Government, they said, might lay what restraints it pleased upon them, and it might punish their disobedience; but they laid down this maxim for themselves, that they had received a complete ministry from Christ, and that only the judicatories of the Church had the right to govern them in the exercise of their spiritual functions. The Earl of Lauderdale, to whom the government of Scotland was intrusted, refused his consent to Leighton's project until he should be assured that the Presbyterians would accept it: unless he could declare that the scheme had their approbation, and would put an end to their grievances, it would only be regarded in England as a flimsy pretext for the destruction of episcopacy.

Several conferences followed between Leighton and the Presbyterians. He stood alone amidst angry rivals, exhorting both parties to forbearance and peace; but his efforts were in vain. The Covenanters were stubborn, insolent and captious; but they have this excuse—they were suffering from oppression. The Episcopalians were equally intractable; while they scorned the pacific counsels of the Archbishop of Glasgow, they widened the breach with the people by their arrogance, and their too general contempt even for the decencies of their holy calling. They regarded Leighton as a traitor, and treated him with rudeness. Thus his efforts failed: the great bulk of the Scotch people, wearied with the follies of both parties, would have gladly accepted the compromise; but Sharp and the bishops on the one side, and the high Presbyterian leaders on the other, could not conceal their exultation when the last hope vanished. A final meeting was held at the house of the Earl of Rothes, in 1670. After the Presbyterians had spoken, Leighton closed the controversy in a speech worthy of his apostolic character. His design, he said, had been to procure peace and to promote religion: he had offered several concessions which he was persuaded were a great abatement of the just rights of episcopacy; yet, since all Church power was intended for edification and not for destruction, he had thought that, in our present circumstances, it might conduce to the interests of religion if episcopacy should even divest itself of some of its lawful authority. His offers did not proceed from

any distrust of the goodness of his cause ; he was satisfied that episcopacy had been handed down through all ages of the Church, from the days of the apostles : perhaps he had wronged the order by the concessions he had made ; if so, God, he trusted, would forgive his error, as he hoped his brethren would : now that they had thought proper to reject his proposals, without either assigning their reasons, or offering any counter-project, he himself was free from blame ; he had done his part, and they must answer for it if their unseemly divisions continued, both before God and man.

An attempt was made, just at the same time, on the life of Archbishop Sharp as he drove through the streets of Edinburgh ; the bullet wounded the Bishop of Orkney, who sat by him, but the assassin walked away unmolested. Conventicles increased, the preachers were violent, the Government tyrannical ; an army of Highlanders was let loose on the Covenanters, and ten years of misery and persecution followed. In 1679 the Archbishop of St. Andrews perished under the hands of a band of assassins ; his death was the signal for a rebellion, and the rebellion for fresh severities on the part of the Government. The Duke of York was sent down to govern Scotland. Cruelty was congenial to his nature. When political culprits were tortured, the council usually retired from the chamber, but the duke, it was observed, remained to witness the hideous experiment upon human endurance, and to gloat over the agonies of his victim. The people were driven to church by their fears ; and some of the clergy believed, or pretended, that even this was a triumph to their cause, and the duke was eulogised as the friend of religion. The natural consequences ensued ; atheism spread under the show of conformity, and the Covenanters who held out were still more bitterly exasperated.

On the arrival of the Prince of Orange in 1688, Scotland welcomed him with enthusiasm : but in the western counties the Presbyterians rose upon the Episcopal clergy, and retaliated with equal injustice, if not with equal cruelty. They carried them about their parishes in mock triumph ; they drove them from their houses, tore up their vestments, and forced them out of their churches. They had suffered much, and they now took their revenge. Some of the Episcopal clergy had been as zealous against popery as themselves, but these met with no better usage. The Scotch bishops had disgraced themselves, and, as far as they

could, the cause of episcopacy, by an obsequious letter to King James on the news of the great storm which had dispersed the fleet of the Prince of Orange, when he first sailed from Holland. Not satisfied with expressing their detestation of the Prince of Orange, and their abhorrence of his design, they concluded with the wish that "the king might have the necks of his enemies." It was published in the London Gazette as an example to the English bishops; but it was one which they had no disposition to imitate. The Scotch Convention, in their claim of rights, stated the conditions upon which they admitted William to the vacant throne. They affirmed in this state paper that "all prelacy was a great and insupportable grievance." The rashness of the bishops had now deprived them of confidence and respect. They retired from the Convention, and the Presbyterians were left to carry matters as they pleased: episcopacy in Scotland was once more abolished.

William's conduct to the Episcopalians was noble and generous. The Dean of Glasgow waited upon him at St. James's to sound his intentions; Burnet the historian introduced him to the prince. He tells us that William said he would do all in his power to preserve them, granting a full toleration to the Presbyterians, provided they concurred in the revolution; but if not, he would still do all that was in his power to maintain such of them as should live peaceably in their functions, and he commanded Burnet to write to some of the bishops to the same effect. Nor were these empty words: he recommended the General Assembly, which sat in 1692, to receive the Episcopal clergy, and to co-operate with them in the government of the Church; his advice was unwelcome, and his project failed. The leaders on both sides studied rather how to exasperate than how to mollify each other. William is the only party whose conduct entitles him to much respect.

At the revolution, the Episcopal Church of Scotland stood thus: there were two archiepiscopal provinces, St. Andrews and Glasgow; the former contained the bishoprics of Aberdeen, Brechin, Caithness, Dunkeld, Dunblane, Edinburgh, Moray, Orkney, and Ross; the latter, those of Argyle, Galloway, and the Islands. The clergymen were about nine hundred. The livings were very poor; neither of the three bishoprics of Edinburgh, Brechin, or Dunblane, about this period, were worth a hundred pounds a year. Some of the Episcopalian clergy followed the course of the revo-

lution, and transferred their allegiance to William and Mary ; but the greater part declined the oath of allegiance, refused to pray in public for the new sovereigns, and were dispossessed of their livings. These formed an union with the English non-jurors, and the history of the two bodies is closely entwined for ninety years, until the nonjurors disappeared. The Scotch bishops placed themselves at the head of this party, and the Episcopalians were regarded in consequence as disaffected to the state. The bishops were ejected from their sees ; but they suffered no further interruption, and some of them continued to officiate privately in their episcopal capacity : and the clergy who consented to accept the new state of things, were allowed to retain their benefices ; but as they had no share in the government of the Church of Scotland, it was understood that they should not be subject to its judicatories. The Presbyterians were unreasonable, and still claimed the right of citing and punishing Episcopal delinquents. Two cases are mentioned in 1699, in which clergymen were charged with crimes, and cited before the presbytery ; they were actually censured, but the government interposed to prevent the execution of the sentence.

On the accession of Queen Anne, the clergy naturally expected some relief. In 1702 she wrote to the Privy Council, expressing her desire that the Episcopal clergy should be permitted the free exercise of public worship. As they still declined the oath of allegiance to the reigning family, this was an act of great generosity. She perceived, no doubt, that whatever the pretext might be, they were in truth suffering for their attachment to episcopacy. The clergy regained courage, and presented an address to Her Majesty, in which, after expressing their satisfaction at having a queen of their ancient race of kings, they beseech her to give liberty to those parishes whose inhabitants were chiefly Episcopalians, to select ministers of their own principles. The next year another address was presented, in which they mention the sufferings of the clergy in 1688 and 1689, and subsequent years. The queen returned a kind and gracious answer.

Such toleration gave great offence. The General Assembly addressed their remonstrances to the lord high commissioner. " We are bold in the Lord," they say, " and in the name of the Church of God, to attest his grace, and the most honourable estates of parliament, that no such motion of any legal toleration

to those of the prelatical principles might be entertained; to tolerate that way would be to establish iniquity by a law."

The Act of Union, by which England and Scotland were united, took place on the 1st of May, 1707. The first imperial parliament sat on the 23rd of October in the same year.

The union did not immediately benefit the Episcopalians. The Presbyterians of Scotland were suspicious of a measure which obliged them to receive laws from a parliament defiled with the presence of a bench of bishops; it was an invasion of the ancient Covenant. Many of them preached against it; and one of the Cameronians maintained publicly that the queen, by imposing the union, had forfeited her right to the crown. Abundant evidence, it is said, exists, that the Presbyterians, in their hatred of the measure, agreed to recal the Pretender on the sole condition that he would support the Protestant faith, and that he would repeal the union.

The prejudices of the Kirk were great; but an impartial reader will not forget how great had been her provocations. In the year 1709, Greenshields, the son of an Episcopalian minister, who had been driven from his parish at the revolution, opened a meeting-house in Edinburgh. He had been ordained by one of the Scottish bishops, and he introduced the English liturgy,—for hitherto the Episcopalians had used extemporary prayers, the ancient liturgy not having been restored, nor any new one authorised. He took the oaths, and was by law exempt from the Presbyterian courts. The Assembly took alarm. They passed an act, in which it was alleged, that the union was infringed "by the use of set forms, rites, and ceremonies; that such innovations were dangerous to the Church, and contrary to the Confession." Greenshields was in consequence cited before the presbytery, deposed from the ministry, and, on his refusal to recognize their authority, imprisoned by the magistrates at their request in the Tolbooth. Even the English regiments stationed at Scotland were not indulged in the use of the English prayer-book. A riot took place in Glasgow in consequence of the English service. Mr. Burgess, who had taken the oaths, introduced the liturgy into his chapel, upon which the mob broke into the meeting, and, but for the interference of the magistrates, would have proceeded to acts of violence upon the congregation. The matter was taken up by the House of Lords; and the persecutions of Greenshields led

immediately to the Act of Toleration, and to that for the restoration of patronage. Thus the violence of the extreme Presbyterians produced a reaction, from the effects of which their cause never recovered. Their extravagance, indeed, was almost ludicrous. Nicholson, Bishop of Carlisle, writing to Archbishop Wake, exclaims, "If the extemporary prayers of the Presbyterians are current on this side the Tweed, why should not the episcopalian forms be received on the other?" Alluding to the objection that it would inflame the Scotch, he says, "And what if it should? It would look somewhat oddly that a moderator of a northern presbytery should have the liberty of worshipping God in his own way at Lincoln or Carlisle, and that you and I should be debarred the like indulgence at Edinburgh or Glasgow." The subject excited some degree of interest in England, and was noticed by Swift in the 'Examiner.' According to a statement which he quotes, a very large proportion of Scotland, nine parts in ten of the nobility and gentry, and two in three of the commons, were Episcopal. This may be extravagant; but many facts conspire to show that the number of Episcopalians was considerable, and that it had been for some time increasing. The violence of the Assembly sufficiently accounts for this. In no state into which the elements of free government have fought their way will the people, especially the educated classes, submit for any length of time to a spiritual despotism. "If these," exclaims the Dean of St. Patricks, "be the principles of the high Kirk, God preserve the southern parts, at least, from their tyranny." Greenshields remained in prison till liberated by a decision of the House of Lords.

Queen Anne died in 1714. The next year the rebellion broke out on behalf of the Pretender. The Episcopalians were supposed to be favourable to his cause, and were regarded with distrust. Wherever the English troops appeared their congregations were broken up, their chapels and private houses, where the liturgy was read, were closed, the clergy were roughly treated or imprisoned, and the people were prevented from assembling with them for public worship. It is still contended by their advocates that this usage was unjust, and the nonjurors of Scotland are represented as a peaceable, if not a loyal, people; but it is useless to deny that, although the Episcopal Church was no doubt divided into two parties, its influence, in the main, was given to the Pre-

tender. The bishop of Edinburgh was devoted to his cause ; he was even bitterly opposed to Greenshields, because he had taken the oaths and made use of the English liturgy. The Episcopal clergy of Aberdeen presented an address to the Pretender beginning thus :—"We, your majesty's most faithful and dutiful subjects." And amongst the rebels taken in arms were the sons of two Scotch prelates. But, upon the whole, they experienced much forbearance. On taking the oaths of allegiance, the Episcopal clergy were again permitted, by an Act passed in 1719, to officiate in public and to use the English liturgy ; and even this condition was overlooked, and many were permitted to officiate without swearing allegiance. Until the second rebellion, in 1745, they were almost undisturbed ; their numbers had now shrunk to about a hundred and twenty clergymen and three bishops. They had incurred just suspicion from their conduct with regard to the Pretender, and the ruin of their cause was now precipitated by theological animosities amongst themselves.

In 1720 the English nonjurors broke up into two sections. The ground of their quarrel was a new communion office, which involves several practices, or usages, which had been rejected by the Church of England. Each party withdrew from the other, and each consecrated bishops, in order to continue the succession in itself. In the year 1722 those who insisted on the usages ordained John Griffin to be a bishop. He was consecrated by Collier and Brett, English nonjuring bishops, assisted by the Scottish bishop, Campbell ; he, and some others, having already adopted the principles embodied in the *usages*.

The usages were these : mingling water with wine in the Lord's Supper ; prayers for the dead ; a prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the sacramental elements ; an oblatory prayer in the Eucharistic office, which was defended upon this ground, "that the holy Eucharist is a proper sacrifice, and that our blessed Saviour, at his last supper, offered the bread and wine to God the Father, as the symbols of his body and blood, and commanded his apostles to do the same." It is evident that here was a broad departure from the principles of the Church of England, and indeed of all the reformed Churches. A new communion office was published, in which the usages were introduced ; it differs little from the first prayer-book of King Edward VI. The old nonjurors condemned these innovations with

the greatest firmness. Leslie, a bishop of their party, controverted the opinions of Collier and the rest, in print. "The utmost they can amount to," he says, "is probable opinions;" and he adds these words: "Nothing is to be received as faith or Christian doctrine but what is written in the Holy Scriptures, which is so perfect a rule that nothing is to be added to them; which, if any do, let him fear that woe denounced against such. In short, we must first find our rule of faith before we apply anything to it, or it to anything; if it be Scripture we know where we are; but if it be tradition we launch into an ocean which has neither shore nor bottom, nor we any compass to steer by, where we must be driven about by every wind of doctrine." Between the two parties whose opinions were thus expressed, the breach was now incurable.

The division reached the Episcopal Church in Scotland. Two of the bishops, Gadderer and Campbell, espoused the usages, the others opposed them. The clergy, too, were divided. It is a curious fact, as we gather from the 'Lockhart Papers,' that the question was referred to the Pretender for his decision, as the supreme head of the Church, by both parties. At length a concordat was agreed upon in 1731, and by this those usages to which we have referred were accepted; but other usages, which it seems some of the Scotch Episcopalians had adopted, were abandoned; these were immersion in baptism, the chrism in confirmation, and the anointing of the sick. Still differences continued to exist, and the small body of Episcopalians was distracted for many years with its own internal and unseemly commotions.

The second rebellion of 1745 nearly completed its destruction. A church, whose bishops were appointed by the Pretender, was of course regarded by the house of Hanover as a hostile institution. The meeting-houses were burnt down or demolished by the soldiers, and the clergy fled at their approach. The constitution of Scotland was suspended for three months, and the country placed under martial law. An Act was passed by which every Episcopal clergyman officiating without having taken the oaths was liable to imprisonment for the first offence, and transportation for the second, and an assembly of five persons constituted an illegal meeting. Hitherto the laity had escaped; but in 1746 all persons frequenting such illegal meetings were com-

manded to give information, under a penalty of fine and imprisonment. In 1748 the Act was revived, when it was enacted that none but English or Irish letters of orders should be deemed sufficient to qualify any minister for the exercise of his office in Scotland, and the clergy were only permitted to officiate in their own houses. Such was the state of things till the accession of George III. in 1760.

In 1765 the communion office was revised by the bishops, and brought into its present state, and from this period the practice of the Scottish Episcopal Church has been to use the English liturgy, with the exception of the communion office. In the year 1817 the Scottish bishops and clergy assembled in synod, drew up a body of canons, of which the twenty-first enacts, that while the English communion office may be used (and it is, we believe, in fact, generally made use of at the present time), yet that, "from respect for the authority which originally sanctioned the Scotch liturgy, and for other sufficient reasons, it is hereby enacted that the Scotch communion office continue to be held of primary authority in this Church, and that it shall be used not only in all consecrations of bishops, but also at the opening of all general synods."

The death of Charles Edward, the grandson of James II., the last of the Stuarts, put an end, at length, to the difficulties of the nonjurors in 1788. The bishops of the Episcopal Church in Scotland met at Aberdeen, and, with the concurrence of the clergy, resolved to submit to the government, and to acknowledge the rightful sovereignty of George III. From this time they ceased to be a nonjuring Church, and soon afterwards, in 1792, an Act was passed, which relieved them from the penalties imposed by the various Acts of Queen Anne, George I., and George II. The bill provides that the clergy shall take the usual oaths, subscribe to the thirty-nine articles, and pray, by name, for the king and royal family. But it excludes the Scottish clergy from officiating in England, "except in the case of such as shall have been ordained by some bishop of the Church of England or of Ireland." This prohibition was, to some extent, removed in 1840, by an Act which permits the bishops and clergy of "the Protestant Episcopal Church in Scotland" to officiate in our churches, "only with the special permission of the bishop in writing, such permission extending only to two

Sundays at a time." By the canons which the Scotch Episcopalians framed for their own government in 1817, the thirty-nine articles were made the standard of faith. Still the communion office forms a painful subject of contention. There are now in Scotland several flourishing congregations of English Episcopalians, who decline to recognise the authority of the Scotch bishops, or to hold communion with their Church, regarding its usages and doctrines on the subject of the Eucharist as unsound and superstitious. The bishops, in return, charge them with contumacy. They affirm, that having made the thirty-nine articles the standard of faith, differences of interpretation do not justify a schism. The English Episcopalians reply, that the articles condemn the doctrine which the communion office embodies; and they decline to unite themselves with a Church whose offices are at variance with its standards.

The bishops and clergy of the Scottish Episcopal Church would do well to consider whether the bond of union between their Church and ours would not become closer, and whether the obstacles in the way of their real usefulness would not be diminished, by their disuse of a separate communion office. And further, too, they must rescind their gratuitous repudiation of the Gorham decision, for by this act the Scottish bishops have placed themselves in open collision with the twenty-seventh, and other, English canons. With this resolution upon record, they can scarcely expect to obtain that legal recognition of being in full communion with the Church of England which at present they are so anxious to possess.

The Scottish bishops, early in the present century, resumed the titles which they had been compelled to lay aside. These titles are not recognised by law, and a case has occurred within the last month in which the claim has been disallowed by a civil judge. The interests of the Church have revived, and its numbers increased. The synodical constitution is again brought into action. Synods of the seven bishops are now held every year; the president or primus (for they have no longer an archbishop) being at present the bishop of Aberdeen. Provincial synods are held in the several dioceses, and a general synod is occasionally convoked by the bishops. This synod consists of the bishops, the deans, and one clerical delegate from each diocesan synod. It may amend and abrogate

the canons, or enact new ones. The number of clergymen and churches is said to have increased threefold within the last twenty years. The livings are in general very small; the minimum income is fixed at a hundred pounds a-year. In 1838 a "Church Society" was formed to supply the wants of the poorer clergy, as well as to assist in forming new congregations; its income does not exceed 3000*l*. Few of the middling class are connected with the Episcopal Church; its members are the wealthy nobles and the poor peasantry; the former, it would seem, indifferent to her welfare, and the latter unable to contribute to her support. The bishopric of Argyle and the Islands extends from the Isle of Lewis in the north to the southern point of Cantire, a distance of not less than two hundred and thirty miles, and from Lochaber in the east, to the Island of Tyree in the west, one hundred and twenty miles. In this vast diocese the members of the Church are about two thousand souls. In 1841 Trinity College was founded at Glenalmond, in Perthshire. It was intended to provide a liberal education for the sons of the gentry, as well as for students for holy orders. Nearly 50,000*l*. have been expended on the structure, which is still, however, incomplete. It is governed by a council of twenty, which includes the seven Scottish bishops, the dean of Edinburgh, the Duke of Buccleuch, the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, and other distinguished lay and clerical members of the Scottish Episcopal Church. The Hon. Mr. Boyle has also erected a magnificent college at Cumbrae. It is intended that the church and college shall eventually become the cathedral seat of the Isles within the united dioceses of Argyle and the Islands, and the founder has bequeathed the sum of 8000*l* for that purpose.

St. Ninian's Cathedral, at Perth, was consecrated by the bishop of Brechin in 1851. It is on a scale of considerable grandeur, but at present little more than the choir and transept is complete. In this cathedral Dr. Torry, bishop of St. Andrews, lay in state, the cathedral clergy relieving each other by turns in watching and singing psalms through the night. He died in 1852, in the seventieth year of his ministry and the forty-fourth of his episcopate. He had begun his ministry in a kitchen, and for several years had no better accommodation. "He lived," says his biographer, "to preside over the first diocese in which the cathedral system was revived, and his funeral obsequies were

celebrated with a pomp and honour never equalled since the Reformation ; and this, too, in the very city in which Knox first led on the people to despoil and desecrate the temples of God."

In the year 1853 the Scottish Episcopal Church was administered by seven bishops, who had under their control one hundred and thirty-nine presbyters. The diocese of Glasgow contained twenty-six congregations. This was the greatest number of congregations in one diocese. The diocese of Argyle contained eleven, which was the least number. The congregations are small ; and great as was the disruption of the Presbyterian Church in 1842, episcopacy does not appear to have gained by it to any considerable extent.

Burnet : History of his own Times. Spottiswood : History of the Church of Scotland. Collier : Ecclesiastical History. Round : Letters, &c., of Bishop Ken. Skinner (Bishop) : Ecclesiastical History. Russel : History of the Church in Scotland. Lathbury : History of the Nonjurors. Caswall : Scotland and the Scottish Church.

SHAKERS. A sect of English origin chiefly found at present in America. In the time of Charles I. a body of enthusiasts appeared, who from the convulsions into which they threw themselves obtained the name of Shakers. We know very little of this sect, which was small and soon disappeared : all the writers of that age speak of them reproachfully, and when the Quakers under John Fox appeared, they protested against the injustice they suffered in being confounded with the Shakers. The sect of which we are now writing, traces itself through the French prophets of the last century to the Shakers of the Commonwealth. About 1747, James Wardley, originally a Quaker, imagining that he had supernatural dreams and revelations, headed a party which, from the bodily agitations practised in some parts of their religious services, were called Shakers, or shaking Quakers ; not, however, that they are now in any way connected with the people called Quakers, or Friends. Ann Lee, or rather Mrs. Standley, for she was a married woman, the daughter of a blacksmith in Manchester, adopted Wardley's views and the bodily exercises of his followers. From the accounts of her conduct she appears to have become an adept in imposture during nine years which she spent in convulsions,

fastings, and similar contrivances. She is said to have clenched her fists in the course of her fits so as to make the blood pass through the pores of her skin, and to have wasted away so that at last she was fed like an infant. Wardley and Ann Lee had originally been Quakers, but were dismissed from that community. The latter now became the head of a new society who adopted the name of Shakers. "The work," they said, "which God promised to accomplish in the latter day was eminently marked out by the prophets to be a work of shaking." About 1770 Ann Lee discovered the wickedness of marriage, and began to "testify against it." She called herself "Ann the Word," meaning that the word dwelt in her. And her followers say that "the man who was called Jesus, and the woman who was called Ann, are verily the two first pillars of the church, the two anointed ones."

In May, 1774, Ann Lee, otherwise Mrs. Standley, together with three elders, and others of the sect, emigrated to America, and two years after formed a settlement at Niskayuna, a few miles from Albany, in the state of New York. From that, as from a centre, they put forth shoots, until at length there are now about fifteen Shaker settlements, or villages, in different parts of the United States, comprising 6,000 or 8,000 souls. Their doctrines are a strange mixture of the crudest errors with some few gospel truths; but it would be a misnomer to call them Christians. They now term themselves the millennial Church: they hold that the millennium has begun, and that they are the only true Church, and have all the apostolic gifts. They insist that baptism and the Lord's supper ceased with the apostolic age; that the wicked will be punished for a definite period only, except such as apostatise from them, and these will be punished for ever; that Christ will not appear again in the world, except in the persons of his followers, that is, the Shakers; that marriage is sinful, and that "they that have wives should be as though they had none" even now, and that thus alone purity and holiness, and the consequent beatitude of the heavenly state, can be attained; that sin committed against God is committed against them, and can be pardoned only for Christ's sake through them. Such are some of their tenets. The discipline of their churches rests for the most part with "their elders," who follow the instructions left by "Mother Ann Lee."

In their religious worship they range themselves at intervals in rows, and then spring upwards a few inches; sometimes they become so excited in this exercise as to throw off their upper garments, and jump as if they would reach the ceiling, all, as they say, to express their joy in the Lord. After this they sit down and listen awhile to their preachers, and then, when tired of hearing, resume their dancing.

The tenets on which they insist most frequently, are those of human depravity and of the gift of the Spirit; on both points they speak in a mystical way and with much obscurity. They have unconsciously revived the worst errors of the early church, confounding the natural instincts of man with his sinful appetites. Thus, like the Egyptian hermits in the third century, they place holiness in a life of celibacy. Their way of stating the argument is peculiar. The essence of it is, that the resurrection spoken of in the New Testament means nothing more than conversion. Our Saviour declares that, "in the resurrection they neither marry nor are given in marriage;" therefore, on the conversion (or the resurrection) of the individual, marriage ceases. To speak more plainly, the single must continue single, and the married must separate. Every passage in the Gospels, and in the Epistles, is interpreted according to this hypothesis. Not permitting marriage, much less concubinage, their body cannot be expected to increase. It appears they have a great accession of members from the class of the "unfortunate," and from widows and orphans, to whom their institutions furnish an asylum. Their property is all in common; and individual wants are supplied from a general magazine or storehouse, and ultimately the elders invest the gains in land or other property for the good of the society.

They profess to have the power of working miracles, and to be guided not so much by the Scriptures as immediately by the Holy Spirit. They maintain that it is unlawful to take oaths, to use compliments, or to play at games of chance.

They hold general fasts, and have no order of persons regularly educated for the ministry. In their chapter upon public worship they vindicate their music and dancing as leading parts of worship, especially alluding to the return of the prodigal; while the elder son, disliking music and dancing, represents the natural man condemning their soul-reviving practices.

Their political principles are strictly republican, viewing all hereditary rank, in civil or religious government, as repugnant to the spirit of Christianity : nevertheless, with the Quakers, they wish their own religious government to be considered rather as a theocracy than a democracy. Such is the favourable opinion entertained of them, that the legislature of New York have by law exempted them from all military duty, and from any fine or tax in lieu thereof. They have likewise passed a law enabling individuals who desire to join them to become divorced ; but permitting the party who does not join them to retain the children and the property. The Shakers never meddle in public affairs, not accepting any office under the government, or even voting at an election ; considering it to be highly inconsistent in those who from principle are averse to war, to vote into office those who are not, and who may involve the state in bloodshed. Robert Owen, of New Lanark, gives, in his "New View of Society," the following account of their religious worship. Their meeting-house for religious worship at Hancock is of beautiful workmanship, painted inside a glossy Prussian blue ; the steps at the door are hewn out of a solid block of white marble ; and from the neatness of everything one would suppose the whole house was washed between every meeting-day. They walk in regular procession to the meeting, and having no appointed preacher, an exhortation is delivered by one of the elders, or of the brethren. There are no fixed seats or pews in the meeting-house, but only moveable benches. They enter, the men at one door the women at the other. The floor being quite clean, they all kneel to a silent prayer on the right knee. They then rise and form in regular columns, the men on one side the women on the other. Several men and women then commence a tune while every other person dances, keeping time admirably for at least half an hour. The men and women, facing each other, advance and recede a few steps alternately through the performance. When dancing is over, the seats are placed, and an exhortation begins. After sitting a short time they rise and join in singing a hymn ; then they take their seats and another exhortation follows, that generally concludes the meeting. Sometimes they sing and dance a second time ; perhaps it may depend on the temperature of the weather. In the hottest season the men usually take off their coats and hang them with their hats

on a row of wooden pins. After meeting they return in great order to their dwellings and partake of a cold dinner, as they do not cook on that day. This people have been charged with being narrow minded, in confining their benevolence to their own society; but a late writer denies this, he says they frequently give large sums to the public charities of New York.

The Shakers' account of their own principles may be seen in *The Testimony of Christ's Second Appearance, &c.*, published at Albany, America, 1810. See also *Adams' Dictionary*, and *Holmes' Account of the United States*.

SWEDENBORGIANS; OR, NEW JERUSALEM CHURCH.

—Emanuel Swedberg, afterwards known as Baron von Swedenborg, was born of a respectable family at Stockholm, on the 29th of January, 1688. Descended from the miners of the Stora Kopparberg (the great copper mountain), his father is related to have been a person of considerable talents and influence, a voluminous author upon sacred subjects, and at length bishop and professor of theology in the Lutheran Church and chaplain to the court of Sweden. From his youth the mind of Emanuel Swedenborg was imbued with serious impressions. A letter written late in life refers with satisfaction to this part of his history, and describes the wonder with which both his parents listened to the revelations of their child, through whom angels spoke. A disposition for religious speculation was born with him, and his mind, he informs us, up to the twelfth year of his age, was engrossed with reflections on God and on the spiritual affections of man. He seems to have been left very much at liberty to form his own opinions, and these were often crude and visionary. "If at that time he had heard," he says, "of the systematic, or dogmatic, kind of faith, namely, that God the Father, imputes the righteousness or merits of his Son to whomsoever and at whatsoever time he wills, even to the impenitent, it would have been then as ever perfectly unintelligible to him."

He was educated at the University of Upsala, where he was distinguished for his success in mathematical and physical science, and was soon afterwards appointed assessor to the Board of Mines, an important department in the Swedish government. For some time his mind was now directed with intense application

to secular studies. He published an introduction to algebra, and a new method of finding the longitude by lunar observation, which were followed by proposals for fixing the value of coins, and for determining the measures of Sweden. Other scientific tracts followed on the motion and position of the earth and planets, the depth and tides of the ocean, and various philosophical questions. To some hints furnished by Swedenborg, Dumas ascribes the origin of the modern science of crystallography.

In 1719 he was elevated to the rank of nobility, though without a title. This gave him a seat in the triennial assemblies of the states of Sweden; but in Sweden he was neither a count nor a baron, but was always known as the Assessor Swedenborg. Several years were spent in travel; England and Rome were visited; his philosophical studies were pursued with intense zeal, and, in connection with these, the peculiarities of his mind were developed. After various adventures, in the year 1733 we find him asking permission from the king to travel for the third time, to give him opportunity of storing his mind with every kind of knowledge necessary for the completion of his great work. It is entitled the "Principia, or the First Principles of Natural Things, being a new attempt towards a Philosophical Explanation of the Elementary World." It was printed in 1734 at Leipsic and Dresden, in Latin, at the expense of the Duke of Brunswick. In explaining the generation of the elements, and ultimately the formation of solid matter—the origin of the hidden forces of nature, and the process and circumstances under which they become material, two things are virtually assumed, the absolute reality of the Infinite and the existence of finite entities. Descending from the "first natural point," a term by which pure motion is designated, Swedenborg defines the phenomena of heat, light, magnetism, and the elementary substances, as so many degrees of infinite activity. The origin of many recent discoveries is attributed to his investigations; as the identity of lightning with electricity, and that the milky way is a composition of stars; also the theory of the magnetic properties of the earth. The last is shown by Swedenborg from the spherical condition of the particles that constitute this element, from which he argues that their form must give them either a spiral, or vertical, or circular motion; and that, as each of these motions requires a centre, whenever the particles meet with a body adapted to their motion,

they avail themselves of it, and form a magnetic vortex, from whence it is inferred that the magnetism of bodies depends not on their substance but their form.

The "Philosophy of the Infinite ; or, Outlines of a Philosophical Argument on the Infinite and the final Cause of Creation, and on the Mechanism of the Intercourse of the Soul and Body," was published in 1734. It contains his metaphysical system, of which it would be unfair to express a judgment, unless we were in a condition to place at least the outline of his arguments before the reader, and to show the coherence of its parts. Other publications followed on philosophical subjects. The titles of some of them clearly indicate that Swedenborg's method of reasoning was radically vicious ; but in this respect he was at least not worse than the metaphysical reasoners of Great Britain. Like them he was still unacquainted with the laws of inductive science, or careless of their application to the study of mental phenomena. Those who wish to pursue the subject we refer, to his "Economy of the Animal Kingdom," first published at Amsterdam in 1740 and 1741, which is partly medical and partly metaphysical, while each intrudes on the province of the other. Thus the first part consists of a dissertation on the blood-vessels and heart, with an introduction to rational psychology. The second contains a dissertation on the cortical substance of the brain, and the human soul. The third part treats of the nerves and brain.

In a series of philosophical Essays on the worship and love of God, published in 1745, the year to which he refers the opening of his spiritual sight, Swedenborg takes leave of nature, and approaches the theological doctrines upon which his fame chiefly rests. The first part treats of the origin of the earth, of the state of paradise, the vegetable and animal kingdoms, and of the birth, infancy, and love of Adam, the first-born man. The second part discourses on the marriage of the first-born, and on the soul, the intellectual mind, the state of integrity, and the image of God. The origin of the universe is represented to have begun from the sun ; the origin of our own planet is dwelt upon, and the successive development of the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms. Nature is pictured as pregnant in the beginning with the principle of all things, which were gradually developed by the influence of the parent sun, while, as yet, there was no

atmosphere. Seven planets are supposed to have been created at the same time.

The human body, sprung from the tree of life, gradually became imbued with the infancy and growth of the mind in the first-born, until the birth of Eve and her marriage with Adam.

From this time, Swedenborg's diary contains almost daily notes of his interviews with the spiritual world. It was revealed to him that the breathing of the lungs depended upon the state of faith; that he was so formed of the Lord, that while in communication with spiritual beings, he could breathe inwardly for a length of time, without the aid of external air. He mentions many such visions. Whilst writing anything to which evil spirits were averse, he was frequently beset by troops of spiritual tormentors. He had accustomed himself from his childhood, during prayer, to make his breathing correspond with his thoughts, and by these means, with long respirations, he relates, that his sense of earthly things almost vanished.

The date of his spiritual call is alluded to in a letter, written in 1769, to his friend Dr. Hartley, where he says he had been called to a holy office by the Lord himself, who most graciously had manifested himself in person to his servant in the year 1745, when his sight was opened to the view of the spiritual world, and the privilege of conversing with angels and spirits, which he declares he continued to enjoy to that day; and that his only reason for foreign travel was now the desire of being useful to mankind, by making known the secrets intrusted to him.

In conversation as to his call, he declared himself to have been from his youth a spiritual fisherman, in the same way as our Lord's apostles; and that his system of divinity was based upon two principles—namely, that God is one, and that there is a conjunction of charity with faith.

About this period the circumstances of his personal history are little known, but he is supposed to have spent much of his time in England, with the Moravians, in Fetter-Lane, until his departure for Sweden, in the beginning of July, 1745, whither he repaired to resign his office of assessor to the Board of Mines, that he might devote himself, without interruption, to the discharge of his spiritual functions. He retired with king Frederick's permission, in the enjoyment of his full salary, as a pension for thirty-one years' faithful services.

From 1749 to 1756, appeared his "*Arcana Cœlestia*," in eight quarto volumes, containing an exposition of the spiritual sense of the Books of Genesis and Exodus. The work was printed at an expense of 400*l*. He had prepared himself for the enterprise by studying the Hebrew language, and comparing many editions of the Hebrew Bible.

The *Arcana* professes to be a direct revelation from the Almighty himself: besides the scriptural interpretation of the letter of the Word, it embraces a description of "the wonders of the other life."

The Bible is defined to be a message from the Infinite, from its wisdom and love adapted to man in all states of existence, connecting every possible state of the soul with the fountain of blessings. The method whereby it is unfolded, is called "the general science of correspondences;" which is defined by one of his biographers, to be the intellectual meaning of the relations between all different spheres;—as that the unity in creation implies a whole scheme, beginning and ending in God; that in the orders of nature, the highest produces the next degree, while that gives birth to the third; the second creature standing next to the first, and the third to the second; each being placed between those that are next of kin above and below it, each new mean carrying in itself the essence of the next progressive sphere.

In 1758, Swedenborg published in London the five following works:—1. "An Account of the Last Judgment, and the Destruction of Babylon; showing that all the Predictions in the Apocalypse are at this day fulfilled." 2. "Concerning Heaven and its Wonders, and Concerning Hell; being a relation of Things heard and seen." 3. "On the White Horse mentioned in the Apocalypse." 4. "On the Planets in our Solar System, and on those in the Starry Heavens; with an account of their Inhabitants, and of their Spirits and Angels." 5. "On the New Jerusalem, and its Heavenly Doctrine, as revealed from Heaven."

In the "*Last Judgment*," the earth is represented as the seminary of the human race, by which heaven is supplied with inhabitants; it is affirmed that a succession of fresh human races will never cease, because every divine work represents infinity and eternity. The earth, therefore, will not be destroyed at the day of judgment. Further, that all angels and spirits have once

been men upon some planet ; from whence it is argued, the generation of angelic purity depends upon the purity of mankind here below. When, therefore, man's natural proneness to vice by degrees degrades him, and tends to extinguish the divine part of humanity, utter ruin is only averted by the interposition of God. Three such calamities have threatened the creation ; once in the most ancient Church, whose last judgment was the flood ; once when the Lord was in the world, and said, " Now is the judgment of this world, now is the prince of this world cast out ;" and a third time in 1757, when the first Christian Church was consummated. This last judgment is described to have comprised the people of seventeen centuries, arranged in order, according to their spiritual progress ; the reformed Churches in the middle, the Romanists round them, the Mahometans in a still outer ring, and beyond these, the Gentile nations, enclosed by a boundless sea of space.

Swedenborg's visits to the planets enabled him to describe some of their inhabitants. The journey took two days in one instance, and ten hours in another. The spirits of Mercury, we learn, are the rovers of the inner universe. The people of the moon are dwarfs, who do not speak from the lungs, but from a quantity of air collected in the abdomen. Saturn is spoken of as the last planet in our system. To the end of the doctrine of the " New Jerusalem," is appended his idea of civil and ecclesiastical government. He teaches, that the Lord's ministers are to claim no power of souls, and those who differ from them are allowed peaceably to enjoy their opinions. Offices are given to certain persons but are not to be abused.

It is difficult to compress within the limits of this sketch, Swedenborg's views of the divinity of Christ. But in Him, the Godhead of the Trinity dwells, adapted to a personal form, that it may be approached by man ; and the Holy Spirit is the influence he communicates to Churches and individuals. Our Lord's incarnation through the Virgin Mary. is understood literally. The Father is inaccessible to us out of Christ ; therefore worship is to be directed to Jesus Christ alone.

The Divine love and wisdom are illustrated by the doctrine of universal correspondences, showing that, if God be infinite, the universe proceeding from him must represent man in an image. There must be a correspondence between the creature

and the Creator, and thus from the mineral, vegetable, and animal forms, and even the planets and atmospheres, is drawn an analogy to the formation of man.

With regard to the Sacred Scripture, an ancient Word is supposed to have existed before the present Bible, still extant in Great Tartary, of which the Book of Jashur, and the Wars of Jehovah formed part. The present Word consists of four styles; the first is by pure correspondences thrown into an historical series; of this character are the first eleven chapters of Genesis, down to the call of Abraham; the second is the historical style, with a spiritual sense; the third is the prophetic; the fourth is the Psalms, and includes the following books:—The five Books of Moses, the Book of Joshua, the Book of Judges, the two Books of Samuel, the two Books of Kings, the Psalms of David, and all the Prophets; and, in the New Testament, the four evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, and the Apocalypse.

The reason given for excluding the writings of St. Paul, and the other apostles, is, that they are merely dogmatic writings not written in the style of the Word, and not capable of the same correspondences. He says, in the “Apocalypse Revealed,” that the words of Paul in Rom. iii. 28, are quite misunderstood; and that the doctrine of justification by faith alone, which at present constitutes the theology of the reformed Churches, is built on an entirely false foundation. Faith, we are told, is simply an inward acknowledgment of the truth, which comes to those who lead good lives from good motives.

“The Doctrine of Life” enjoins that we should shun, as sins against God, whatever is forbidden in the Ten Commandments. Charity consists in shunning evil and doing good; after this faith follows.

Various laws of Divine Providence are propounded, the grand object of which is the forming an angelic out of a human race. Upon the subject of predestination, he maintains that all are predestined to be saved, and that it is their own doing if they do not arrive in heaven.

Swedenborg's spiritual diary, carried on to the year 1764, relates many strange communications between himself and the spirits of ancient heroes. In one page we find him conversing with Cicero, Aristotle, and Augustus, and then with Moses and Abraham, who again give place to Charles XII. of Sweden,

while Frederick of Prussia is succeeded by the author of the "Whole Duty of Man." Pursuing the spiritual dialogue a little further, the assessor finds Paul and David sunk into a sadly low state of Christian life, and Mahomet a Christian convert.

The "Apocalypse Revealed" contains an exposition of the spiritual sense of the Book of Revelation. The interpretation is drawn out upon the same principle as that applied to the books of the Old Testament.

In 1769, Swedenborg's "Brief Exposition of the Doctrine of the New Church" (in which, he says, are fully shown the errors of the then existing doctrines of justification by faith alone, and of the imputation of the righteousness or merits of Jesus Christ), called down upon its author a storm of indignation from the dignitaries of the Swedish Church. Dr. Ekebom, dean of the theological faculty at Gottenburg, branded his doctrines as in the highest degree heretical, and on the points most tender to every Christian—Socinian. These charges of Socinianism were repelled with equal warmth; Swedenborg declared them to be "horrid blasphemy and untruth;" and he considered the word Socinian to be "a scoffing and diabolical reviling."

In the "Brief Exposition," the intercourse between the soul and body is illustrated by the doctrine of spiritual influx. The soul is viewed as the complete man, and the body a garment with which it is clothed, suited to protect it from the climate in which Providence has placed it. Pursuing this notion a step further, our author arrives at the conclusion that as every spirit belongs to some province of the "grand man," his presence excites correspondently that part of the human body to which he answers. When one of the eye men or heart men, he tells us, come near him, his own eyes or heart become sympathetically affected; when evil spirits sought him, the pains to which they answered were for the time being excited in his system. Hypocrisy gave him pain in the teeth, because hypocrisy is spiritual toothache.

These speculations were highly offensive to the Lutheran clergy. Provoked by their opposition, and still more by the seizure of some copies of his book on "Conjugal Felicity," on their way to England, under a law prohibiting publications opposed to the Lutheran faith, Swedenborg appealed to the king. Disturbances had arisen at Gottenburg, from the

differences of the clergy upon the subject of his doctrines; and his opponents, too, made their appeal to the sovereign, in a letter addressed to the chancellor of the consistory. The dispute appears to have ended to Swedenborg's disadvantage, for in the following year he found that the importation of his books into Sweden was totally prohibited.

Of his works, which are so voluminous that we do not attempt to enumerate the titles, some were thought at the time to be of licentious tendency, while all of them were, more or less, opposed to the received faith of the reformed Churches. Of the former class were his treatises on the "Delights of Wisdom," "Concerning Conjugal Love," &c. He affirms, upon the grounds stated, that sex is an eternal distinction residing in the soul, which the body assumes in consequence of its spiritual endowment, and carries with it to immortality. Whence every thought, affection, and sense of a male is male, and of a female is feminine. We do not feel disposed to pursue the subject through the details to which Swedenborg conducts us, some of which are strange enough. Neither his own morals nor those of his followers have ever been impeached; but his disquisitions on the sex of angels, and those on spiritual marriage, will seem to most readers idly absurd or intolerably offensive. Of his doctrinal writings, not a few are almost unintelligible to those who are not initiated by a careful study of his writings into Swedenborg's peculiarities both of thought and expression. "The True Christian Religion" contains a digest of Swedenborg's system of divinity. The following summary of the chapters will show the scope of the work. I. God the Creator. II. The Lord the Redeemer. III. The Holy Spirit and the Divine Operation. IV. The Holy Scripture or the Word of the Lord. V. The Ten Commandments in their External and Internal Senses. VI. Faith. VII. Charity, or love towards our neighbour, and good works. VIII. Free Determination. IX. Repentance. X. Reformation and regeneration. XI. Imputation. XII. Baptism. XIII. The Holy Supper. XIV. The consummation of the Age, the coming of the Lord, and the new Heaven and the new Church. Besides these subjects the work contains no less than seventy-six memorable relations from the spiritual world. He now believed himself to be in frequent intercourse with the souls of the departed. He told his friend,

Dr. Cettinger, that a verse in the Epistle to the Romans (verse 8, chap. iii.) had been a frequent subject of discussion between St. Paul and himself for a whole year. He mentions that he had spoken three times with St. John, once with Moses, and with Luther a hundred times. Numberless instances are recorded of spiritual visions. He believed that our opinions attend us into the next world; and his theory was confirmed by the assurances he received from a departed friend that his leading passions still predominated in him.

In August, 1771, Swedenborg left Amsterdam for the last time; he reached London and took up his abode at 26, Great Bath-street, Coldbath Fields. Here, on the eve of Christmas-day, a stroke of apoplexy, from which he never recovered, left him speechless. For more than three weeks he lingered senseless, while scarcely a morsel of food passed his lips. He then revived sufficiently to converse with the few friends who visited him upon subjects relating to his intercourse with the world of spirits. The month before his death he had requested an interview with the Rev. John Wesley; but this gentleman, who had a strong wish to visit Swedenborg, was absent from London. He received the Sacrament, it is said with some reluctance, and breathed his last at his lodgings in Clerkenwell. According to an affidavit made by his landlord before the lord mayor a few years' afterwards, he died at the hour which he had previously foretold. His body was buried in the vault under the Swedish Church, in Princes Square, Radcliffe Highway, his coffin being placed by the side of that of Dr. Solander. His manners are described as calm and agreeable, and not wanting in dignity. In general his health was good; one of his friends remarks that he was never ill except when under temptation. He left behind him no instructions to form a new Church or rules for its guidance. The idea of founding a sect does not appear to have occurred to him. He regarded himself, rather, as the expositor of the true nature of that religion which in its main points had been already revealed.

The first congregation of his followers in England met in Great Eastcheap, London, on the 27th of January, 1788. At that time General Tuxen estimated the number of converts in Sweden at about sixty persons.

About six months before the place of worship in Eastcheap was

opened, a meeting of a society of the readers of his works was held at the house of Mr. Wright in the Poultry. Here, on the 31st July, 1787, five persons celebrated the sacraments of Baptism and the Holy Supper.

In England there are now about eighty societies scattered over the different counties. One of the most flourishing provincial congregations has established itself at Birmingham. Throughout the manufacturing districts in the north of England the novelty of these speculative doctrines has attracted many followers. At Edinburgh, in Yorkshire, and in Lancashire, there are congregations presided over by their own ministers, as well also as in some other counties. In London, several societies have been founded for the spread of these doctrines and the publishing of Swedenborg's voluminous writings at a rate sufficiently low to bring them within the reach of all. Among others we may notice the Society for the publication of the New Church Doctrines, the New Jerusalem Missionary and Tract Society, the New Church Free School Society, the Swedenborg Association, established in 1810, and Emanuel College. The chief place of worship in London is in Argyle Square. There is another congregation in Cross-street, Hatton-garden. In France, M. Le Boys des Guays has contributed largely to the spread of Swedenborg's doctrines by translating them into the French language. Into Austria and Prussia they have found their way. At Wurtemburgh, Dr. Tafel, the librarian of the Royal University at Tubingen, has been active in promoting the New Jerusalem cause. In Sweden, the doctrines of the New Church are not openly preached, on account of the determined opposition of the Church; but it is believed that many of the Lutheran clergy favour them in secret. In America, as well in Canada as in the United States, the mysterious charms of spiritual speculation are confessed by numerous converts. There are about four hundred and fifty places in the States alone in which converts are known to reside. The number of ministers, or preachers, in England is about seventy-five, in America about sixty. But in America the discipline is much stricter than at home. In America public worship is conducted by ministers or licentiates who are admitted by the presiding minister of an association, if he be an ordaining minister, with the joint concurrence of the association and of a council consisting of two pastors and three

members of a committee of laymen on behalf of a convention of the whole body. There are three orders in the ministry; ordaining ministers, who receive societies into the New Church, and ordain and superintend its ministers; pastors, who also conduct public worship, marry, and administer the Sacraments; and licentiates, or young men on trial. In England, membership is easily obtained by those who profess a readiness to support and contribute to the cause; and the ordaining ministers have no authority over the pastors or their flocks. There are a few other unimportant points of difference.

The New Jerusalem Church uses a liturgy. It asserts the oneness of the divine personality, and denies that justification is by faith, in the sense understood by the reformed Churches. Faith is simple belief; and justification is to be sought in keeping the Ten Commandments, which are literally translated from the Hebrew. The Lord's Prayer is also rendered with the same exactness from the Greek. We speak of the liturgy of 1791, the preface of which, however, seems to contemplate the possibility of occasional alterations suited to the growth of the infant Church. A form of baptismal service is provided both for infants and adults. Sponsors are not required, but the friends of the infant are to make confession of the New Church doctrine of the Trinity and of justification. A form is also given for the administration of the Lord's Supper, in which the elements are taken simply as remembrances of the cross and passion.

Swedenborg recommended four rules of life which deserve to be repeated here: I. Often to read and meditate on the word of God. II. To submit everything to the divine providence. III. To observe in everything a propriety of behaviour, and always to keep the conscience clear. IV. To discharge with fidelity the functions of our employment, and the duties of our office, and to render ourselves in all things useful to society.

See the writings of Baron Swedenborg published by the Swedenborg Society, Bloomsbury-street, London, particularly the following:—*I. Arcana Cœlestia. II. A Brief Exposition of the Doctrine of the New Church, which is meant by the New Jerusalem in the Apocalypse. III. Concerning Heaven and its Wonders, and of Hell; being a relation of things heard and seen. IV. The Delights of Wisdom, concerning Conjugial Love and the Pleasures of Insanity concerning Scortatory*

Love. V. *The Doctrine of Faith of the New Jerusalem.* VI. *On the Intercourse of the Soul and Body.* VII. *The Principia of Swedenborg.* See also *Hobart's Life of Swedenborg.* *Biography of ditto,* by J. I. G. Wilkinson. *An Anonymous Life of ditto,* published at Boston, U. S. 1854. *The New Church Liturgy,* published in 1791. *Swedenborg, a Biography and an Exposition,* by E. P. Hood, 1854.

UNITARIANS.—The spirit of free inquiry to which the Reformation owed its existence did not confine itself to the examination of the doctrines and practices by which the Church of Rome had so long obscured the primitive faith. Some inquisitive minds were led to believe that these formed a part only, though confessedly the worst part, of those corruptions by which Christianity had been defaced. Assemblies appear to have been held at Vicenza, in the government of Venice, about the year 1546, of persons who had formed themselves into associations to debate with freedom on various points of theology. The ancient Arian party is supposed never to have been quite extinct in Italy, and in these assemblies it revived. The subjects of discussion were, the necessity of a reformation not only in the forms and morals of the church, but in her doctrines, and in the whole system of religion reputed orthodox. In particular, they discussed the truth of the doctrine commonly received concerning the Trinity. But these meetings were soon interrupted by the vigilance of the emissaries of the Church. Some of the members were seized and put to death; the remainder fled, and dispersed themselves through different countries.

One of the leaders was Lælius Socinus, of Sirma. After spending several years at Zurich as a voluntary exile, he visited Poland in 1551. Here he succeeded in converting to Arian, or probably Unitarian, principles, Francis Lismaninus, preacher and confessor to the queen of Sigismund I., king of Poland. From this period, the orthodox faith had to maintain a severe conflict with Unitarianism in Poland and the north of Europe. Lismaninus published several tracts, in which he denied the true divinity of the Son. He was followed by Gregory Paul, the minister of a Protestant church in Cracow, who wrote against the

doctrine of the Trinity still more openly. Other writers followed in his train, and the new principles spread with great rapidity; for, in the year 1556, Peter Gonesius, a Pole, who had recently returned from his travels, avowed in the Synod of Seceminum his approbation of the Apostles' Creed, but his rejection of the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, his denial of the doctrine of the Trinity, and his belief of the inferiority of the Son. He made the same declaration afterwards at Brescia, in 1558.

In the same year, Blandrata, who had been acquainted with Servetus at Geneva, visited Poland, where several Italians of note joined him. They held public disputations, in which they denied the doctrine of a Trinity. Several synods were called in succession, with the view of bringing all the reformers to an agreement in one faith; but at each synod new advocates for the Unitarian sentiments appeared. Calvin, dreading the influence of this party, wrote to a synod which met at Cracow in 1561, urging them to be on their guard against Blandrata and his dangerous sentiments. But the new views continued to gain a still firmer footing. At length, in 1565, as the dissensions became more violent, Gregory Paul, with the approbation of some persons of rank in Poland, attempted to restore the peace of the Church by a petition to the National Assembly, or council of the kingdom, at that time convened, desiring a full discussion of the subject.

The conference was held, but neither side being convinced by the reasonings of the other, an open schism followed, and the reformed Church was divided into two parties; the greater body professing to hold a trinity of persons in the Divine Being, and the lesser holding the unity of his person. The former esteemed it unlawful to communicate with the latter, and instigated the popes and their bishops to treat the weaker party as Arian blasphemers; and some of the nobility, who patronized them, were calumniated as guilty of treason against their country.

The time occupied by these events in Poland was spent by Servetus in spreading the same doctrines in the south of France. This remarkable man was born in Spain in the year 1509; he had scarcely arrived at manhood when he travelled in Switzerland and Germany, and became acquainted with the leaders of the Reformation. In the year 1530, in his one-and-twentieth year, he resided at Basle, and began to state and defend the

Unitarian doctrines, which were regarded by all parties as heretical. The next year he published his first treatise on the doctrine of the Trinity, which was soon followed by a second on the same subject. His theological opinions not only rendered him unpopular, but exposed him to great danger. He visited Paris, where he studied medicine, and was admitted a professor of the University. He afterwards practised as a physician for several years at Lyons, but, during the whole of his life, theology was his favourite pursuit. For many years he carried on a correspondence with Calvin, to whom he submitted portions of his manuscripts, which the latter perused with angry, perhaps vindictive, sentiments. Calvin's temper was arrogant and harsh, and it is not likely that he read these papers, the production of a youth, inexperienced and, as his own friends admit, of a most ungovernable temper, without acrimonious feelings. Indeed (though to a reader acquainted with the sixteenth century the remark is needless), asperity appears to have been then regarded as one of the essentials of honest controversy; the combatants seem to have thought that it was necessary in order to prove their sincerity. It is not the vice of any one party, or of any particular set of principles: we are not acquainted with a single controversy of that period, whatever were the subject, in which the opponents, provided they were at liberty to select their own weapons, and under no fears from the apprehension of punishment, did not assail each other with personal invectives and coarse abuse. Servetus now published his "*Christianismi Restitutio*," in which he maintained the Unitarian doctrines. It was not without difficulty that a publisher was found for so dangerous a work; it was printed anonymously at Vienna in 1553, without the author's or printer's name, and without a date or the name of the city. It was a bold attack on the common faith both of Protestants and Roman Catholics, and Servetus had little mercy to expect from either. He was arrested, it is said at Calvin's instance, imprisoned by the governor of Dauphiné, and brought before the inquisition at Vienne. Amongst the evidences of his guilt were several letters, containing heretical sentiments, which had been addressed in the confidence of friendship to Calvin himself, and by him, it is alleged, betrayed to the inquisition. Servetus was condemned, and, contriving to escape from his prison, was burnt in effigy at Vienne. He took

refuge at Geneva, where he was again arrested, and again, it is said, through Calvin's influence. In August, 1553, he was brought to his trial; the articles of accusation against him being drawn up by Calvin's hand. He was sentenced, as a heretic and blasphemer, to be slowly burnt, and the frightful sentence was executed with horrible severity on the 27th October, 1553.

Calvin's share in these infamous transactions has long been a matter of warm dispute. The childish, yet almost universal weakness, which confounds the private character of the individual with the soundness of his creed, has led zealous Calvinists to defend Calvin's proceedings at no small detriment to their own reputation for the love of truth and justice. Socinians, on the other hand, and all the opponents of Calvinism, continue to dwell upon this dark shade on the character of an illustrious man with an evident satisfaction, by no means advantageous to their pretensions to a more generous creed or a more enlarged benevolence. Something may be alleged in mitigation of Calvin's conduct. He had been brought up in a hard and brutalizing school; he had been educated a Romish priest in the sixteenth century; and, great as he was in intellectual power, he was in other respects an ordinary man, on a level with his times. The Church had held and practised the burning of heretics for at least five hundred years. He saw with an eagle's eye the corruptions of Rome, but he did not understand the horrible wickedness of a persecuting spirit. Few of the reformers understood it. Foxe, in his memorable protest to Queen Elizabeth against the burning of the German Anabaptists in Smithfield, stands almost alone. When Calvin entered on the prosecution of Servetus, there is some reason to believe that he did not anticipate a capital sentence; and we know that he attempted to obtain for Servetus, when condemned, the favour of a less torturing death. For a defence of his conduct, so far as it admits of palliation, the reader, if so disposed, may consult the Rev. John Scott, in continuation of Milner's "Church History," or Dr. Merle D'Aubigné on the "Reformation in France and Switzerland."

With the death of Servetus, his opinions fell into neglect; he did not succeed in forming a party at Geneva, nor did a Socinian church rise from his ashes. The minds of men, suddenly freed from the restraints of ages, broke out, however, in extravagant

speculations on the nature of the Deity, which were repressed, after the manner of the times, by the torments of the Inquisition. Gentilli, a Neapolitan, suffered death in 1566 for having adopted the Arian hypothesis rather than the doctrine of Servetus; he considered the Son and the Holy Spirit as subordinate to the Father. Gribaldi, a lawyer, escaped public execution by a timely death in prison; he supposed the Divine Nature to be divided into three spirits, each distinguished from the rest by number and subordination. The names of Alciat, Tellius, Paruta, Leonardo, and others, appear amongst those who exposed themselves to danger, or suffered death, for sentiments deemed heretical on the question of the Divine nature. It was in Poland that the Unitarian cause was gaining ground.

Persecuted elsewhere, the Unitarians were treated with kindness by the Emperor Sigismund, who granted them the free exercise of their religion, and invited Blandrata to his court. The states of Poland entered into an agreement, by which their sovereigns were bound to subscribe and swear to a declaration that universal toleration should be maintained. Those who denied the Trinity now first took the name of Unitarians: they had been called Pinczovians, from the town of Pinczow, in which many of them lived, or, more frequently, Racovians, from the city of Racow, the centre of their community, where they were protected by John Sienenius, prince or palatine of Podolia; they had also flourishing societies at Cracow and other towns in Poland and Lithuania.

Up to this period the Unitarians had not adopted any settled creed: amongst themselves great differences existed; and the young community was threatened with destruction from its internal discords. The only great point of agreement was their rejection of the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity; and the early history of the Unitarian Church in Poland, if Church it might be called, is that of a number of jarring sects, each tenacious of its own opinions and impatient of its rivals. Besides a considerable number of enthusiasts, smitten with the follies of the German Anabaptists, and anxious to introduce a community of goods, an equality of rank, and other extravagances, there were some who entertained the ancient Arian doctrine, connecting with it the denial of infant baptism. At length two great factions, the Budnæans and the Farnovians, absorbed the

rest. The former were so called from Simon Budnæus, their leader, a man of considerable acuteness and sagacity, who perceived more clearly than the rest the conclusions to which the peculiar principles of Lælius Socinus naturally led, and protested against the propriety of offering religious worship of any kind to Jesus Christ; he maintained, further, that Christ was not begotten by any extraordinary act of Divine power, but that he was conceived, like other men, in a natural way. This opinion, generally avowed by Socinians in later times, was then received as impious and profane. Budnæus, who had gained over to his doctrine a great number of proselytes in Lithuania and Russian Poland, was deposed from his ministerial functions in 1584, and publicly excommunicated, with all his disciples. It is said, however, that he afterwards abandoned his peculiar and offensive sentiments, and was readmitted to the communion of the sect. His peculiar doctrine was soon afterwards adopted by Francis David, the superintendent of the anti-Trinitarian Churches in Transylvania, and violent contentions followed. Blandrata interfered, but without success: his influence with the government was supreme, and he must, therefore, bear the odium which attaches to the first persecutor within the infant community. David remained unmoved: he was in consequence arrested by Christopher, Prince of Transylvania, and thrown into prison, where he died at an advanced age.

In this dispute we first become acquainted with the celebrated Faustus Socinus, who was long regarded as the apostle of the Unitarian creed and the founder of the Socinian Churches. He was the nephew of Lælius; he was born, in 1539, at Sienna, in Tuscany, of a noble family, and seems to have possessed a cultivated mind and a generous heart. It is with reason that the Unitarians of later days object to be called Socinians; for, in fact, the authority of Socinus is opposed to them on several vital points. He was invited by Blandrata into Transylvania, to dispute with Francis David; and a discussion followed in public, after the manner of those times, which proves that Socinus was at this period, when he was forty years of age, rather an Arian than what is now understood as a Socinian. He thought that worship ought to be offered to God through Christ as a mediator; he believed in the miraculous conception, and the perfect holiness, of Christ. "I am accused," he says, in a private letter to Vado-

vitz, professor in the academy at Cracow, "of making Christ a sinner ; whereas I have expressly said, this is the height of blasphemy, such as I wish might never arise in my mind; not even in my dreams." "Jesus," he says again, in his works, "is in the highest, truest sense, the King of God's people." At the same time he denies that Christ was the only-begotten Son of God. "This," he says, "I regard as a mere human invention, and as entirely repugnant to sound reason." This last expression reveals what all orthodox Christians agree to condemn as the unsound principle on which Unitarianism is erected. The progress of philosophy, which has laid hands so rudely on many conceits of the sixteenth century, has exposed the fallacy of this. The boast of right reason, as applied to the mode of the Divine existence, or the generation of the Son, is childish, simply because the facts on which reason professes to be exercised lie beyond her province ; and the reasonings, so called, are nothing more than a series of assertions or negations, sustained only by illustrations or analogies, neither of which can, from their nature, enforce a process of induction. "Sound reasoning," he proceeds, "abhors the thought that the individual and simple essence of God should be divided or multiplied, or that, remaining entire or numerically one, it should be common to many." (*Socini. Opera*, tom. i., p. 654.) It would be more correct to say, that inasmuch as the individual and simple essence of the Deity is something incomprehensible, it therefore follows that we have no means of ascertaining under what forms or conditions it may exist, and must satisfy ourselves simply with the declarations of revelation on the subject.

The pre-existence of Christ before his birth of the Virgin is thus curiously explained : "These passages," he says, quoting the texts in favour of the doctrine, "might refer to a prior existence, if they could not be applied to Christ as a man." But nothing is more probable, and more agreeable to the very words of Christ himself, here and elsewhere, than that Christ himself, after he was born, and before he entered on the office assigned him by his Father, was, by consequence of the Divine counsel and agency, taken up into heaven and remained there sometime, that he might hear from God, and, being with him, might see those things he was to announce to the world in the name of God himself." Socinus rejects the doctrine of the atonement,

and yet, in some sense not easily explained, he admits the eternal priesthood of Christ. On justification, Socinus differs but little from the Council of Trent. "No one is justified before God unless he first confide in Christ, and obey him; which obedience constitutes those good works by which we are justified; so then, when St. Paul denies that we are justified by works, his intention is only to say that we cannot be justified before God by the merit of these works, but not that no good works are required of us to our justification before God."—*Opera*, tom. 1, p. 603.

From these principles the Unitarian system grew. The opinions of Socinus, as they gained ground, were afterwards cast into a more systematic form, and in some instances modelled anew. But of all sects or parties, the Unitarians are those of whose acknowledged principles it is most difficult to speak with certainty. They push liberty of thought and independence of authority to the utmost extreme, and they have always gloried in this avowal. They acknowledge no masters.

We have yet to mention the Farnovians, so named from Farnovius, or Farnecius, who taught the Arian system, asserted the pre-existence of Jesus Christ before the creation of the world, and refused religious worship to the Holy Spirit. Farnovius separated in 1568 from the Polish Unitarians, and was followed by several persons of rank and learning. For a time the schism flourished, but on the death of its leader it was dispersed, or returned into the communion of those who were led by Faustus Socinus.

In 1754 a catechism or confession of faith was published at Cracow. It is sufficient to mention it, since it has, we believe, no authority with Unitarians; it may be seen in Mosheim. It is remarkable for the inconsistency of its statements with each other, and the loose oriental style in which it is drawn up. This ancient catechism, which was little more than a rude and incoherent sketch, was laid aside, and a new form was prepared by Faustus Socinus himself. It is called the Racovian catechism. It was corrected from time to time by eminent Socinian teachers, and was once regarded as the confession of faith of the whole Church. It was first published in 1609, with a dedication to our king James I. Socinus was now at the head of the Unitarians of Poland, and under his direction the small body, hitherto wanting numbers, strength, and union, was recruited by proselytes of all ranks. The noble, the opulent, the

learned, and the eloquent crowded to his standard. They still had to contend against the hostility of the orthodox churches, but the zeal of the Reformers was fast expiring, and the jealousy of Rome was diverted into other channels. Another fortunate event seemed to complete their success. In the year 1600 Jacobus à Sienno, the lord of Racow, embraced the doctrine, and erected a public school, designed as a seminary for the Socinian Church, in his own city, which he declared to be the metropolis of the Unitarian faith. The affairs of the Unitarians were now managed by assemblies, or synods, on the Presbyterian plan. The synod consisted of the elders, ministers, and deacons of the Unitarian Churches of Poland and the neighbouring countries. They elected two moderators, the one a minister, the other a layman, who presided jointly. The power of these assemblies over the churches represented in them was almost despotic. They discussed every subject connected with religion, formed new churches, undertook missions into foreign countries, and discussed projects, frequently entertained about this time, for a union with the Calvinists or Anabaptists. The synod assigned pastors to particular churches, removed them from place to place, and ordained or consecrated those who were candidates for the sacred office. They inquired into the morals and conduct of the clergy, and investigated the discipline maintained by the pastors, elders, and deacons. Private tutors were appointed for the nobles and professors for the public schools; the oversight being intrusted to the presidents, who were to examine into the learning and morals both of professors and students, and to make reports to the synod. The control of the public treasury was entirely in their hands. To this fund every member of the Church contributed, and out of it the salaries of the ministers and the expenses of the colleges were paid. A provision was made for the support of widows and orphans and aged ministers. Relief was granted to exiles and foreigners in distress, with special reference to those who suffered for their attachment to Unitarian principles. The remainder of the fund was devoted to the extension of the Unitarian cause, by publishing books, or sending out missionaries. General deacons laid before the synod an account of the sums expended or required, and a report was made of the contributions of each church towards the public expenses; and, lastly, at these meetings the Lord's Supper was celebrated, and

converts admitted through the rite of baptism. The acts and resolutions of these synods were of national importance; they were kept with great care, and were still in existence when Poland ceased to be a nation in the last century. They were contained in several volumes in manuscript, chiefly in the Polish language, with an intermixture of Latin words and phrases.

The fall of Socinianism in Poland was no less rapid than its rise. The Socinians were regarded by all parties with dislike and jealousy. The Roman Catholics of Poland were inveterate against them; for they had not only blighted the glories of the ancient superstitions, but had succeeded in obtaining possession of all those honours in the state which were the reward of eloquence, art, or learning. In time the ill-feeling broke out, and the two parties proceeded from mutual insults to acts of violence. In the year 1638 some students of the Unitarian college at Racow threw down a wooden crucifix which stood at the entrance of the town. The foolish act was resented by the whole papal community, and an accusation against the Unitarians was laid before the courts of law. This boyish freak was construed into a premeditated act of sedition. The Socinians offered in vain the most solid proofs of their innocence; the president of the academy in vain cleared himself from the charge by a solemn oath; in vain was a protest offered on their behalf by many delegates of high rank and of other churches. The diet of Warsaw decreed that the academy of Racow should be destroyed, its professors banished, the printing-house of the Socinians pulled down, and their churches closed. The vindictive sentence was executed without the least delay. Other calamities followed, and similar edicts were enacted in other parts of Poland. The Cossacks made frequent irruptions, and the Unitarians, whom they had learned to abhor as impious men, suffered greatly from their violence. The king of Sweden invaded Poland, and they submitted to him in the hope of finding relief. Casimir recovered his territory, and avenged himself on the Socinians as traitorous subjects. In the year 1658 it was decreed by the diet at Warsaw that all the Socinians should leave the kingdom, and capital punishment was denounced against all who should, for the future, either profess their opinions or shelter those who did so. They were at first indulged with a respite of three years for the settlement of their affairs; but this short term was soon afterwards

reduced to two years. In the year 1661 the terrible edict was renewed, and all the Socinians who remained in Poland were barbarously expelled, with cruelties such as the Jews experienced when driven from Spain by the Dominicans. Some of them sought an asylum in Transylvania; a considerable number found their way to Silesia, Brandenburg, and Prussia; others repaired to Holland and Great Britain. They met with little favour in any one of their retreats. The hand of power was everywhere against them. Papist and Protestant alike received them with coldness, if they did not treat them with tyrannical severity. Thus the Unitarian churches, after an existence of more than a hundred years in Poland, were at length destroyed, and in Europe they have never since regained the same importance.

Till the partition of Poland, a few Socinians still lingered there, holding their meetings as opportunity permitted, like the Huguenots in France, in fields, or forests, or private houses. They retained a regular ministry; their young men being educated at Leyden, or at the college of the Remonstrants at Amsterdam. On the partition of the kingdom, they were included by Russia and Austria in the number of Dissidents, a general title under which all Christians were included who were not members of the Established Church in one or other of those kingdoms; and they have since been permitted to enjoy their religious opinions undisturbed. In Holland, they were known as Anabaptists, who practised immersion; but their numbers were not considerable, and they have slowly disappeared.

The only society of Socinians in England, was formed by the famous John Biddle, during the protectorate. He had been imprisoned for his heretical notions before the king's death, and during his confinement, in the year 1647, he had published twelve questions or arguments against the deity of the Holy Spirit. He was answered by the learned Matthew Poole, the author of the "Synopsis Criticorum," and his book was ordered to be burnt. The next year, being still in prison, he published seven articles against the deity of Christ. The Westminster Assembly was sitting, and it was seriously moved by some of its zealots, that he should be put to death as a heretic. But Cromwell disliked intolerance, and, when it showed itself among the Presbyterians, viewed it with contempt. In 1651, Biddle was set at liberty; he immediately published two catechisms, the one a Scripture

Catechism, the other for the use of children. In these, he maintains, That God is confined to a certain place : That he has a bodily shape : That he has passions : That he is neither omnipotent nor unchangeable : That we are not to believe three Persons in the Godhead : That Jesus Christ has not the nature of God, but only a divine lordship : That he was not a priest while upon earth, nor did reconcile men to God : That there is no deity in the Holy Ghost. These propositions were condemned by the Parliament, and the author was again committed to prison. But soon after, Cromwell dissolved his Parliament, and Biddle was set at liberty. His zeal, however, does not appear to have been crushed amidst the dangers to which it had exposed him. He now challenged Griffin, a Baptist minister, to dispute with him, in St. Paul's, on the question of the deity of Christ. This occasioned fresh disturbance, and the Privy Council committed him once more to Newgate ; but the Protector again wisely interfered, removed him to the Scilly Islands, and even allowed him a pension of a hundred crowns a year. Here he remained seven years, when he was set at liberty. Dr. Owen, the Independent, answered his catechisms in a learned and elaborate treatise, entitled "*Vindiciæ Evangelicæ.*" After the Protector's death, he opened a chapel in London, where he preached till the Restoration. He was again seized while in the pulpit, and imprisoned, probably under the Act of Uniformity, rather than for heresy, and died in confinement in 1662. Biddle is represented by his friends, as a man of exalted piety ; his learning was admitted by all parties ; his memory was retentive ; and, in proof of his knowledge of the Scriptures, it is mentioned, that he could repeat all St. Paul's Epistles in Greek. Notwithstanding the peculiarities of his doctrine, he observed, and expected from others, seriousness and reverence in speaking of God, and Christ, and holy things. He would, by no means, hear their names or titles, nor any sentence of Holy Scripture, made use of lightly. In his common conversation, he expressed an awe of the Divine presence. In his private devotions, it was his frequent custom to prostrate himself upon the ground, after the example of our Saviour in his agony, and this posture of worship he recommended to his intimate friends. He was succeeded by Mr. Thomas Firmin, a person of great benevolence ; but his congregation disappeared, and with it, the last traces of the ancient

Polish Unitarians in England. The adherents of Biddle were called Bidellians at the time; but they preferred the title of Unitarians, although they did not perfectly agree either with Socinus or the Unitarians of Poland. They differed from them in this, that they believed the Holy Spirit, though not God, to be a person, in the common acceptation of that word. Biddle asserted the liberty in which Unitarians make their boast. He was not anxious to form a party guarded by specific tests, or doctrines accurately defined. He left all men to that liberty which was consistent with their mutual edification, says his biographer, and a conscientious profession of what appeared to their minds the truth.

Before we leave the ancient Unitarians, their most distinguished writers must be mentioned. At the head of these stands Faustus Socinus himself. The works of the Polish Unitarian authors were published at Amsterdam, in nine volumes folio, in 1668. The first two volumes contain the works of Socinus. They consist of expositions of Scripture, and of controversial tracts. The former are partly critical, partly philosophical. His criticisms would not now be received by any party, as of much importance. His theological creed resembled that of Arius, in the divinity it assigns to the Son of Man, rather than that of modern Unitarians, in the mere humanity which they assign to the Son of God. What is worthy of praise is the candid spirit, and the freedom from passion, with which he writes in an intemperate age. After him, Crellius comes next, with several others of less note. He was the son of a Lutheran minister, but adopting Unitarian sentiments, became rector of the university of Racow. He published commentaries upon some of the gospels and epistles, and other practical works in divinity. Grotius is claimed by the Socinians as a convert in his later years. In his youth he attacked the Socinian doctrine, as to the design and efficacy of the death of Christ. He was answered by Crellius, to whom he made no reply, but thanked Crellius for his work; and his annotations, it is argued, are a complete system of Socinianism, not excepting his notes on the first chapter of St. John's Gospel. On the other hand, it is maintained, by those who defend his orthodoxy, that in many of his private letters, he expressed great dislike to the Socinian theory; that his compliments to Crellius show nothing more than the liberality of his

mind ; and that if his interpretation of certain texts be admitted to prove his Socinianism, Calvin himself, by the same method of reasoning, may be charged with Arianism. And that, after all, it is not material to the cause of truth what side any man, eminent for learning and judgment, may have espoused, since religious truth rests on evidence, and not on authority.

With the decay of piety Arianism appeared, soon after the revolution, amongst the English Nonconformists, and, to a certain extent, amongst the clergy of the Church of England. It was not, however, the Arianism of the second century, but rather the result of a philosophical exercise upon the supposed nature of the Deity. It rested neither on biblical criticism nor patristic authority, but upon a metaphysical philosophy then much in vogue. Whiston, professor of mathematics at Cambridge, is perhaps as much entitled as any other person to be considered the founder of the school. He felt himself at liberty to frame theories of the Divine existence precisely as he framed theories of the creation of the world, without the support of any kind of evidence, but simply as hypotheses by which apparent difficulties might be explained. Whiston was expelled the university in 1710 for heresy. Dr. Samuel Clarke, rector of St. James's, Westminster, maintained Arian sentiments from the pulpit and the press a few years afterwards ; but his conduct was blamed ; the Convocation took up the question, and Clarke desisted from the controversy as the condition of retaining his preferment. Beyond this, Arianism made no advances of importance in the Established Church. It was otherwise with the Dissenters. For a period of at least fifty years, the whole of the three denominations, Baptists, Independents, and Presbyterians, were agitated with discussions on the Trinity ; the Arians still gaining ground, and the orthodox party being gradually silenced. Still there was no well-defined creed or symbol to which the Arians subscribed. They were known rather by their contempt of creeds and subscriptions. They prided themselves upon their freedom from human impositions ; they were the friends of free inquiry, free thinkers, rational Christians. They were known rather by what they denied than by what they taught. The founder of modern Unitarianism in England was Robert Priestley.

Priestley, the son of a Dissenter, was sent for his education to the academy at Daventry, which Dr. Doddridge had founded ; it

was then under the control of Dr. Ashworth ; and he left it with a mind unsettled, the tutors themselves being divided on the question of the Trinity. In 1762 he became tutor of an academy at Warrington, under the auspices of the heterodox Dissenters. In 1774 he removed to Birmingham, where he undertook the charge of a congregation of Nonconformists ; and here the most important part of his ministerial life was spent. He was a voluminous writer, not only in theology, but in chemistry, science, history, and other subjects ; and from his own writings we collect the outline of his creed. In his "Theological Repository," volume iv., page 22, he says, that "as to the apostles, there will perhaps be no great difficulty in admitting that the great object of their mission did not require any particular illumination with respect to the knowledge of the Scripture ; and therefore they would be naturally influenced by that mode of interpretation which was generally adopted by their countrymen." And, in page 442, "it is evident that the apostles often applied the Scriptures very improperly, and with no better judgment than their unbelieving countrymen." This may be sufficient to explain his views on the subject of the inspiration of Scripture. He denies that the Holy Spirit enlightened the apostles on the day of Pentecost, although they were then endued with extraordinary powers ; "but we do not find that their minds were enlightened in a direct manner at all ; that is, they had no new knowledge communicated to them ; all their illumination that they had in consequence of it being that which they derived from their own reflections on that remarkable event, and on the powers which they had in consequence of it." (Vol. iv., page 192.) "I have frequently declared myself," he says in his letters to Dr. Horsley, "not to be a believer in the inspiration of the evangelists and apostles as writers." (Part i., page 132.) Thus the testimony of the writers of the New Testament to the proper divinity of our Lord is at once disposed of. This, the cardinal point of the controversy, Dr. Priestley treated with a freedom equally unknown to Socinus and the English Arians. Socinus admitted that Jesus, though not God, had a nature far exalted above that of man : Priestley denied that he was more than a mere man, and sometimes he did this in language that could not fail to be offensive to his opponents. Socinus thought the worship of Christ admissible ; maintaining only that the highest

faith, and consequently the purest devotion, would lead the worshipper at once to God the Father. Priestley, in his "Familiar Letters, addressed to the inhabitants of Birmingham," charges all orthodox Christians with idolatry. "All," he says, "who believe Christ to be a man, and not God, must necessarily think it idolatry to pay him Divine honours. We have no other definition of idolatry than to worship as God that which is not God. Do not all Protestants say it is idolatry in the Catholics to pray to the Virgin Mary, to Peter, Paul, or any other saints, or even to angels or archangels? Do you not continually charge the Catholics with idolatry on this principle? Now it is on the very same principle, and no other, that we, who consider Christ as being a man, such as Peter and Paul were, say that it must be idolatry to worship or to pray to him. This is only the necessary consequence of avowing our belief, with what must follow from it." (*Letter V.*) Dr. Priestley also maintained that future punishment is probationary, holding, in fact, the doctrine of a purgatory; and he dwelt with satisfaction on this view of the subject to the last moment of his life. A disgraceful riot, in which his house and chapel were destroyed, drove him from Birmingham in 1793; he had become obnoxious, not only from the freedom of his religious opinions, but still more from his admiration of the French revolution. He then took charge of the congregation of his deceased friend Dr. Price, in London; but soon afterwards retired to America, where he was received but coldly, and died in retirement in 1804.

The academy at Daventry, under the superintendence of Dr. Ashworth, produced another Unitarian minister, in some respects more eminent than Priestley. Thomas Belsham, the son of a dissenting minister, pursued his studies with so much success, that he was appointed assistant tutor, and, upon the death of Dr. Ashworth, principal of the institution. He had been educated in the doctrines of Calvinism; he now began to doubt their truth; and having embraced Unitarianism, he left the college, and relinquished his connexion with an orthodox congregation in the neighbourhood, of which he was the pastor. A new college was opened at Hackney by the Unitarians, and it was placed under his care, but it was soon closed for want of funds, and Belsham succeeded to the congregation over which Dr. Priestley had for a time presided. In 1805 he removed to the chapel in

Essex-street, which had been built for Mr. Lindsey, a clergyman of the Church of England who had embraced Socinianism, and was eminent in the last century, as a Unitarian minister. Here Mr. Belsham laboured till the close of his life, and was long regarded as the head of his party. His talents were undoubtedly of a high order; he was an able writer upon almost every point of theology. He published a volume on the evidences of the Christian revelation, which, for a time, was popular; and an improved version of the "New Testament," which was severely criticised by his Trinitarian opponents. Priestley and Belsham met with a powerful antagonist in Horsley, Bishop of St. David's. Horsley was a controversialist of a clear head and of great attainments, although the latter are now supposed to have been overrated. He wrote with force, but in a dictatorial style; he was proud and disputatious; and Priestley replied with needless irritation. The great point at issue between them was the faith of the primitive Church on the subject of the incarnation and the atonement. Dr. Priestley had published a treatise on the corruptions of Christianity, amongst which he placed the doctrine of the Trinity: this, he said, in the form in which it is now maintained, was of no greater antiquity than the Council of Nice. Horsley, then archdeacon of St. Albans, answered these assertions in a charge to the clergy, in 1783. Priestley, who never declined a challenge, immediately replied. Horsley resumed his pen, and the result was given to the world in the most valuable of his writings, namely, his "Tracts in controversy with Dr. Priestley, upon the historical Question of the Belief of the First Ages in our Lord's Divinity."

After the death of Priestley, the leadership of the Unitarians in England devolved on Thomas Belsham. Less various in his knowledge than Priestley, he was a more formidable opponent. Priestley, whose attainments were rather extensive than profound, was rash in his assertions, and was easily driven in from many of his outposts. Belsham was more thoughtful; he reasoned with less acuteness, but greater force of argument. His "Calm Inquiry into the Scripture Doctrine concerning the Person of Christ," published in 1811, formed an epoch in Unitarian controversy. To a great extent it affected the whole character of Unitarianism, and its influence is still apparent in the tone of feeling which prevails amongst the body. It is undoubtedly the ablest work which

modern Unitarianism has produced, though orthodox Christians consider that it has received a full refutation from the works of Dr. Magee on the Atonement and Dr. Pye Smith on the Scripture testimonies to the divinity of the Messiah.

The history of the Unitarians during the present century affords no striking incidents either in England or elsewhere. It has been that of quiet, rather than rapid, progress. Indeed, taking into the account the increase of population, and comparing the advances of Unitarianism with those of almost every sect of evangelical Christians, it may be questioned whether its relative position is improved since the days of Price and Priestley. In bringing this paper to a close, we shall offer some remarks on the constitution of the Unitarian Churches, as they now exist, and upon the scheme of doctrine they profess.

The number of congregations in England is about two hundred and fifty. In Scotland and Ireland there are, besides these, about fifty congregations. Of these three hundred one-third at least are old Presbyterian foundations of the Nonconformists and later Puritans. Events which have been related (see PRESBYTERIANS) placed these chapels, most of which have small endowments, in the hands of the Arians of the last century, and these, in turn, made way for the Unitarians who now possess them. A few congregations practise adult baptism; these are the descendants of the Anabaptists; but whatever may have been their constitution in past times, all the Unitarian Churches are now congregational. Perfect independence is the characteristic of the whole body, each congregation being, in Church discipline, in its mode of worship, and in the peculiarity of its creed, free to act after its own judgment. The Unitarian body have no accredited representatives, answering to the Convocation of the Church of England or the Wesleyan Conference. They have a general association in London, styled the British and Foreign Unitarian Association. They have also many other societies, but all of these are voluntary, nor is any one of them recognised as having any authority whatever; neither does there exist any Unitarian creed or standard which the general body have ever formally recognised as of authority. Hence they do not receive the Racovian, or any other, catechism, as a standard of faith; nor have they any test of orthodoxy, as applicable either to ministers or laity. Their leading fundamental principles being admitted, their

churches are perfectly free to all who may choose to join them for worship and religious communion ; nor is there any such distinction amongst them as that, which exists among Trinitarian congregationalists, between the church and the congregation, both being one and the same body. They welcome to the Lord's table, in the celebration of the Lord's Supper, all who choose to join them, nor question on any account their right to partake with them whenever so disposed. It will immediately be seen that it must be exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain the numbers of a society thus constituted. On a rough calculation, the Unitarians of the three kingdoms are computed at one hundred thousand.

In America the triumphs of Unitarianism have been greater. The same causes which led to the defection of the English Presbyterians, induced the descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers to abandon the orthodox faith. Boston, the chosen retreat of the self-exiled Puritans, is now said to contain, in the city and neighbourhood, one hundred and fifty congregations of Unitarians. Throughout New England, comprising those northern states which were first colonized by English Nonconformists, Socinian principles are extensively avowed ; and the Unitarian body, though by no means the greatest in point of numbers, is the wealthiest throughout the United States. Amongst the phenomena of Church history, few are more deserving of the student's consideration. He will naturally inquire how it is that a system which has gained so few converts at home should so fascinate our descendants in the western continent. The existence of a national Church is generally admitted on both sides to furnish the solution. There are peculiarities in the American character which must also be taken into the account ; a boldness of inquiry, a fondness for abstract theories, a restlessness beneath opinions of long standing, which have probably contributed to the same result. A majority of the American Quakers, amounting to upwards of forty-three thousand, are Unitarians, and they form a distinct community, the orthodox Quakers having seceded from them.

In Europe Socinianism prevails in the Church founded by Calvin at Geneva, and the Swiss Cantons have undergone a similar change. The few orthodox clergy who remain suffer constant insult and persecution ; for the Unitarians of Geneva have not yet learned to practise those lessons of catholicity and of respect for

the rights of conscience which are the just boast of their party in other lands. The Unitarians of Geneva are entitled to no respect. Enjoying the emoluments and honours of a Calvinistic Church, they denounce from Calvin's pulpits the doctrines which Calvin taught. They are dishonest men, who add to their delinquency the crime of persecuting those who still preach the doctrines of their own Church. With such men the Unitarians of England and America have nothing in common except the name.

Unitarianism, as a theological system, is thus explained by one of its living advocates:—1. Trinitarian and Unitarian are correlative terms; the latter rendered necessary only by the existence of the former; both expressing different views of the one Christian faith. 2. Trinitarianism is not anything more of a positive and substantial faith than Unitarianism. Unitarian Christianity is the distinctive name of that view or form of Christian faith which recognises "but one God, the Father." Trinitarian Christianity, on the other hand, recognises "the Son as God, and the Holy Ghost as God," as well as "the Father." Unitarian Christianity negatives these two additional articles, maintaining the godhead of the Father to be supreme and sole "To us there is but one God, the Father." This text furnishes a clear and complete definition of Unitarian Christianity.

Thus Unitarian is employed as the correlative of Trinitarian. A believer in one God is a monotheist, as opposed to a polytheist. The words Unitarian and Trinitarian have reference not to the unity, but to the personality of the godhead.

Unitarians defend their system by three lines of argument—critical, historical, and philosophical. Under the first of these the meaning of the Scriptures, and especially the critical examination of the New Testament, is comprised. Under the second it is argued, that Trinitarianism is comparatively a modern doctrine; that its gradual formation can be traced from its commencement to its final establishment by the emperor Theodosius, towards the close of the fourth century, A. D. 380. And under the third the impossibility of the doctrine is asserted. "It is a doctrine," says Mr. James Yates, in his "Vindication of Unitarianism," "which councils and parliaments may decree, but which miracles cannot prove." The examination of these important questions is a labour from which, in the present day, no orthodox minister of religion can shrink, and upon which

ignorance is unpardonable. A fair amount of learning and industry will soon enable him to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion upon the first and second points. The real difficulty lies only with the third, but it exists rather in words than in reality. Unitarianism is, we conceive, the result of a wrong method in philosophy; it overlooks those ultimate facts which are admitted to exist in all other speculations; and, plunging onward in a waste of speculation, demands a proof of that of which it is impossible that any other proofs should reach us than the bare statement of the doctrine by a competent, that is, an inspired, authority.

It remains only to speak of the literature of Unitarianism. Here a striking contrast greets us. In general literature Unitarians occupy a high position; in theology they are almost unknown.

Dr. Channing, whose fame as a writer is now established wherever the language in which he wrote is read, became the minister of a congregation in Boston at the beginning of the present century. His first appearance in the pulpit made a sensation such as had been long unknown, even in a city famous for its preachers. His week-day evening lecture was crowded in that mart of commerce, and his friends announced "a new era in preaching." He brought a fervour into the Socinian pulpit to which it had been long a stranger; the seriousness of his deportment, we are told by his biographer, the depth and sweetness of his voice, the pathos with which he read the Scriptures, and sacred poetry; the solemnity of his appeals; his rapt and kindling enthusiasm, his humble trustful spirit of prayer, his subdued feeling, so expressive of personal experience, made religion a new reality. Spiritual religion was the end of his ministrations. "Let me unite," he says, in his diary, "with the most serious, statedly in prayer, for the revival of religion in the society." His biographer indignantly disclaims the imputation that he ever embraced, or even approached, orthodox Trinitarian sentiments; if so, we admire the happy inconsistency which dictated the following sentences:—

"Have I not reason to fear that many are destitute of love to God, to Christ, to the Church, to man? Do they not confide in a course of negative goodness? Are they not full of false hopes from the performance of particular duties, abstinence from great crimes? Are they not easy, and satisfied, because they give no

positive evidence of irreligion, not because they have positive evidence of religion? Do they not mistake habit for principle? Is holiness an end? Is God all in all? Is Christ all in all to them? Is love the habit of their soul, operating in their whole conduct? * * * * Christ came to recover man from sin. A change of heart is the object of the Gospel. In this consists the redemption of Christ. It becomes man to weep, to feel true, hearty sorrow at sin itself; to abhor and condemn themselves as without excuse, to feel themselves dependent upon free, unmerited, unobligated, sovereign grace, for pardon and renewal.

“The Spirit of God is the blessing of the new covenant. The knowledge, love, imitation, service, and enjoyment of God through eternity are all included in this gift. There can be no other rational, eternal blessedness. The Spirit of God operates on the heart, creates new exercises, and dwells in the souls of Christians, by constantly and immediately supporting all good affections. Every man must be new-born, have a new heart, a new principle, end, motive, disposition; a change, by the Spirit, into a meek, submissive, self-renouncing, self-abhorring, benevolent state of soul, before he can believe, approve, choose the Gospel, and receive the kingdom of heaven.”—*Channing's Memoir*, vol. i. Judging from these specimens, the religion of Dr. Channing appears to have differed from that of Priestley and Belsham in principle as well as in warmth and spirituality.

But even Dr. Channing is better known as an essayist than a divine. His reviews and historical dissertations, rather than his contributions to religious science, have won his reputation. And so it is at home. There is no department of science or literature in which Unitarians do not occupy a distinguished place. The theory of education, political economy, poetry and fiction, and the best reviews, they may safely claim, but in theology little is attempted. No sect in England is so well educated; yet no sect, of equal numbers, contributes so little through the press to the direct spiritual instruction of the people. The same apathy pervades their missions. Their efforts are feeble, their converts few. The fact is admitted and deplored by candid members of their own communion. Whether it be the necessary result of Unitarian principles, whether fervent zeal be consistent with those views of the Divine character and of man's condition, which Unitarians hold, is a question full of the deepest interest

both to themselves and their opponents. The Editor is indebted to the courtesy of the Rev. S. Bache, minister of the New Meeting, Birmingham, for several of the particulars already mentioned, as well as for the following statements:—

“That freedom from tests which is characteristic of Unitarians is characteristic also of our theological institutions, especially of that one of them in which provision is made for the *complete* education of our youth for the Christian ministry, namely, Manchester New College, which has its library and classrooms in University Hall, Gordon-square, and is in connection with the University of London. The Presbyterian College at Carmarthen, too, is equally unsectarian, and is also connected with the London University. Several of our Unitarian ministers from the Principality have received their education partially or wholly there. Besides these two unsectarian institutions, the “Unitarian Home Missionary Board,” has recently been established in Manchester, having for its object to prepare men of earnest and devout minds to be domestic missionaries, Unitarian missionaries, and ministers to rural and other small congregations.

“The chief periodicals connected with the Unitarian denomination in England are the Christian Reformer, edited by the Rev. R. B. Aspland. The Enquirer; or, Weekly Newspaper. The Sunday-school Penny Magazine, edited for the Manchester District Sunday-school Association,” &c.

See *Socini Opera*. *Toulmin: Life of Faustus Socinus*. *Mosheim: Eccl. Hist.* *Dictionnaire des Heresies: Art. Socinianisme*. *Dr. Priestley: Letters, Sermons, and Tracts*. *Lindsay's Apology; and Life of, by Belsham*. *Belsham: Calm Enquiry; Tracts and Life by Williams*. *Memoirs of Dr. Channing*. *Bache: Lectures on Unitarian Christianity*. *Art. in Penny Cyclopædia: Unitarianism*.

UNIVERSALISTS.—The great doctrine of Universalism is that the sufferings of the wicked after death are purgatorial in their character, and will finally terminate in eternal happiness. This doctrine is fundamental; but it is held, of course, in conjunction with many others. Universalists may, however,

now be divided into two parties; the evangelical or orthodox, and those who embrace Arian or Unitarian sentiments. Of the latter it is unnecessary to give any detailed account, since, in fact, they form a part, by far the larger part, of the Unitarian body. The process by which Universalism has linked itself with Socinianism has been the result of a mutual attraction. Great numbers of those who began with Unitarianism have advanced in the course of their speculations to Universalism; and, on the other hand, not a few of those who set out from Universalism have cast aside the orthodox creed to embrace the doctrines of Socinus.

Universalism professes to rest in part upon critical exegesis, but more fully perhaps upon philosophical argument. Under the former, those texts of Scripture are argued and explained in which our Lord and the sacred writers have been generally supposed to assert the eternity of future punishment. Under the latter, the benevolence of the Deity, the proper ends of punishment, and similar considerations, are advanced. Nor does Universalism hesitate to make its appeals to the Christian fathers, and to claim their sanction. But few traces of the doctrine, it is admitted, are to be found in the first and second centuries. During this period no controversies had arisen on the subject. Clemens, of Alexandria, is claimed as one of the fathers who during this period held these doctrines. Daillé and Archbishop Potter admit the justice of the charge, the truth of which, from the diffuseness of the father's writings, it is no easy matter to determine. "It is manifest," says the former, "throughout his works, that Clemens thought all the punishments that God inflicts upon men are salutary, and executed by him only for the purpose of instruction and reformation. Of this kind he reckons the torments which the damned in hell suffer."—*De Usu Patrum*, lib. ii. 4. Potter, having spoken of Origen's belief in the salvation of all the damned, adds, "From which opinion Clemens does not appear to have differed much, as he taught that the devil can repent, and that even the most heinous sins are purged away by punishments after death."—*Note in Clem. Alex.*, book vi., p. 794.

Origen was the pupil of Clemens, and may be considered as the founder of Universalism in the early Church. About the year 230 he published his books "*De Principiis*," in which he

advocates at length the doctrine of universal salvation. It forms part of a system which exposed him to the charge of heresy in his own times, and has ranked him ever since amongst the fanciful and visionary. In connexion with Universalism he held the doctrine of pre-existence. His opinion was, that in the past ages of eternity God created, at once, all the rational minds which have ever existed, whether of angels or men, gave them the same nature and the same powers, and placed them all in one celestial state. Accordingly they were all, at first, exactly alike in rank, capacity, and character. But, as they all had perfect freedom of will, they did not long continue in this state of equality; for while some improved themselves more or less, others degenerated proportionally; till an infinite diversity of character and condition began to take place among them. In consequence of this, the Almighty at length formed the material universe out of pre-existent matter, and appointed those spirits to different ranks and conditions in it according to their respective deserts; elevating some to the angelic order, consigning others to the infernal abodes as demons, and sending the intermediate class, as occasion might require, into human bodies. All these intelligent beings still retain their original freedom of will, and are, therefore, capable of returning from their former transgressions, or of rising to still higher degrees of excellence. The fall of man, in his view, consisted in the descent of the celestial soul to the prison of an earthly body, in consequence of its transgressions in a pre-existent state. In the resurrection, mankind will come forth with bodies not of gross earthly matter, but of an aërial substance; and then the whole human race, both good and bad, will be subjected to a fiery ordeal in the general conflagration, with different degrees of pain, according to their moral purity or corruption. The righteous will quickly pass through this trial into the enjoyments of heaven; but the wicked will then be condemned to the punishments of hell, which consist both of inflicted pain, and of the remorse of conscience. These sufferings, though he calls them everlasting, Origen held would be apportioned in length and severity to each one's wickedness and hardness of heart; but for others, especially for the devil, they would necessarily be rendered intense, and protracted to an immense duration, in order to overcome the obstinacy and corruption of the guilty sufferers. At last, however, the whole intelligent

creation should be purified, and God become all in all.—*De Principiis*, lib. ii. cap. 10, &c.

To what extent Origen was infected either by the Gnostic or the Manichean principles, or whether he framed a system of his own, has been long disputed; for each of the opinions he maintained some text of Scripture is cited as authority. But Origen's theory of interpretation has never been sustained; and the Universalists of modern times, while they quote his name as an illustrious instance of the existence of their doctrines in early times, and amongst some of the leaders of the Church, still decline to bow to his authority. Origen, it must be remembered, was excommunicated by the orthodox party, and died before the sentence was removed.

His opinions lingered in the Church, and even gained ground. Modern Universalists claim St. Basil, Bishop of Cæsarea, his brother the Bishop of Nyssa, and Gregory Nazianzen, in the fourth century as more or less inclined to the sentiments of Origen on the nature of future punishments.

Universalism appears to have been for a time the opinion of a majority of the fathers in the Eastern Church. Gregory Nyssen, Didymus, and Jerome, were to some extent its advocates. Nazianzen, speaking of the Novatians, an heretical sect, exclaims: "Perhaps they will be baptized in the next world with fire, which is the last baptism, and is not only keen but of great duration, and which shall feed on the dull matter as on hay, until it shall have consumed all their sins."—*Oratio*. xxxix. This seems to be the language of indecision, at least; but it must not be forgotten that the writings of the Oriental fathers were at this period deeply infected with the vicious tastes of a rapidly-declining age. Accuracy, and even truth, were of less account with them than some gaudy metaphor or startling paradox. In the Western Church the opinions of Origen also made some progress. St. Augustine, in the greatest of his writings, "The City of God," devotes several chapters to a refutation of the prevailing error. He begins by defending the Church from the charge of intolerance for refusing to allow her members to dispute in favour of a purgatorial fire, and the final release, not only of bad men, but of Satan himself. Such sentiments, he argues, cannot possibly be reconciled with the words of Christ, "Depart from me ye cursed into eternal fire, prepared

for the devil and his angels.”—*Matt.* xxv. 41. Nor with the declaration of St. John in the Revelation, that the beast and the false prophet shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever.—*Rev.* xx. 10. Nor with the statement of St. Peter, that God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast them down to hell, and delivered them into chains of darkness to be reserved unto judgment.—*2 Peter* ii. 4. “This being the case,” he exclaims, “how can we believe that all or any of mankind, after a certain period, shall be restored from the eternity of this punishment, and not immediately weaken that faith by which we believe the torments of the demons will be endless. Or will the sentence of God, which is pronounced alike against evil angels and evil men, be true with respect to the angels, and be false with respect to men? And again, how can we suppose eternal torment to be only of long duration, and yet eternal life to be without end; when, in the very same passage, and in one and the same sentence, Christ said with reference to both, these shall go away into eternal punishment but the righteous into eternal life.—*Matt.* xxv. 46. Both are eternal, both must be understood either of long duration but at length coming to an end, or else as perpetual with no end. They are linked together: on the one hand eternal punishment, on the other hand eternal life; and it is absurd to say in one and the same sentence, that eternal life will be without end, and that eternal punishment will have an end. Whence we conclude that, as the eternal life of the saints will be without end, so also the eternal punishment of those who shall be condemned will without any doubt have no end.”—*De Civitate Dei*, lib. xxi. cap. 23. He confirms the argument by considerations drawn from the justice of God, and the exceeding sinfulness of sin. The decisions of St. Augustine were received with almost universal deference by the Western Church; in the East his name was regarded with great, though not with equal, veneration; and his authority imposed upon the cause of the Universalists a more fatal check than even the decisions of a general council. Augustine wrote his great work about A.D. 420, and through the remainder of the century we seek in vain for any traces of the doctrine. The final salvation of Satan and his angels was branded as a heresy, and the doctrine of the final restoration of mankind, nearly connected with it, was looked upon as an obnoxious and kindred

error; and the familiar name of Origen almost wholly disappears.

At length the Fifth General Council was held at Constantinople on the 4th of May, 553. One hundred and sixty bishops of the Greek and African Churches were present, and the opinions of the "impious Origen" were condemned. As a summary of doctrines which once extensively prevailed, and, we must add, as a melancholy proof of the degradation of the Christian Church in the sixth century, we place before the reader the decree in which the council uttered its sentence: "Whoever says or thinks that the souls of mankind pre-existed as intellectual, holy natures, but that, growing weary of divine contemplation, they degenerated to their present character, and were sent into these bodies for the purpose of punishment, let him be anathema. Whoever says or thinks that the human soul of Christ pre-existed and became united to the Word before its incarnation and nativity of the Blessed Virgin, let him be anathema. Whoever says or thinks that the body of Christ was first formed in the womb of the Holy Virgin, and that the Word and his pre-existent human soul were afterwards united with it, let him be anathema. Whoever says or thinks that the Divine Word is to become like the angelic and celestial powers, and thus be reduced to an equality with them, let him be anathema. Whoever says or thinks that in the resurrection human bodies are to be of a round, globular form, or whoever will not acknowledge that mankind are to rise in an erect posture, let him be anathema. Whoever says that the sun, the moon, the stars, and the waters above the heavens, are certain animated or intelligent powers, let him be anathema. Whoever says or thinks that Christ is to be crucified in the future world for the demons, as he was in this for men, let him be anathema. Whoever says or thinks that the power of God is limited, and that it has created all that it was able to embrace, let him be anathema. Whoever says or thinks that the torments of the demons and of impious men are temporal, so that they will at length come to an end, or whoever holds a restoration either of the demons and of impious men, so that their torments will at length come to an end, or whoever holds a restoration either of the demons or of the impious, let him be anathema. Anathema to Origen Adamantius, who taught these things among his detestable and accursed dogmas; and to every one who

believes these things, or asserts them, or who shall ever dare to defend them in any part, let them be anathema ; in Christ Jesus our Lord, to whom be glory for ever. Amen."—*Summa Conciliorum, Paris edit., 1672.*

Thus the faith of the Catholic Church was fixed, and it has remained ever since unaltered. The opinions of Origen have from time to time revived, but only to be condemned, and too frequently, we must allow, to expose their abettors to pains and penalties which disgrace the orthodox party. The censure of Origen was repeated in various councils : for example, in the first Lateran, A.D. 649 ; in the Sixth General Council at Constantinople, A.D. 680 ; and in the Seventh General Council at Nice, A.D. 687.

The Paulicians are sometimes claimed as Universalists. The history of this people is obscure, and their tenets, as related to us by their persecutors, have probably been misrepresented. They claimed, as their name implies, to be an ancient Church, in doctrine the disciples of St. Paul. Their enemies assert that they were the descendants of the Manichees. About the year 660 we first discover this people in considerable numbers, spreading quietly from the neighbourhood of Samosata, in the upper region of the Euphrates, through Armenia, and to the north through Cappadocia and Pontus. They abhorred the use of images and relics, were simple in their rites, and suffered no ecclesiastical domination. Their preachers were distinguished by no titles, and they acknowledged no superiority but that of greater zeal or greater wisdom. Gibbon has written their history with a candour which Milner, the Church historian, has commended. He assumes their descent from the Gnostics, yet he admits that they condemned the memory and opinions of the Manichean sect, and he allows that their creed was simple and spiritual. They are said to have rejected the Old Testament, and some books of the New. For a hundred and fifty years they sustained a bloody persecution from the orthodox emperors of the East with patient and inoffensive meekness. At length they took up arms, about the year 845, and carried on a long and disastrous contest with their oppressors. They were driven into the Armenian mountains, where they remained for two hundred years in comparative quiet and repose. About A.D. 1100 they became known in Europe, a colony of them having been transported by

one of the Greek emperors into what are now the Danubian principalities. A strong though secret discontent was already generally provoked by the profligacy of the Church of Rome; and as the strangers made their way towards Western Europe, the humility of their demeanour and the simplicity of their faith gained many converts: and thus arose those various sects of mediæval times known to Protestants as Albigenses, Cathari, and Waldenses. By Roman Catholic writers they are always described as Manicheans, and they are especially denounced as holding the doctrine of universal salvation, or denying altogether the future punishment of the wicked. But the accusations of Rome are to be received with caution. Into what excesses a few vagrant spirits might wander we cannot tell. The Paulicians, and their successors the Waldenses, pleaded guilty to no such heresies: their books were destroyed, as they themselves were annihilated, in the unrelenting persecutions with which Rome distressed them. At this period the notion of a purgatory was generally entertained by the Romish theologians; and had the Paulicians avowed the doctrine of a final restoration of the lost to happiness it would probably, if not connected with more offensive tenets, have excited but little opposition. Their real crime was the simplicity of their faith. And without better evidence we cannot inscribe them in the catena of Universalism.

The English Lollards were charged with teaching, amongst other doctrines, that all the damned, even the demons, might become happy: and it is probable that some among them held these notions; for at a council convened at Canterbury in the year 1368, Archbishop Langham gave judgment against thirty propositions taught in his province, of which this was one. Vestiges of the opinions of Origen continue indeed to be met with in every kingdom in Europe down to the Reformation.

It is unnecessary to trace the progress of Universalism from the Reformation to the beginning of the nineteenth century. Its peculiar opinions were maintained by individuals, but we are not aware that they formed, in England or elsewhere, the creed of a denomination or sect. In every country they were extensively received by Unitarians, and occasionally by divines in other respects reputed orthodox. Of the latter class was Jeremiah White, once chaplain to Oliver Cromwell, and preacher to his Council of State. After his death was published his "Restoration

of all Things : a Vindication of the Goodness and Grace of God to be manifested at last in the Recovery of the whole Creation out of their Fall." This volume has been several times republished. The author was a Nonconformist and a Calvinist, and, according to his scheme, Universalism is made consistent with the Calvinistic creed. The work was not made public till the year 1712. About the same time similar doctrines were advocated by Dr. Thomas Burnet, Master of the Charter House, and afterwards by the Rev. William Law and others, of the mystic school of the Church of England. But their opinions made no progress. Soames Jenyns, Dr. Lettsome, Sir George Stonehouse, and other men of speculative minds, entertained and avowed these principles.

From the continent of Europe it would be easy to furnish a long list of names in favour of Universalism ; but in general they were neither the leaders of religious opinions, nor themselves men of earnest piety. Theirs were rather the speculations of unbelievers than the conclusions of deferential students of the Bible. The opinions of D'Alembert and Diderot are of no importance. Some exceptions there were no doubt, and amongst them the name of Lavater must not be omitted. The doctrine of Universalism, we are told, was a sentiment which this eminent philanthropist embraced with all the native fervour of his heart. In more recent times the name of the profound critic, Tholuck, must be added.

The father of the modern Universalists was James Rely, originally a friend and follower of George Whitfield. Rely began his ministerial career in Mr. Whitfield's, or Lady Huntingdon's, connexion ; but, gradually renouncing the doctrines he had once espoused, he taught that Christ, as a mediator, was united to mankind, and, by his obedience and sufferings, had as fully restored the whole human race to the divine favour as if all had obeyed or suffered in their own persons. Rellian Universalism, as it has been called, has the system of Calvin for its basis. A work of Mr. Rely's, entitled "Union ; or a Treatise on the Consanguinity and Affinity between Christ and his Church," is that by which he is best known. It has been more than once republished in America and this country. His creed is thus stated by one of his followers, Mr. Whittemore, in his *Modern History of Universalism* : "Jesus Christ had made satisfaction for all the

human race, and bore their sins in his body. Hence he knew nothing of inflicting the demands of justice upon the sinner. Sin is to be dreaded for the natural evils which it brings in its train, but not for the penalty of the Divine law, which we have all suffered to the full in the person of Jesus. Thus although Relly admitted the doctrine of partial suffering in the future state, he maintained that the state of unbelievers, after death, cannot be a state of punishment, because Jesus Christ, who hath tasted death for every man, bore the chastisements of their peace when the Lord laid upon him the iniquities of us all. He admitted the doctrine of misery in the future state only on the principle that while in unbelief men know not, nor believe, that Jesus hath put away their sins by the sacrifice of himself; and therefore they are oppressed with guilt and fear; and these are in proportion to their use or abuse of knowledge; to their receiving, or obstinately rejecting, the Divine evidences and demonstrations of grace and salvation. But he looked beyond all evil and misery, whether in this or the future state, to a time of universal restitution, when all mankind will be brought to know the Lamb of God who hath taken away the sin of the world."

Amongst the early converts of Relly was John Murray. For a time he was a preacher in Wesley's connexion, and after that, a member of Whitfield's congregation at the Tabernacle; but having joined the Universalists in 1770, he lost the confidence of his friends, and sought a home in America, where he is still regarded as the patriarch of Universalism. On the other hand, America furnished a successor to Relly in the person of Elkanan Winchester, who preached to his congregation in Southwark for some years with considerable success. At length the calamity happened to the Rellian Universalists which has again and again occurred in the societies of this sect. They quarrelled and broke up, the majority becoming Unitarians. Universalism in the metropolis, as the characteristic of a denomination, dwindled away, and at length became extinct about the year 1820.

There are at present three societies in Great Britain known as Universalists, which maintain in other respects orthodox sentiments, "all holding, and all rejoicing to hold, as essential tenets of Christianity, the supreme deity of Jesus Christ, the efficacy of his atoning sacrifice, the power of his resurrection, new creation by his Spirit through his word, the election of his

Church, and the inheritance of his kingdom by the members of that Church alone." These are, first a body at Glasgow, among whom are some of the friends and followers of Mr. Neil Douglas, who is regarded as the father of Universalism in Scotland. He was a pastor of the Relief Church in Dundee, but embracing Universalism in 1801, became for more than twenty years the active and laborious leader of the party whose cause he had espoused, or rather had called into existence. Second, a church at Plymouth, of which the Rev. William Seabrook is the pastor; and thirdly, a congregation in Crown-street, Liverpool, under the pastoral care of the Rev. David Thom, who has now presided over it for a period of above thirty years.

The principles maintained by the Liverpool Society are thus briefly stated by Dr. Thom (to whose courtesy we are indebted for much valuable information on the subject of this article) in a private communication to the Editor. "We love the leading doctrines of the Gospel, not as they appear in popular creeds, but as they are laid down in the Scriptures themselves. We know no teacher of Divine truth but the Holy Ghost himself, speaking to us and teaching us in and through the Holy Scriptures. Nevertheless we can love and admire the statements of divine truth which are to be found in the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, and in other publications, the leading views of which rest upon evangelical principles. To us Universalism is a truth, because God himself reveals it; but it is not to us the main truth. Hence we very seldom speak of it. Regeneration by the Spirit of Christ Jesus, admission into the enjoyment of his knowledge and love, and the fruits and effects which spring from the influence and operation of the truth, are our constant, as they are scriptural, themes." For a further statement of the views entertained by Dr. Thom, we must refer to his "Five Dialogues on Universal Redemption."

To trace minutely the progress of Universalism in the United States is beyond our limits. Murray landed in America in 1770, and there for the first time proclaimed the doctrine as a prominent theme, and in a public and decided manner. New Jersey was the scene of his first labours. Few at first supported him: his opinions, on the contrary, encountered great opposition. At length his converts became numerous. Societies sprang up in every direction. Conventions of Universalists were organized,

and long before his death, which occurred in 1815, Universalism in America had diffused itself to an extent, and had come to possess amongst its supporters an amount of talent, energy, and influence, calculated to give it a high standing among the religious denominations of the great transatlantic republic. Its followers amount to 650,000. Should the reader ask why a cause which advances so slowly in England should have triumphed in America, the chief answer, as supplied by an American Universalist, is this: "Here we have no national establishment to crush us."—*Rev. J. Sawyer, letter in Appendix to "Dialogues" by Dr. Thom.*

The American Universalists are now at variance amongst themselves. About the year 1840, after many bickerings, and the exhibition of much unpleasant feeling, they split into two subordinate divisions, denominated the Impartialists and the Restorationists. The former, who are by far the more numerous of the two bodies, deny the existence of an intermediate state of happiness and misery, the infliction of temporary torments, and the natural immortality of the soul; maintaining, that although there is a distinction between believers and unbelievers in time, this distinction, nevertheless, extends no further; the whole human family, after having died, continuing till the end of time in a state of unconsciousness, and then rising again all at once, and without any distinction, to the enjoyment of eternal life. The latter maintain the immortality of the soul, the existence of an intermediate state, torments inflicted upon the wicked during a longer or shorter period, the reign of the saints, and the ultimate restoration through them of all things by Christ. These, it will be seen, are the sentiments of the older Universalists. Unitarianism is now in America one of the leading features of Universalism.

Ballou: Ancient History of Universalism. Boston, U. S. 1829.
Whittemore: Modern History of Universalism, from the Reformation to the Present Time. Boston, U. S. 1830. *Dialogues on Universal Salvation, by David Thom, D.D. Second Edition.*
The Restoration of All Things, by Jeremiah White, Chaplain to Oliver Cromwell; with an Introductory Essay, by David Thom, D.D. The Universalist. London. 1850.

WESLEYANS; OR, WESLEYAN METHODISTS.—Few occurrences in Church history are of greater interest than the rise and progress of the Methodists. Their story is interwoven with the founder's life, a man whose character was of force enough to impress itself upon his own age, and to mould into new forms the religion of multitudes of his posterity.

Samuel Wesley, rector of Epworth, at the beginning of the last century, was the father of three sons; Samuel, born in 1692; John, in 1703; and Charles, in 1708. To John, the second son, assisted by Charles, the youngest, the Methodist societies owe their existence; Samuel took no part in the movement, of which, indeed, he strongly disapproved. The three were brought up at the University of Oxford, and received orders in the Church of England.

Their father, the rector of Epworth, was the son and grandson of clergymen of note. Their mother was the daughter of Dr. Annesley, an ejected minister. The rector's family, too, had been infected with dissent, for both his father and his father's father had retired from the Church under the fatal Act of Nonconformity of 1662, and taken up their lot amongst the Nonconformists. The rector of Epworth appears to have run into the other extreme. He was a high churchman, a man of great erudition, a leader in the polemics of the day, and an author of some renown. He published, in 1736, a folio volume, in Latin, of "Dissertations on the Book of Job." The dissertations are fifty-three in number, and they seem to have been meant to exhaust the subject. Everything connected with the patriarch, the times in which he lived, his language and country, the structure of the book which bears his name, its meaning and inspiration, the behaviour of his friends, and the tempers of his wife, are learnedly discussed. When his son John was one-and-twenty he wrote to him at college, desiring him "to render his assistance in an edition of the Holy Bible, in octavo, in the Hebrew, Chaldee, Septuagint, and the Vulgate," which, he says, "I have sometime since designed, and have made some progress in." Yet his sons, studious and learned as they were, grew up in ignorance both of the literature of the Nonconformists and of their history. John had been some years in orders, when, at the house of a friend, he met with "Calamy's Lives of the Ejected Ministers;" and for the first time, read in it the story of the zeal, and

the sufferings, of his own grandfather. The rector of Epworth spent much of his time in London, and was an active member of convocation at a period when convocation was important. His wife perceived with sorrow that the parish suffered in his absence, assembled his parishioners in her kitchen on Sunday evenings, and read a sermon and prayers with them. The rector wrote home in alarm to stay her proceedings; she defended her conduct in a letter, gentle, argumentative, and firm: "And where is the harm of this? If I and my children went a visiting on Sunday night, or if we admitted of impertinent visits, as too many do who think themselves good Christians, perhaps it would be thought no scandalous practice, though, in truth, it would be so; therefore, why any should reflect upon you, let your station be what it will, because your wife endeavours to draw people to church, and to restrain them, by reading and other persuasions, from their profanation of God's most holy day, I cannot conceive. But if any should be so mad as to do so, I wish you would not regard it. And yet," she adds, with great modesty, "there is one thing about which I am much dissatisfied; that is, their being present at family prayers. I do not speak of any concern I am under barely because so many are present, for those who have the honour of speaking to the great and holy God need not be ashamed to speak before the whole world, but because of my sex. I doubt if it be proper for me to present the prayers of the people to God. Last Sunday I would feign have dismissed them before prayers, but they begged so earnestly to stay I could not deny them. We had above two hundred, and yet many went away for want of room." But the rector was afraid of the charge of holding a conventicle, and, greatly to his wife's sorrow, her domestic ministrations closed, with a solemn protest on her part that she was free from the blood of her husband's flock.

From such a home the young Wesleys removed to the university, John having been first sent to the Charter-house, and Charles to Westminster. The seriousness of their deportment was observed, and their success perhaps excited some jealousy amongst their rivals. In 1726 John was elected fellow of Lincoln College; in the same year Charles was elected from Westminster to a studentship at Christchurch, and both distinguished themselves as men of no ordinary promise. In 1729 they began to spend a few evenings in the week together, with two friends, in reading

the Greek Testament and religious conversation ; their numbers were increased from time to time by the addition of several under-graduates their pupils, and by two names afterwards well known in the religious history of England, Hervey and George Whitfield. They now began to visit the prisoners in the Castle, and to attend the weekly sacraments in the college chapel. They read the works of Bull, Taylor, and Thomas à Kempis, and endeavoured, as they afterwards thought, in much ignorance, to exhibit a pattern of the Christian life in their own behaviour. They proceeded with humility and caution, consulting their father at every step, and obtaining the further sanction of the bishop of Oxford. Yet their conduct, in an irreligious age, was regarded by the whole university at first with suspicion and then with anger. A storm of ridicule broke over them ; they were called the Holy Club. " I hear," writes their father at Epworth, " my son John has the honour of being styled the ' Father of the Holy Club.' If it be so, I am sure I must be the grandfather of it, and I need not say that I had rather any of my sons should be so dignified and distinguished than to have the title of his Holiness." But they soon obtained a name by which they are far better known. Its meaning has been much disputed. John Wesley's own account of it, many years afterwards, is this :—" The regularity of our behaviour gave occasion to a young gentleman of the college to say, ' I think we have got a new set of Methodists,' alluding to a set of physicians, who began to flourish at Rome about the time of Nero, and continued for several ages. The name was new and quaint ; it clave to them immediately ; and from that time, both those four young gentlemen, and all that had any religious connexion with them, were distinguished by the name of Methodists." This passage occurs in a sermon preached on laying the foundation of the new chapel near the City-road, London, in 1777, in which there is the following sentence :—" But you will naturally ask what is Methodism ? What does the new word mean ? Is it not a new religion ? This is a very common, nay, almost universal supposition, but nothing can be more remote from the truth. It is a mistake all over ; Methodism, so called, is the old religion, the religion of the *Bible*, the religion of the *primitive Church*, and the religion of the *Church of England*." And these three points he proceeds to prove at large.

John Wesley remained at Oxford, with few intervals, till his father's death in 1735. His course in the university exposed him to constant insults from the young and thoughtless, and to a more determined opposition from the seniors. The living of Epworth was in the gift of the Chancellor, and he was urged by his friends to make application for it. His father, while living, added his importunities; but he was inexorable, believing, as he said, that he could do more good at Oxford. But a wider field opened, and tempted him abroad. Governor Oglethorpe had just founded Savannah, and concluded a treaty with the Creek Indians (the race has disappeared from the earth, it was then computed at 25,000 souls), for whose conversion he professed to feel great anxiety. At his request the two brothers undertook the mission to the Indians, and sailed in October, 1735, for the new province of Georgia. Their mission was unfruitful; they were not allowed to leave the colony and preach among the Indians, and their success as colonial chaplains was not great. They abandoned the mission, and returned home in 1738. From this period the history of the Methodists begins.

The Wesleys had hitherto held the opinions of the extreme high churchmen of that day, both in discipline and doctrine; they were now about to renounce them. In Georgia they had formed an intimate acquaintance with David Nitschman, a Moravian bishop, and other members of that community: the purity of whose lives, their constant cheerfulness in hardship and danger, and the simplicity of their faith, first attracted the admiration of John Wesley. The most prominent article of their creed was "justification by faith only; a faith which was the gift of God, and which wrought by love, producing all good works, through the Spirit, as its consequences." The Wesleys, according to their own statements, had lived hitherto in bondage under the law, seeking justification partly through the merit of good works, and especially through alms and sacraments. "But still," John says, "I was 'under the law,' not 'under grace' (the state most who are called Christians are content to live and die in), for I was only striving with, not freed from, sin. Neither had I the witness of the Spirit with my spirit, and indeed could not; for I sought it not by faith, but, as it were, by the works of the law."—*Journal*, vol. i. page 101.

He was now convinced, from a careful study of the Scriptures,

that his faith had been too much separated from an evangelical view of the promises of a free justification, or pardon of sin, through the atonement and mediation of Christ alone, which was the reason why he had been held in continued bondage and fear. The reading of Luther on the Galatians confirmed him in this view, as well as a more careful study of the articles and homilies. The definition of faith, as given by Cranmer in the latter, namely, "a sure trust and confidence which a man hath in God, that through the merits of Christ his sins are forgiven, and he reconciled to the favour of God," was much upon his mind; and in a short time both he and his brother Charles, inverting their former teaching, began everywhere to proclaim that salvation was to be sought and obtained, "not by the works of the law, but by the faith of Christ."

Before we quit the doctrinal views of the Wesleys, two points should be noticed in which the peculiarities of the Methodists consist, both of which were learned from the Moravians in the first instance, and both of which ever afterwards continued to influence their own ministry, and to mould the opinions of their followers.

1. The first of these is the instantaneousness of conversion. The sense in which this was held will be best explained by a short extract from the diary of the elder brother. "In the evening I went," says John Wesley, in his journal, "very unwillingly to a society in Aldersgate-street, where one was reading Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans. About a quarter before nine, while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone for salvation; and an assurance was given me that he had taken my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death." The experience of his brother Charles was very similar; and here we quote a passage from Moore's "Life of Wesley." "Mr. C. Wesley's knowledge of himself, and conscious want of peace with God on a foundation that cannot be shaken, furnished him with a key which opened the true meaning of the Scriptures. He saw the Gospel contained ample provision for all his wants, and that its operation on the mind is also admirably adapted to the human faculties. He now lost the pride of literature, and sought the kingdom of heaven as a

little child; he counted all things as dung and dross in comparison of it; and all his thoughts, his desires, his hopes, and his fears, had some relation to it. He was now brought to the birth. On Whitsunday, May 21st, he waked in hope and expectation of soon attaining the object of his wishes—the knowledge of God reconciled in Christ Jesus. At nine o'clock his brother and some friends came to him, and sung a hymn suited to the day. When they left him he betook himself to prayer. Soon afterwards a person came and said, in a very solemn manner, 'Believe in the name of Jesus of Nazareth, and thou shalt be healed of all thine infirmities.' The words went through his heart, and animated him with confidence. He looked into the Scripture, and read, 'Now, Lord, what is my hope? Truly my hope is even in thee.' He then cast his eyes on these words, 'He hath put a new song into my mouth, even a thanksgiving unto our God; many shall see it and fear, and put their trust in the Lord.' Afterwards he opened upon Isaiah xl. 1, 'Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith your God. Speak ye comfortably to Jerusalem, and cry unto her, that her warfare is accomplished, that her iniquity is pardoned: for she hath received of the Lord's hand double for all her sins.' In reading these passages of Scripture he was enabled to view Christ as 'Set forth to be a propitiation for his sins, through faith in his blood,' and received, to his unspeakable comfort, that peace and rest in God, which he had so earnestly sought."

"I cannot but believe," says John Wesley, in a sermon written late in life, "that sanctification is commonly, if not always, an instantaneous work." On this point modern Wesleyans entertain, and allow, a certain latitude. They admit that the work is itself progressive; they maintain that its beginnings are sometimes, though not always, instantaneous and perceptible.

2. The second peculiarity of Methodist doctrine was Christian perfection, or deliverance from all sin. In his earlier days Wesley spoke of the perfection which a Christian may attain, in a strain the correctness of which he afterwards saw reason to question. We quote again from one of his latest sermons. "First believe that God has promised to save you from all sin, and to fill you with all holiness. Secondly, believe that he is able thus 'to save to the uttermost all that come unto God through him.' Thirdly, believe that he is willing, as well as able,

to save you to the uttermost ; to purify you from all sin, and to fill up all your heart with love. Believe, fourthly, that he is not only able, but willing to do it now. Not when you come to die, not at any distant time, not to-morrow, but to-day. He will then enable you to believe it is done, according to his word ; and then 'patience shall have its perfect work, that ye may be perfect and entire, wanting nothing.' Ye shall then be *perfect*. The Apostle seems to mean by this expression *τελειοι*, ye shall be wholly delivered from every evil work, from every evil word, from every sinful thought ; yea, from every evil desire, passion temper, from all inbred corruption, from all remains of the carnal mind, from the body of sin ; and ye shall be renewed in the spirit of your mind, in every right temper, after the image of him that created you in righteousness and true holiness. Ye shall be *entire*, *ολοκληροι*, the same word which the Apostle uses to the Christians in Thessalonica. This seems to refer not so much to the kind as to the degree of holiness ; as if he had said ye shall enjoy as high a degree of holiness as is consistent with your present state of pilgrimage."—*Sermon LXXXIII.* Wesley's sermons form the standard of appeal on matters of doctrine in the Wesleyan Society.

With these altered views the Wesleys entered on their work. John had been a popular preacher in London, but he now found himself shut out, in succession, from almost every pulpit. In 1738, his friend Whitfield, who had also been in Georgia, upon a mission, had just returned home. A small society of earnest religious persons had been already formed in Fetter Lane, the seed from which the Methodist societies were afterwards to rise. Of this the Wesleys were members. At first they were associated with the Moravians, but as the latter fell into mystic notions, Wesley withdrew, and the two societies parted. "The first rise of Methodism," says Wesley, "was in November 1729, when four of us met together at Oxford ; the second was at Savannah in April 1736 ; the third at London on this day, May 1st, 1738." Their rules contain the germ of future Methodism. Whitfield had already begun his out-door ministry amongst the colliers at Kingswood, near Bristol ; and Wesley was not slow to follow his example, first in Bristol, then in London, and soon afterwards in many other parts of the kingdom. The impression they produced was marvellous. The crowds who thronged around them heard

for the first time of the realities of the world unseen ; or at least so heard as to be impressed. They were joined in the work by Howel Harris, a minister in Wales, "a man," writes Charles Wesley, "after my own heart." The congregations were immense. In the years 1739, 1740, and 1741, when the experiment was new, we meet continually, in Wesley's journal, with such entries as these : " Sunday, April 15 (at Bristol), explained at seven in the morning, to five or six thousand persons, the story of the Pharisee and the Publican. About three thousand were present at Hannam Mount. Between five and six we went to Rose Green. It rained hard at Bristol, but not a drop fell upon us, while I declared to about five thousand, 'Christ our wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption.' I concluded the day by showing the society at Baldwin Street that 'His blood cleanseth us from all sin.'" These were the labours of a single day. We might fill pages with similar quotations. In London, the favourite preaching grounds were Moorfields and Kennington Common. The hearers in general amounted to from five to ten, and even fifteen, thousand. In these labours Charles Wesley took his full share.

The moral sublimity of these scenes beggars description. Sometimes, it is true, the people were indifferent. Wesley records that he went, in company with Whitfield, to Blackheath, where twelve or fourteen thousand people were assembled. "I was greatly moved with compassion for the rich who were there, to whom I made a particular application. Some of them seemed to attend, while others drove away their coaches from so uncouth a preacher." He frequently began to speak amidst a shower of stones or more offensive missiles ; but the composure of his manner, and the music of his voice, charmed the few who listened, till their deep attention by degrees infected the rest. The mob, as he stepped out of his coach on one occasion, gathered round him, and closed him in : it was the opportunity he had long been looking for in that neighbourhood ; and he immediately "began to speak to those next to him of righteousness and judgment to come. At first not many heard, the noise around us being exceeding great. But the silence spread further and further, till I had a quiet and attentive congregation ; and when I left them they all showed much love, and dismissed me with many blessings." This was generally the case. "Many more," he relates,

after another sermon, "who came in amongst us like lions, in a short space became as lambs, the tears trickling apace down their cheeks who at first most loudly contradicted and blasphemed. "I wonder," he adds, in a style of remark not a little characteristic, "the devil has not wisdom enough to discern that he is destroying his own kingdom!" His courage and address frequently won the admiration of the most depraved, and those who came to mob the preacher flung off their coats to fight in his defence. Returning home one Sunday night, after preaching on Kennington Common, he found an innumerable mob round the door: the scene which followed he thus describes: "They opened all their throats the moment they saw me. I desired my friends to go into the house; and then, walking into the midst of the people, proclaimed 'the name of the Lord, gracious and merciful, and repenting him of the evil.' They stood staring at one another. I told them they could not flee from the face of this great God, and therefore besought them that we might all join together in crying to Him for mercy. To this they readily agreed. I then commended them to his grace, and went undisturbed to the little company within." In a few minutes a brawling crowd was brought upon its knees in solemn worship!

But in the country the Methodists had, as he expresses it, "hot service; the war against them being everywhere carried on with far more vigour than that against the Spaniards." At Devizes "the whole army of Satan" assaulted the house in which Charles Wesley was preaching. The mayor, for their encouragement, went out of the place, while the curate and two gentlemen, dissenters, having wrought them up to a proper pitch, the whole town became a scene of riot, and their lives were in the utmost danger. Charles Wesley expecting instant death "remembered the Roman senators sitting in the forum, when the Gauls broke in upon them, but thought it a fitter posture for Christians to be taken on their knees." The ruffians, unable to enter by the door, were already untiling the roof. The rest we tell in his own words: "I said, 'This is the crisis.' In that moment Jesus rebuked the winds and the sea, and there was a great calm. We heard not a breath without, and wondered what had become of them. The silence lasted for three quarters of an hour, before any one came near us, and we continued in mutual exhortation and prayer, looking for deliverance." At length the constable was

sent to offer terms of capitulation ; which were, that they should be safely escorted out of the town, if they would promise never to preach there again. Charles Wesley had all the courage, if not all the energy, of his elder brother. " My answer was, ' I shall promise no such thing ; setting aside my office, I will not give up my birthright as an Englishman, of visiting what place I please in his majesty's dominions.' " Of such visitors the magistrates were glad to be rid upon any terms. " We rode a slow pace up the streets, the whole multitude pouring along on both sides, and attending us with loud acclamations. Such fierceness and diabolical malice I have not before seen in human faces. They ran up to our horses as if they would swallow us, but did not know which was Wesley. We felt great peace and acquiescence in the honour done us, while the whole town were spectators of our march." Similar outrages occurred in Cornwall, in Yorkshire, and at Wednesbury in Staffordshire, where the Methodists were given up for several days to the license of a furious mob. The ' Whitehall Evening Post,' Saturday, February 18th, 1744, informs its readers that, " from a private letter from Staffordshire, we have advice of an insurrection of the people called Methodists, who, upon some pretended insults from the Church party, assembled themselves in a riotous manner, and having committed several outrages, proceeded at last to burn the house of one of their adversaries." " A Christian country !" exclaims John Wesley, in his journal, " where his majesty's innocent and loyal subjects have been so treated for eight months, and are now, by their wanton persecutors, branded as rioters and incendiaries !"

In the midst of such conflicts were the foundations of Methodism laid. Nor were these the greatest of the perils through which it had to pass. It was beset with dangers from the weakness and follies of some of its allies, and from the determined opposition of resolute and deeply-earnest men, who led public opinion, or swayed the councils of that section of the nation (small indeed it must be confessed), who felt the importance of religion. First of all Wesley had found it necessary to withdraw from his Moravian friends. He had been charmed at the beginning by their simplicity and purity. He was now disgusted with their mysticism, their exclusiveness, and their recent tendency to Antinomianism. He, therefore, published a protest

against their conduct and principles, and retired with his society in 1740 to the Foundry in Moorfields. He and his friends had never been members of the Moravian Church: they now withdrew from religious intercourse; and he began his ministry at the Foundry with seventy-two adherents. A more painful difference, to his own feelings, was that which existed between several members of the Wesley family and himself. His elder brother Samuel, now master of the grammar-school at Tiverton, was deeply offended by his preaching and conduct. In a letter written to their mother (who was now a widow) about this time, he laments, with great surprise, "that she should countenance this present delusion so far as to be one of Jack's congregation." He objected especially against his doctrine of assurance, and still more to those spiritual impressions, those sudden bursts of agony or joy, which frequently occurred amongst the hearers under the preaching of the early Methodists. "I am heartily sorry," he says, "such alloy should be found amongst such piety." Samuel objected, too, to the doctrine of justification by faith only, as set forth by his two brothers. Hall, a brother-in-law, opposed them with great bitterness; and his elder sister sent a sneering message to John, "since he had learned to cast out devils, to cast the devil of poverty out of her pocket." Their foes were those of their own household.

We have had occasion to remark elsewhere that the bishops were, during the greater part of the last century, more enlightened than the clergy. Archbishop Potter gave the two brothers a long interview, heard their statements, commended their zeal, and cautioned them to adhere in their preaching to the great essentials of the Gospel: other matters, he said, must be left to time and the providence of God. For this wise advice John Wesley expressed much gratitude in his latest years. Bishop Gibson of London also treated them with candour, though he did not encourage their irregularities: he cautioned them both against enthusiasm; and censured Charles, who had not yet thrown off his high-church education, for rebaptizing the infants of dissenters. From the parochial clergy, with few exceptions, they met with determined opposition, or with scorn and rudeness. Other difficulties arose from the French prophets, who raised some disturbance and gained some proselytes in the society. But the most painful, or at least the most disastrous, of the many

conflicts which threatened for a time the existence of the infant cause, was the rupture with Whitfield and the Calvinists. The quarrel was long and violent, and the spirit in which it was conducted was not very creditable to either party. This remark, however, applies with more force to the inferior combatants than the leaders in the fray. John Wesley always wrote and spoke severely, not to say harshly, on the subject of the Divine decrees. And there was a keenness in his style which was sure to sting the opponent it might not happen to convince. At the beginning of the controversy he published a sermon, in which, after charging the Calvinistic doctrines with folly, impiety, and blasphemy, he requests that he may be answered, not with railing accusations, but with argument and in the spirit of love. The request, though reasonable, was not likely to be granted; for the man who rails upon his adversary excites the evil passions which he professes to deprecate. Nor was all the fault on one side. The evil tempers which it elicited on both were deplored at the time by all who were not heated with passion, and the controversy remains on record a wretched instance of human infirmity. For a time the world exulted in the suicidal conflict; the reputation of the leaders suffered, and with it for a while their influence almost disappeared. Whitfield notes with sorrow that his congregations on Kennington Common were shrivelled to a handful in consequence of these disputes. But he had a loving heart, and a reverence for John Wesley which nothing could destroy. In his will he left memorials of his affection "to the two brothers, the Rev. Messrs. John and Charles Wesley, in token of my indissoluble union with them in heart and Christian affection, notwithstanding our difference in judgment about some particular points of doctrine." John Wesley preached his funeral sermon, in which he spoke of him with the reverence and affection due to so illustrious a name.

We may here offer a remark upon the theological system which the Wesleys had now adopted. It was evangelical Arminianism; and this became henceforward, as it still continues to be, the accepted creed of the Methodist societies. The Wesleys followed Arminius on all the points on which he differed from Calvin. At the same time there were several particulars on which they themselves differed from Arminius, such as the instantaneousness of sanctification, and the perfection attainable

in this life. John Wesley, still anxious to continue his union with Whitfield, drew up the following articles of peace. We believe that they represent his settled views upon the subjects in dispute, as he held them to the close of his life, and handed them down to his followers; only that, with regard to the admission contained in the last sentence, as to the necessary final perseverance of any of the elect, his friend and biographer, Mr. Moore, tells us that "he afterwards doubted of this." "Having for some time," says he, "a strong desire to unite with Mr. Whitfield, as far as possible, to cut off needless dispute, I wrote down my sentiments, as plain as I could, in the following terms:—

"There are three points in debate: 1. Unconditional election. 2. Irresistible grace. 3. Final perseverance.

"With regard to the first, unconditional election, I believe that God, before the foundation of the world, did unconditionally elect certain persons to do certain works, as Paul to preach the Gospel.

"That he has unconditionally elected some nations to receive peculiar privileges, the Jewish nation in particular.

"That he has unconditionally elected some nations to hear the gospel, as England and Scotland now, and many others in past ages.

"That he has unconditionally elected some persons to many peculiar advantages, both with regard to temporal and spiritual things.

"And I do not deny (though I cannot prove it so),

"That he has unconditionally elected some persons, thence eminently styled 'the elect,' to eternal glory.

"But I cannot believe,

"That all those who are not thus elected to glory must perish everlastingly; or,

"That there is one soul on earth who has not, nor ever had, a possibility of escaping eternal damnation.

"With regard to the second, irresistible grace, I believe that the grace which brings faith, and thereby salvation into the soul, is irresistible at that moment.

"That most believers may remember some time when God did irresistibly convince them of sin.

"That most believers do, at some other times, find God irresistibly acting upon their souls.

“ Yet I believe that the grace of God, both before and after those moments, may be, and hath been resisted ; and that in general it does not act irresistibly, but we may comply therewith, or may not.

“ And I do not deny,

“ That in those eminently styled ‘ the elect ’ (if such there be), the grace of God is so far irresistible, that they cannot but believe, and be finally saved.

“ But I cannot believe,

“ That all those must be damned in whom it does not thus irresistibly work ; or,

“ That there is one soul on earth who has not, and never had, any other grace than such as does, in fact, increase his damnation, and was designed of God so to do.

“ With regard to the third, final perseverance, I believe that there is a state attainable in this life, from which a man cannot finally fall.

“ That he has attained this who is, according to St. Paul’s account, ‘ a new creature ; ’ that is, who can say, ‘ Old things are passed away ; all things ’ in me ‘ are become new.’

“ And I do not deny,

“ That all those eminently styled ‘ the elect ’ will infallibly persevere to the end.”

The two Wesleys had now formed societies in London, Bristol, Newcastle, and other places. For their guidance a few simple rules were drawn up. “ There was only one condition previously required of those who desired admission into these societies—a desire to flee from the wrath to come, to be saved from their sins.” They were not therefore a Church, nor at this period were they meant to be so. They were merely an assembly of earnest-minded men, of various communions it might be, who met for mutual edification. But such a constitution could not last, and circumstances soon arose which cemented the original *societies* into one great *connexion*, and have since led it to assume the powers and the distinctive title of a *Church*.

These rules still remain in force, after the lapse of more than a century ; and the original character and design of Methodism cannot be more clearly or more briefly stated than in the terms in which they are expressed :—

“ 1. In the latter end of the year 1739 eight or ten persons

came to me in London, who appeared to be deeply convinced of sin, and earnestly groaning for redemption. They desired (as did two or three more the next day) that I should spend some time with them in prayer, and advise them how to flee from the wrath to come, which they saw continually hanging over their heads. That we might have more time for this great work, I appointed a day when they might all come together, which, from thenceforward, they did every week, viz., on Thursday in the evening. To these, and as many more as desired to join with them (for their number increased daily), I gave those advices from time to time which I judged most needful for them, and we always concluded our meetings with prayer suitable to their several necessities.

“2. This was the rise of the United Society, first in London, then in other places. Such a Society is no other than a company of men having the form, and seeking the power of godliness; united in order to pray together, to receive the word of exhortation, and to watch over one another in love, that they may help each other to work out their salvation.

“3. That it may the more easily be discerned whether they are indeed working out their own salvation, each society is divided into smaller companies, called classes, according to their respective places of abode. There are about twelve persons in every class, one of whom is styled the leader. It is his business,

“ (1.) To see each person in his class once a week, at least, in order

“ To inquire how their souls prosper ;

“ To advise, reprove, comfort, or exhort, as occasion may require ;

“ To receive what they are willing to give towards the support of the Gospel.

“ (2.) To meet the ministers and the stewards of the Society once a week, in order

“ To inform the minister of any that are sick, or of any that walk disorderly, and will not be reprov'd ;

“ To pay to the stewards what they have received of their several classes in the week preceding ; and

“ To show their account of what each person has contributed.

“4. There is one only condition previously required of those

who desire admission into those Societies ; viz., ‘ a desire to flee from the wrath to come, and be saved from their sins.’ But wherever this is really fixed in the soul it will be shown by its fruits ; it is, therefore, expected of all who continue therein, that they should continue to evidence their desire of salvation,

“ *First ; by doing no harm*, by avoiding evil in every kind, especially such as is generally practised ; such as

“ The taking the name of God in vain ;

“ The profaning the day of the Lord, either by doing ordinary work thereon, or by buying and selling ;

“ Drunkenness, buying or selling spirituous liquors, or drinking them, unless in cases of extreme necessity ;

“ Fighting, quarrelling, brawling ; brother going to law with brother ; returning evil for evil, or railing for railing ; the using many words in buying or selling ;

“ The buying or selling uncustomed goods ;

“ The giving or taking things on usury, viz., unlawful interest ;

“ Uncharitable or unprofitable conversation, particularly speaking evil of magistrates or of ministers ;

“ Doing to others as we would not they should do unto us ;

“ Doing what we know is not for the glory of God ; as,

“ The putting on of gold and costly apparel ;

“ The taking such diversions as cannot be used in the name of the Lord Jesus ;

“ The singing those songs, or reading those books, which do not tend to the knowledge or love of God ;

“ Softness and needless self-indulgence ;

“ Laying up treasure upon earth ;

“ Borrowing without a probability of paying, or taking up goods without a probability of paying for them.

“ 5. It is expected of all who continue in these Societies that they should continue to evidence their desire of salvation,

“ *Secondly ; by doing good*, by being in every kind merciful after their power, as they have opportunity ; doing good of every possible sort, and, as far as is possible, to all men ;

“ To their bodies, of the ability that God giveth ; by giving food to the hungry, by clothing the naked, by helping or visiting them that are sick, or in prison ;

“ To their souls, by instructing, reproofing, or exhorting

all we have any intercourse with, trampling under foot that enthusiastic doctrine of devils, that 'we are not to do good unless our hearts be free to it ;'

"By doing good especially to them that are of the household of faith, or groaning so to be ; employing them preferably to others, buying of one another, helping each other in business ; and so much the more, because the world will love its own, and them only ;

"By all possible diligence and frugality, that the gospel be not blamed ;

"By running with patience the race that is set before them, denying themselves, and taking up their cross daily ; submitting to bear the reproach of Christ ; to be as the filth and offscouring of the world ; and looking that men should say all manner of evil of them falsely for the Lord's sake.

"6. It is expected of all who desire to continue in these Societies that they should continue to evidence their desire of salvation,

"Thirdly ; by attending upon all the ordinances of God ; such are

"The public worship of God ;

"The ministry of the Word, either read or expounded ;

"The Supper of the Lord ;

"Family and private prayer ;

"Searching the Scriptures ; and

"Fasting or abstinence.

"7. These are the general rules of our Societies : all which we are taught of God to observe, even in His written Word, the only rule, and the sufficient rule, both of our faith and practice. And all these we know his Spirit writes on every truly-awakened heart. If there be any among us who observe them not, who habitually break any of them, let it be made known unto them that watch over that soul, as they that must give an account. We will admonish him of the error of his ways, we will bear with him for a season ; but then, if he repent not, he hath no more place among us. We have delivered our own souls.

(Signed)

"JOHN WESLEY.

"May 1st, 1743."

"CHARLES WESLEY.

The peculiarities of the Wesleyan polity now developed themselves. Lay preachers appeared. Maxfield, a zealous young man, of natural eloquence, was instructed by the elder Wesley to

meet the society in London during his own absence, to pray with them, and to give them such advice as might be needful. But he soon began to preach, and the people crowded to hear him. Wesley returned home displeased, quite resolved to rebuke the offender and to put a stop to his irregularities. He was prevented by the remonstrances of his mother, and he submitted with reluctance. Maxfield was soon followed in the field by John Nelson, a Yorkshire stonemason, who had come to London seeking employment—a man whose rude energies, whose strength of understanding, unassisted by human learning, whose athletic frame, and voice of thunder, shook many stout hearts whom Wesley's gentler notes had assailed in vain. A number of lay preachers, under the name of assistants and helpers, were now engaged in the work in various parts of the kingdom. By this time several clergymen had also united in the work. The number in the society was very considerable. There was in consequence a general desire for more visible union, and an urgent necessity for some general plan or system. The Wesleys invited the principal leaders in the great movement to assemble in London; and in June, 1744, the first Conference was held. Thus originated a body which has since exercised at least as great an influence on Christianity as any clerical synod since the general councils of the early Church. The business of this first Conference was comparatively simple and easily despatched. The different parts of the kingdom into which Methodism had fought its way, were now divided into *circuits*, to which certain *preachers*, who were laymen, were appointed for a given time, and then removed to other circuits. The superintendence of the whole was in the two brothers, but more particularly in the elder. Charles, indeed, never cordially entered into the scheme of a lay ministry; and as the preachers became more numerous and more important he grew still more dissatisfied. Wesleyan Methodism, as it afterwards existed, never had his cordial approbation. From this time, although he still continued to work affectionately with his brother in many points, John Wesley is to be regarded as the head and leader of the Methodists; and as such we shall speak of him through the remainder of these pages. The Conference of 1744 proceeded not on a preconceived plan, but, as they say in their minutes, "step by step, as circumstances suggested, and the way opened." The keen sagacity of Wesley

even now foresaw the danger of the ultimate separation of the societies from the Church of England when he and his coadjutors should be removed. The subject was discussed and the risk boldly confronted. The resolution of the Conference was, "We do, and will do, all we can to prevent those consequences which are supposed to be likely to happen after our death; but we cannot in good conscience neglect the present opportunity of saving souls while we live, for fear of consequences which may possibly, or probably, happen after we are dead." To this principle John Wesley adhered, and it is the key to his public conduct ever after. Charles, after some years, less steadily observed it, if indeed he did not abandon it. The interests of Methodism were dear to the elder brother; the discipline of the Church of England, especially as he advanced in years, was equally dear to Charles.

A remarkable feature in the economy of Methodism is the distribution of the societies into *classes*, each governed by its *leader*. They originated in the division of the society in London, at a very early period, into small sections, each of which was visited weekly by some zealous person appointed to collect subscriptions towards the erection of a chapel or preaching-house. Wesley immediately perceived the vast influence which such a system gave to those who conducted it, no less than the unanimity and compactness which it was likely to produce in the societies themselves. The class system was instituted. It was made a spiritual, and at the same time a confiding and confidential, meeting; it brought the circumstances of each individual, his spiritual conflicts, his religious progress or declension, under frequent review, or rather it placed it under a constant glare of light. The work assigned to the class-leader, in the first instance, was to see all the members of his class once a-week; to advise, reprove, or exhort, as occasion might require, and to receive what they were willing to give towards the relief of the poor. At first the leader visited each person at his own house. But as the societies increased, this was not always expedient or even practicable: it was agreed that those of each class should meet together once a-week. A class generally consisted of from ten to twenty members; and every member of the Wesleyan Society is supposed to be a member of one of these classes. An hour, or sometimes two, are spent in religious conversation,

the leader of the class investigating by direct interrogation the state of mind of each member, and concluding with prayer and praise. The leader makes from time to time a formal report of the state of his class, and of each member of it, to the preacher, his superior. The preacher, if necessary, carries it before a tribunal of his brethren; who again, if occasion should require, lay it before the Conference. Nothing can be conceived more perfect in its way than the discipline of which the class meeting is the foundation. Every Wesleyan lives from day to day under the inspection of the whole body. For good or evil the power with which it invests the governing body is enormous; it is such as no other Protestant Church possesses. On the other hand, wisely conducted, its utility is not to be overlooked. Wesley himself regarded it with peculiar favour. "It can scarce be conceived," he says, "what advantages have been reaped from this little prudential regulation. Many now happily experienced that Christian fellowship of which they had not so much as an idea before. They began to bear one another's burdens, and naturally to care for each other. As they had daily a more intimate acquaintance with, so they had a more endeared affection for, each other. And, speaking the truth in love, they grew up into Him in all things, who is the head, even Christ." *Works*, vol. viii. p. 254.

Thirty years passed away and the Methodist societies steadily increased. They were still subject to constant insults, and sometimes to real persecutions. But the work was vigorously taking root. In 1749, the chapels were vested in trustees; the number of circuits had increased to twenty-two; funds for the support of the preachers, and pensions for those worn out in the service, were established; and the whole economy of Methodism was in operation. In 1765, the circuits in England had increased to twenty-five. In Presbyterian Scotland there were four; in Wales, two; and amidst the Roman Catholics in Ireland, eight. And the total number of lay preachers, whose whole time was given up to the work, acting implicitly under Wesley's instructions, had risen to ninety-two. He now made a last effort to induce the pious clergy whom he knew, to join with him in promoting the influence of religion in the land. This was to be done without any sacrifice of principle, "each being still at liberty, as to outward order, to remain quite regular or quite

irregular, or partly regular and partly irregular." But as he still intended to retain his lay preachers and his own modes of action, the project failed; and from this time he seems, though still with reluctance, to have forced himself to contemplate the probability of a secession from the National Church. In 1777 Charles Wesley died; and in the same year Fletcher, vicar of Madeley; the two pillars on whom the founder of Methodism had chiefly leaned. But the cause was young and buoyant, and their loss did not stay its growth. Two greater calamities were, the growth of a wild fanaticism in London, in which Maxfield and George Bell rivalled the folly of the French prophets; and the revival of the Calvinistic controversy, provoked by certain Minutes of a Conference held in 1770, in which, in their zeal against antinomianism, the Methodists seemed to shake the foundation of justification by faith. Wesley explained the Minutes, or rather amended them, to the satisfaction of his opponents, the chief of whom was the Honourable and Reverend Walter Shirley, brother to Lady Huntingdon. But the quarrel never healed; and the greatest hindrance that Methodism has encountered arose out of this intestine feud.

The year 1784 is remarkable in the annals of Methodism. The Conference, its supreme ecclesiastical court, was formally constituted by a Deed of Declaration enrolled in the Court of Chancery. This important document is dated the 28th of February 1784. It is the great charter of Methodism. The genius of Wesley as an ecclesiastical legislator is resplendent in it. To the constitution which it embodies and prescribes, the astonishing vigour, the concentration and therefore the success, of the Wesleyan system, is in a great measure due. On the other hand, to the Deed of Declaration are owing the convulsions which have shaken the Wesleyan body to its centre, and which still threaten its prosperity, if not its existence.

The composition of the Conference is purely ministerial. It is defined to consist of preachers and expounders of God's holy word, commonly called Methodist Preachers. They are in number one hundred, and were originally appointed by the sole authority of John Wesley. As vacancies occur they are empowered to fill up their number by election, which is conducted by ballot. Any preacher who has been one year or upwards "in full connexion," is legally qualified to be elected, but the

choice in general is taken from the senior members of the connexion. The legal Conference, therefore, always consists of one hundred members; but, in point of fact, all ministers in full connexion may attend the Conference, join in the discussions, and even give their votes. In effect, there are two houses sitting in one chamber. To illustrate this, we may take the case of the election of the president and secretary. According to the deed, the Conference, that is the hundred, "shall choose a president and secretary out of themselves;" and this continued till the year 1814; since which period the privilege of voting in order to such nomination was conceded to all the preachers present who shall have travelled fourteen years and upwards, voting on this, as on all occasions, by ballot; and the candidates who may have the largest number of votes are to be considered duly nominated. The legal Conference of a hundred are then requested to elect the persons thus nominated by the general body. They may, however, negative their nomination; if they do so, another nomination immediately takes place; the result of which, in like manner, is submitted to the decision of the hundred, who are still the legal electors. Upon all other questions every preacher in full connexion, being first deputed by his respective district meeting, is now considered to possess an equal right with the hundred themselves to vote upon every question that may come before them; but this is a pure concession on the part of the hundred. The Conference assembles yearly at one of the great towns in England in succession; generally in London, Bristol, Leeds, Birmingham, Sheffield, Manchester, or Liverpool, where the societies are most numerous. The duration of the yearly sessions of the Conference, as determined by the deed enrolled in Chancery, shall not be less than five days, nor more than three weeks. During the intervals of its sessions, from year to year, the last president and secretary remain in office. And by a law in 1792 it was enacted that the same president should not be eligible for re-election till the term of eight years from the time of his former election. This was done to prevent the assumption of a power which might be dangerous in the hands of one individual; for during the vacation, as it may be termed, the authority of the president is in many cases absolute. From a "list of reserve," which, by order of the Conference, is left in his hands, he supplies any vacancies in the circuits which may be caused by the death of the preachers. He must sanction any

change of preachers which, by the decision of any inferior courts, it may be deemed necessary to make. He has a right, on the request of a party concerned, to visit any circuit, to inquire into their affairs, with respect to the state of religion and of Methodism, and, in union with the district committee, to redress any existing grievance. He is always ex-officio chairman of the district in which he is stationed during the year of his presidency. The president is expected to exercise the authority vested in him by determining, in conjunction with the superintendents of the place, where the next Conference shall be held, and naming the preachers who shall officiate in the principal chapels during the Conference. During its sessions the president is invested with the privilege and power of two members in all acts of the Conference; and this continues during his presidency.

In the legal Conference is vested the absolute right of appointing ministers to all the chapels in the connexion and removing them therefrom, the only limitation being that which is thus expressed:—"The Conference shall not, nor may, nominate or appoint any person to the use and enjoyment of, or to preach and expound God's holy word in, any of the chapels and premises so given or conveyed, or which may be given or conveyed upon the trusts aforesaid, who is not either a member of the Conference, or admitted into connexion with the same, or upon trial as aforesaid; nor appoint any person for more than three years successively to the use and enjoyment of any chapels and premises already given, or to be given or conveyed upon the trusts aforesaid, except ordained ministers of the Church of England."

These are, no doubt, extraordinary powers; the justification lies in the necessity of the case. A great number of chapels had sprung up, which, with scarcely an exception, were vested in trustees, the trust invariably stating that the ministers should be appointed by Messrs. John and Charles Wesley, or by "the Conference of the people called Methodists," after their death. Some of these deeds made no reference to any posthumous appointment, and the chapels would then have reverted to the trustees; nor was the Conference at present a body which the law could recognize. The chapels then, on Wesley's decease, would have belonged to the trustees, as patrons, and it was easy to foresee the consequence. Independency was inevitable, if not the dissolution of the trusts. The trustees, held together by no

common bond, would have acted as isolated companies. Some of them had already withdrawn from the Society, others were little qualified to judge of the fitness of candidates for the pastoral charge. They had no endowments to give, nor influence to raise contributions for the support of a minister. Several of the trustees had already expressed their intention of appointing whom they should think proper after Mr. Wesley's death. That men, not a few of whom had departed from the Society, and some had been expelled from it, should merely, from their legal authority over the premises, appoint preachers to instruct the flock, was to Wesley a distressing prospect; and even where they continued members of the Society, and attached to its interests, little could be expected, in a matter of such vital concern, from a body of men, engaged in secular business and often ill-educated. On these grounds it was, as Wesley himself declared, that he transferred all his rights to the Conference. "You see then," he says, in a pamphlet he put forth on the subject, "in all the pains I have taken about this absolutely necessary deed, I have been labouring not for myself (I have no interest therein), but for the whole body of Methodists, in order to fix them upon such a foundation as is likely to stand as long as the sun and moon endure; that is, if they continue to walk by faith, and to show forth their faith by their works, otherwise I pray God to root out the memorial of them from the earth."

Such are the secular powers committed to the Conference. Its spiritual authority is still more formidable. The eighth clause of the deed of 1784 runs thus:—"The Conference shall and may expel and put out from being a member thereof, or being in connexion therewith, or being upon trial, any person, member of the Conference, admitted into connexion, or upon trial, for any cause which to the Conference may seem fit or necessary; and every member of the Conference so expelled and put out shall cease to be a member thereof, to all intents and purposes, as though he were naturally dead." Equally unlimited are their powers of appointment and election. By the ninth clause, "The Conference shall and may admit into connexion with them, or upon trial, any person or persons whom they shall approve, to be preachers and expounders of God's holy word, under the care and direction of the Conference." This clause invests the Conference with an absolute and unqualified right to expel from its

communion, and of course from the communion of the Society, for any cause, which, in the serious and deliberate opinion of a majority of its members, may call for such a proceeding. The defenders of the Conference affirm that this power has never been exercised except for one or other of the following causes, immorality of life, unsoundness of doctrine, notorious deficiency of ministerial talents, or flagrant violations of the established discipline of the connexion; and they add, that to every accused party, whatever may be the nature of the charges preferred against him, their rules furnish all reasonable facilities for an impartial trial and an unprejudiced defence. It is enacted that no charge brought by one preacher against another shall be heard in the Conference unless previously examined in a district meeting, and that all charges shall be previously made known to the person accused, verbally or in writing. An appeal to any civil jurisdiction by any member who may think himself aggrieved by the district meeting, or other inferior courts, is a violation of the established rules of the Society, as well as of the law of the New Testament, and he who takes such a step forfeits his right of appeal to the Conference.

These rights are vigorously enforced. Every Wesleyan minister is under subjection to the Conference as the supreme tribunal. The minutes of the Conference are the laws of the connexion, and every preacher consents to them. "Act in all things," such are the instructions they contain, "not according to your own will, but as a son in the gospel. As such it is your part to employ your time in the manner we direct; partly in preaching and visiting from house to house, partly in reading, meditation, and prayer. Above all, if you labour with us in our Lord's vineyard, it is needful you do that part of the work which we advise, at those times and places which we judge most for his glory."—(*Large Minutes*, p. 18). The authority of the Conference extends alike to every preacher in the connexion. No name however honoured, no length of services, no office, can exempt from its control and jurisdiction. Its stated annual examinations respecting ministerial qualifications, character, and fidelity, extend alike to all, and every one is equally under its authority.

The constitution of the Wesleyan Conference has been much discussed beyond the limits of the Wesleyan body of late years,

and the extravagant eulogies of its admirers have been drowned in public censure. The subject will present itself to our notice again upon a later page. We may here observe that one difficulty still surrounds the inquiry, though volumes have been written upon it. Was the Conference designed by Wesley for a society of Christian laymen, who should still continue to be members of the Church of England or of other Churches? Or was it intended as the constitution of a Church? For, if the former, it may be conceded that the restraints were needful, and that the hardship was by no means great. Expulsion from a Society is a very different thing from expulsion from a Christian Church. The rules by which a body of Christian men, members of another Church, may choose to bind themselves in some common enterprise, may be few or many; they may be just or arbitrary; but while the parties consent to them they may still be useful, nay, sufficient for the purpose, though confessedly imperfect or capricious; but Church fellowship is a sacred matter: a body which exercises the right of excommunication must act on principles which are both scriptural and clearly defined; it must exhibit its credentials, showing that the head of the Church has himself empowered it to use the machinery it employs.

Wesley did not profess to establish a Church, but merely, to use his own favourite words, a Society or a Connexion. He refused to his preachers the title of reverend. He refused to permit them, except in special cases, to administer the Lord's Supper. He charged them, from time to time, with the utmost solemnity, never to forsake the Church of England; and he seized frequent occasions to express, in the most forcible terms, his own affection for it, and these were his sentiments to the last. Writing, in 1781, to Sir Harry Trelawney, he says, "You have need to be thankful on another account likewise; that is, your prejudices against the Church of England are removing. Having had an opportunity of seeing several of the Churches abroad, and having deeply considered the several sorts of dissenters at home, I am fully convinced that our own Church, with all her blemishes, is nearer the scriptural plan than any other in Europe." —(*Moore's Life*, ii. 282.) Did he then anticipate and provide for the secession of his followers? were his laws intended to supersede the discipline of the Church, or were they meant only

to be auxiliary to it? If we judge by his professions we must arrive at the latter conclusion; and yet, if we calmly weigh his conduct, we shall perceive that his mind wavered, and that his measures varied as his keen sagacity and foresight, or his traditional reverence for the Church, prevailed. But, on the whole, it appears most probable that the Conference was framed to meet an existing emergency rather than to provide a constitution for a future Church.

The first Conference, however, witnessed a proceeding which shows, beyond all question, that on some points of Church government the mind of Wesley had undergone a change. Several of his preachers had already, in 1770, entered on a mission in America. In 1773 they held their first little conference in Philadelphia, having about a thousand members in the different societies, and six or seven preachers. In 1777 there were forty preachers, and about seven thousand members in the societies, besides many hundreds of negroes. The preachers, when the war broke out with England, generally espoused the cause of the mother-country, and were obliged to fly. Many of them, refusing the oaths of allegiance to the states in which they laboured, were fined or imprisoned. The societies in consequence were destitute of the sacraments; they could neither obtain baptism for their children nor the Lord's Supper for themselves, from Baptist, Independent, or Presbyterian ministers, but on condition of joining their Churches; and almost all the clergy of the Church of England had left the country. The Methodists of America importuned their ministers to form them into a Church, that they might be, at least, no longer deprived of the Christian sacraments. Mr. Asbury, who was at the head of the mission, declining to do so, a majority of the preachers withdrew from him, and consequently from Mr. Wesley, and chose out of their own body three senior brethren to ordain others by the imposition of hands. Asbury and his party refused to acknowledge their orders, which, in fact, were soon afterwards declared invalid by a vote of one of their Conferences, and a reunion for a time took place.

The United States being now independent, Asbury laid these difficulties before Mr. Wesley, by whom they were submitted to the Conference. And now he proceeded another step; he ordained two missionary presbyters, being assisted in the admi-

nistration of the rite by Dr. Coke and Mr. Creighton, clergymen of the Church of England; and Dr. Coke himself he ordained superintendent, or bishop, giving him letters of ordination under his own hand and seal, and at the same time a letter, which we subjoin, and which he was instructed to print and circulate in America.

"To Dr. Coke, Mr. Asbury, and our Brethren in North America.

"Bristol, Sept. 10, 1784.

"By a very uncommon train of providences, many of the provinces of North America are totally disjoined from their mother country, and erected into independent states. The English Government has no authority over them, either civil or ecclesiastical, any more than over the states in Holland. A civil authority is exercised over them, partly by the Congress, partly by the provincial assemblies. But no one either exercises or claims any ecclesiastical authority at all. In this peculiar situation, some thousands of the inhabitants of these states desire my advice, and, in compliance with their desire, I have drawn up a little sketch.

"Lord King's account of the primitive Church convinced me, many years ago, that bishops and presbyters are the same order, and consequently have the same right to ordain. For many years I have been importuned, from time to time, to exercise this right, by ordaining part of our travelling preachers. But I have still refused, not only for peace' sake, but because I was determined as little as possible to violate the established order of the national Church to which I belonged.

"But the case is widely different between England and North America. Here there are bishops who have a legal jurisdiction. In America there are none, neither any parish ministers. So that for some hundred miles together, there is none either to baptize or to administer the Lord's Supper. Here, therefore, my scruples are at an end, and I conceive myself at full liberty; as I violate no order, and invade no man's right, by appointing and sending labourers into the harvest.

"I have accordingly appointed Dr. Coke and Mr. Francis Asbury to be joint superintendents over our brethren in North America; as also Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey, to act as elders among them, by baptizing and administering the

Lord's Supper. And I have prepared a liturgy, little differing from that of the Church of England (I think the best-constituted national Church in the world), which I advise all the travelling preachers to use on the Lord's day, in all the congregations, reading the litany only on Wednesdays and Fridays, and praying extempore on all other days. I also advise the elders to administer the Supper of the Lord on every Lord's day. If any one will point out a more rational and scriptural way of feeding and guiding those poor sheep in the wilderness, I will gladly embrace it. At present, I cannot see any better method than that I have taken. It has, indeed, been proposed to desire the English bishops to ordain part of our preachers for America. But to this I object:—1. I desired the bishop of London to ordain only one, but could not prevail. 2. If they consented, we know the slowness of their proceedings; but the matter admits of no delay. 3. If they would ordain them now, they would likewise expect to govern them. And how grievously would this entangle us? 4. As our American brethren are now totally disentangled both from the State and from the English hierarchy, we dare not entangle them again either with the one or the other. They are now at full liberty simply to follow the Scriptures and the primitive Church. And we judge it best, that they should stand fast in that liberty wherewith God has so strangely made them free.

“JOHN WESLEY.”

Thus an episcopal Methodist Church was founded in America, its orders derived from John Wesley. The proceeding was warmly canvassed at the time, and amongst the Methodists themselves the wisdom, and even the propriety, of the measure was by no means universally allowed. If, said the dissatisfied party, episcopacy be a superior order, the bishop cannot be ordained by a presbyter, for then the less ordains the greater, and all order is inverted. If they be equal, Dr. Coke has the same right to ordain Mr. Wesley that Mr. Wesley has to ordain Dr. Coke. The latter objection is thus answered by a zealous follower of Wesley: “If this should be granted, what will it amount to? As presbyters of the Church, they had, certainly, the same right to ordain; and if Dr. Coke had been the father of that great work which is called Methodism, he would in that case

have had a right to ordain Mr. Wesley to superintend any part of that work. But Dr. Coke was not the father of that work; he was still a babe, a son in the Gospel, but remarkable for zeal and activity. His education, rank in life, and station in the established Church, pointed him out, however, as a proper person to be employed in that new and very delicate situation in which the Methodists were placed by the recent revolution in America. The Doctor certainly needed all the authority and influence which Mr. Wesley could give him; and if he chose to give it to him according to the forms of the Church of England, which he loved, and which is so truly venerable, who has a right to find fault with him?"—*Moore's Life of Wesley*. The true anomaly, as candidly stated by Mr. Watson, in his life of Wesley, was that a clergyman of the Church of England should ordain, in any form, without separating from that Church and formally disallowing its authority; and yet, if its spiritual governors did not choose to censure and disown him, it would be hard, he thinks, to prove that he was under any moral obligation to withdraw from it. The bishops did not institute proceedings against him, and he did not feel that his own conduct was inconsistent with a certain allegiance to the Church. "I firmly believe," he says, some years before to his brother Charles, "that I am a scriptural *ἐπίσκοπος*, as much as any man in England; for the uninterrupted succession I know to be a fable, which no man ever did or can prove. But this does in no wise interfere with my remaining in the Church of England; from which I have no more desire to separate than I had fifty years ago." Charles adhered to the opinion that bishops were a higher order in the Church, and of divine appointment; and hence he strongly disapproved of all his brother's ordinations. Charles was then upon the borders of the grave, and the spirit in which the two brothers at length agreed to differ does honour to their principles. "I walk still," says John to Charles, "by the same rule I have done for between forty and fifty years. I do nothing rashly. It is not likely I should. The heyday of my blood is over. If you will go hand in hand with me, do. But do not hinder me, if you will not help. Perhaps, if you had kept close to me I might have done better. However, with or without help, I creep on. And as I have been hitherto, so I trust I shall always be, your affectionate friend and brother." To this, Charles responded: "I thank you for your intention to

remain my friend. Herein my heart is as your heart. Whom God hath joined let not man put asunder. We have taken each other for better for worse, till death us do part! no—but eternally unite. Therefore, in the love that never faileth, I am your affectionate friend and brother, Charles Wesley.”

John Wesley was highly displeased when he found that Coke and Asbury assumed the title of bishops. He had enjoined the Doctor and his associates, and in the most solemn manner, that it should not be taken; he would have simply called them superintendents. When he found that they made use of the episcopal style and title, he was greatly hurt, and rebuked them sharply. “I study to be little,” he writes to Asbury; “you study to be great. I creep; you strut along. I found a school; you a college; nay, and call it after your own names (Cokesbury College, from the names of its founders, Coke and Asbury). One instance of your greatness has given me great concern: how can you, how dare you, suffer yourself to be called bishop? I shudder, I start at the very thought! Men may call me a knave or a fool, a rascal, a scoundrel, and I am content; but they shall never, by my consent, call me bishop. For my sake, for God’s sake, for Christ’s sake, put a full end to this! Let the Presbyterians do what they please, but let the Methodists know their calling better.” But the American Episcopal Methodist Church asserted its independence and still retains its title. Its bishops are plain and simple in their manners, they claim no superiority of order, and are distinguished from their brethren only by their office as superintendents, which is regarded as an extension of that of elder or presbyter, but creates no other distinction. Dr. Coke returned to England, and though a bishop in America, he neither used the title nor made pretensions to the office at home. Some time after this, Wesley appointed several of the English preachers, by imposition of hands, to administer the sacraments to the societies in Scotland. But he steadily refused to give this liberty to his preachers in England; and those who administered the sacraments in Scotland were not permitted to perform the same office in England on their return. Though now satisfied of his power as a presbyter to ordain for such an administration, he refused, not merely, as he said, for the sake of peace, but because he was determined as little as possible to violate the established order of the national Church to which he

belonged. Between the preachers whom he ordained by imposition of hands and those, the great majority, who were merely appointed to the ministry by the vote of Conference, he made no distinction. As the father and founder of the connexion, his power was absolute. A few of the preachers received ordination from a Greek bishop then in England; but Wesley, though he admitted that the Greek was a true bishop, forbade them to administer. He suspended, or dismissed for misconduct, the ordained and unordained alike; and at length he instructed one of the preachers to baptize and administer the Eucharist in particular circumstances, although he had no other ordination than his being received into full connexion at the Conference like the rest; and he allowed two others to assist him in administering the sacrament in Dublin, to the great offence of the Church people there. In short, he can be no longer regarded as a consistent churchman, and his defence of his own conduct is embarrassed with inconsistencies. The ablest of all his apologists, Mr. Watson, admits, "it must be conceded, that, however faithful he was in abiding by his leading principle of making mere adherence to what was called "regular," give place to the higher obligation of doing good, he was sometimes apt, in defending himself, to be too tenacious of appearing perfectly consistent."

Charles Wesley died at the age of seventy-nine, in 1788, and was borne to the grave, respected by good men of every name, by eight clergymen. His attachment to the Church of England was sincere and ardent; he had a noble and generous disposition, great zeal, and with it great disinterestedness. His taste was exquisite, and some of his hymns are amongst the best that we possess. He was a satirist, and had he indulged his vein might have stood high amongst authors of that formidable class. His brother's lay-preachers with their occasional airs of consequence were sometimes the subject of his verse, and hence he was by no means a favourite with the elder Methodists, his contemporaries. He was overshadowed through life by the reputation of his greater brother. Thus Charles Wesley is one of those superior men whose renown has always been less than his deserts.

John Wesley himself soon followed his brother. He died on the 2nd of March, 1791, in the eighty-eighth year of his age. His character has been often drawn by friends and foes. The record of his labours preserved in his own journals, in which too are

noted down without reserve his opinions upon men, and books, and passing occurrences, furnishes one means of investigation. Another is supplied by his known conduct and the actions of his life; and a third by the opinions of his contemporaries. Judging from all these sources we assign at once to Wesley, besides fervent and apostolic piety, the characteristics of great natural talents, an energy almost without a parallel, pure disinterestedness, except that it was tinged with a love of power, and a capacity for government such as only the greatest minds possess. His mental infirmities are too obvious to escape notice. He was credulous as a child whenever some favourite theory required the support or confirmation of a tale of wonder. That his rule was arbitrary perhaps detracts nothing from his merit; it was the discipline which his societies required; it was suited to the circumstances and the men he governed. Under any other system early Methodism would have burst its bonds and perished in the infancy of its precocious liberties. His wisdom as a legislator, if estimated by the immediate success of his societies, was very great; if by the disruptions which have since occurred, and which rend them still, it is more questionable. But here again the question returns upon us,—has the machinery which he set up been employed for the purposes for which he meant it? or has the discipline which he intended for a Society been made use of for a Church? If a scheme designed for one purpose is made use of for another, its contriver is not to blame although it fails. Upon this point the elder Wesleyans themselves were never of one mind. Some of the personal friends of Wesley maintaining that the Conference was meant to be a secular body and the preachers laymen; while others claimed for it all the rights and functions of a supreme clerical synod, or general council. With the one party the Methodists were a Society, with the other a Church.

That his piety was sincere none will now deny; and in his private life the graces of the Christian character were displayed in high perfection. He rose early, and frequently preached to large congregations at five in the morning, at which hour he had for many years a stated service in the chapels in London. No man was ever more anxious “to redeem the time.” Scarcely a moment of the day was lost. He was methodical and diligent. Sickness and languor he knew only by report, or by his pastoral

visitations. He was not only the most frequent preacher, but the most voluminous author of his times, although he travelled in general, for half a century, and for the most part on horseback, four or five thousand miles a year. His attainments as a scholar would alone have entitled him to high respect. In Greek his knowledge was perhaps not inferior in extent or accuracy to that of the best scholars of his age. Latin he wrote and spoke with remarkable fluency to the end of his life; his conversations with Zinzendorf, recorded in his diary, will satisfy the reader at once of his logical and classical ability. At the University he studied Hebrew and Arabic. In Georgia he conducted public worship both in French and Italian, and he offered to render the same service to a regiment of Germans at Newcastle-on-Tyne during the rebellion of 1745. He was an admirable disputant, for his style was clear and well arranged, and his arguments transparent. But he wanted courtesy and gentleness. Like Baxter he provoked his opponents by the keenness of his sarcasms, and then, like Baxter, he complained of their want of generosity and candour, and sighed for peace. As a preacher he was by no means so popular as Whitfield; but his sermons, less impassioned and less eloquent, were more full of thought. Wesley appeals to the understanding before he assails the conscience. He unfolds the text, analyzes, explains, and defends it, always in a lucid manner, sometimes with learning and critical skill; and then he proceeds to enforce its lessons on the life and heart. He impressed and instructed thousands who never joined his societies or accepted all his doctrines. His influence was not confined to his own societies; and he was the chief instrument whom God raised up for the revival of religion in an age when true piety, by the confession of all parties, was almost extinct.

He had in a rare degree the faculty of selecting fit agents for his work. The elder preachers of his connexion, who shared his early toils and triumphs, were men only less remarkable than their leader. Many of them survived far into the present century, and they are still remembered in the north of England as venerable men of simple manners, strong sense, and earnest piety. They had seen and observed much: in old age they delighted to recount their perils, and tell, often with the richest humour, of their past adventures. To the children of the family, the visits of these worn-out soldiers of Methodism were

always grateful ; and those who remember them will have conceived a high respect for that master-mind which could choose such agents, direct their work, and hold them in complete subjection. Their reverence for Wesley,—expressed in tones subdued and reverential whenever his name was mentioned,—in the repetition of his sayings, the imitation of his manner, the almost childish delight with which each loving word, each token of his affection was repeated, all this bespoke a homage such as men have seldom, in these later ages, paid to their fellow-men. It was such as we may suppose the disciples of an apostle paid to their teacher in the primitive Church.

The death of its founder was a crisis in Methodism. During his life he had exercised more than episcopal authority. He had a power of legislation at the head of the Conference (which had never been known to resist his will) that was subject to no control. He had been recognised as the spiritual father of the whole community. In all disputes, whether in the body of the preachers or amongst the societies, the final appeal was to him ; and he decided the case according to existing rules, if such were in existence ; if not, upon his own discretion. The Conference assembled at Manchester after his death declare, “that they found themselves utterly inadequate to express their ideas on this awful and affecting event.” “Their souls,” they say, “do truly mourn their great loss, and they trust they shall give the most substantial proofs of their veneration for the memory of their most esteemed father and friend, by endeavouring, with great humility and diffidence, to follow and imitate him in doctrine, discipline, and life.” If such poignant grief should seem extravagant on the death of an old man of eighty-eight, full of honour and of years, the anxiety at least was real. The Conference, accustomed hitherto to listen with implicit docility to the instructions of its great dictator, and to register his decrees, felt the depression of a bereaved and desolate child. And in truth its difficulties were formidable. The rights of the trustees, and the demand of the laity to a share in their deliberations, were now stoutly urged, and must be strenuously resisted. Involved in this was the higher question whether Methodism should claim to be a Church, assuming its functions of ordaining ministers, dispensing sacraments, and administering ecclesiastical discipline ; or whether it should contentedly remain, if that indeed were possible, a mere

Society, such as Wesley contemplated in 1742. Thirdly, the discipline must be, to some extent, remodelled; and new powers created to supply the want of that wholesome authority which one strong hand had hitherto impressed. It was a task from which the greatest of the canonists might have recoiled. A few plain men, of simple minds, boldly attempted what has proved to be the greatest enterprise in the ecclesiastical history of modern times, and constructed another Church in the heart of Protestant England. They were neither aware of the greatness of the work, nor of the difficulties which would arise out of it.

The societies were in a state of insubordination. The trustees, on whom Wesley had settled the chapels built through his exertions, threatened a secession, and demanded a seat in the Conference. The people clamoured for the sacraments. Those on the contrary who adhered to the Methodism of Wesley's early years, protested against any change. The elements of disorder were thoroughly at work; and that Methodism did not expire with its founder, and was not buried in his tomb, is owing to the Conference of 1795. It assembled at Manchester, and drew up a Plan of Pacification, by which, for a time, the breach was healed. This Act of Pacification is, in fact, the constitution of the Wesleyan Church, and therefore demands a careful and patient consideration. It embraces three points:—the position of the laity, and especially of the trustees; the organization of a Church; and the institution of such further discipline as the circumstances of the case required.

As the title imports, it was a compromise; and this as regards the trustees on the one hand, and the Church of England on the other. The ministry of the word the Conference had always claimed. The administration of the Lord's Supper by the preachers was now sanctioned; and therefore by this act (according to the judgment and practice of the reformed Churches) they asserted their claims in the full sense to the ministerial office; and, in effect, constituted themselves a Church. But the sacrament was to be administered by those only who were authorised by the Conference, and at such times and in such manner only as the Conference should appoint. It was always to be administered according to the form of the Established Church; but the person who administered had liberty besides to give out hymns, and to use exhortation and extempore prayer. Both the sacraments

were to be given only to members of their own society, or their children. The majority of the Conference at this time, and long afterwards, retained a warm affection to the national Church. "We agree," say they, "that the Lord's Supper be administered among us on Sunday evenings only, except where the majority of the stewards and leaders desire it in church hours, or where it has already been administered in these hours. Nevertheless, it shall never be administered on those Sundays on which it is administered in the parish church." And, further, whenever Divine service was performed in the chapels in England in church hours, which could only be done by special consent of the Conference, the officiating preacher was instructed to read either the service of the Church, or Wesley's abridgment of it, or at least the lessons appointed by the calendar; but the Conference recommend either the full service or the abridgment. Wesley had himself allowed of service in church hours under certain circumstances, which are thus stated in the minutes of the Conference in 1786. 1. When the minister is a notoriously wicked man. 2. When he preaches Arian, or any equally pernicious doctrine. 3. When there are not churches in the town sufficient to contain half the people. And 4, when there is no church at all within two or three miles. As we have seen, he had also ordained some of his preachers under peculiar circumstances, and authorised their administration of the sacraments; the Plan of Pacification is therefore to be regarded rather as the development of primitive Methodism than as the establishment of an original constitution. Strange as it may seem, the administration of the sacraments was a concession made by the Conference to the people. The elder preachers, trained in Wesley's sentiments, were far more anxious to extend religion than to form a Church. The warning of their venerable friend against the perils of secession was still ringing in their ears; and greatly as the change would contribute to their own importance, they proceeded with hesitation, some of them with reluctance. And, after all, "the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was never to be administered in any chapel except a majority of the trustees of that chapel on the one hand, and the majority of the stewards and leaders as best qualified to give the sense of the people on the other hand, allow of it, and in all cases the consent of the Conference shall be first obtained." An additional law was added, thus: "The Conference by no means

wishes to divide any society by the introduction of the Lord's Supper ; and therefore, except that a majority of the stewards and leaders who desire the Lord's Supper among themselves testify in writing to the Conference that they are persuaded that no separation will be made thereby, they will not allow it."

The claims of the trustees and lay members of the Society were settled in the following manner. It had all along been a fundamental rule in Methodism that the preachers should travel from place to place, never remaining more than three years in one circuit, nor (though this was a subsequent arrangement) returning to the same place within eight years. Wesley considered itinerancy to be essential to his success. He pleaded for it the example of the primitive Church and the Saxon bishops, as well as that of the Reformation. "We were not the first itinerant preachers in England. Twelve were appointed by Queen Elizabeth to travel continually, in order to spread true religion through the kingdom, and the office and salary still continue, though their work is little attended to. Be the preacher's talents ever so great, they will, ere long (that is, if fixed to one particular charge), grow dead themselves, and so will most of those that hear them. I know, were I myself to preach one whole year in one place, I should preach both myself and most of my congregation asleep. Nor can I believe it was ever the will of our Lord that any congregation should have one teacher only. We have found by long and constant experience that a frequent change of teachers is best." While he lived, the societies cheerfully acquiesced in the appointments made by Conference, that is, by Wesley himself. His wonderful sagacity enabled him, with a precision which no Conference could reach, to single out the fittest instruments for the work in hand, and to suit each chapel with the preacher best suited for the flock. But the trustees were not unnaturally anxious, now that he was gone, to have some share in the selection of their own ministers.

The Plan of Pacification met their solicitations thus. First, it asserted the absolute right of the Conference to appoint, and the inability of the trustees to expel or exclude the preacher so appointed. But, secondly, it called into existence a new court, entitled a district meeting, of which the trustees were members ; and it operated thus :—If the majority of trustees or other officers

believed that any preacher, appointed for their circuit, were immoral, erroneous in doctrine, deficient in abilities, or contumacious of the laws of Methodism, they had authority to summon the preachers of the district and all the trustees, stewards, and leaders of the circuit, and place the accused upon his trial. Each member having an equal vote, except the chairman (who was always to be the chairman of the district), to whom, when necessary, a second casting vote was given. If a majority condemned the accused party, he was at once suspended by the district committee, not only from the chapel in question, but from all public duties; but only till the next Conference, to whom the case was always to be remitted for final adjudication.

To the constitution thus sketched out the great majority of the Methodists have ever since adhered. The Plan of Pacification is regarded as indicating the rights and duties both of the clergy and people. From this point of time the Methodists became a Church. Yet, when separation from the National Church took place, it assumed, to use the language of Mr. Watson, the mildest form possible, and was deprived of all feelings of hostility; it did not, in any great degree, result from the principles assumed by Dissenters on the subject of establishments. A considerable number of the Methodists actually continue in communion with the Church of England to this day. All her services and her sacraments may be observed by any member of the Wesleyan society who chooses it; and they are actually observed by many. Methodism did not rush down, but gently glided into a state of partial division from the Church; and this, by neither arousing passion nor by exciting discussion on abstract points of Church polity, has left the general feeling of affection to all that is excellent in the establishment unimpaired. Indeed, it is only within the last twenty years that the Wesleyans have begun to speak of themselves as a Church. Previously, they styled themselves a society or connexion, and much was written, and often with warmth, to prove that neither the Plan of Pacification nor any later act or document, showed a disposition to assert the rights of independent churchmanship. This, however, was a mere strife of words: the Methodists retained the doctrines of the Church of England, but they added a supplementary discipline which was all their own. There was an apparent want of candour in professing warm attachment to the Church of England,

while her episcopal functions, so far as Methodism was concerned, were superseded by a Presbyterian Conference. This, however, now belongs only to the past. The Wesleyans of the present day assert their independence: "Methodism," they say, "forms a Christian Church complete within itself. Convenience and truth alike require that we should be thus designated, rather than by secular and equivocal words, which are not suitable to the exact propriety of language. Connexion is a mercantile expression, community is monastical, society is deceptive, for there are societies political as well as religious. Much less are we a sect, for a sect is the fragment or section of a larger body, to which it always bears some relation. We are nowhere dominant, nowhere in subjection, nowhere a sect, but a Church wherever we exist. The Wesleyan community is distinctly, independently, and perfectly a Church."—*Dr. Rule, On Wesleyan Methodism considered as a Church.*

Thus was Methodism constituted and settled soon after its founder's death. A few changes have since been made, to which we shall have occasion to refer, but none of them affect its leading principles. We shall now attempt to place at one view before the reader's eye, a general outline of the Methodist Church, directing our attention first to its functionaries and ministers, with their several offices; secondly, to the constitution of those inferior courts, by which, in submission to the Conference, the whole is governed; and thirdly, to its modes of worship and religious observances.

Every Wesleyan in society, being a member of some class, the office of class-leader is one of great importance. Their numbers alone would give them influence, since they are by far the most numerous officers in the whole communion. Besides acting as spiritual advisers to the members of their own classes, they have great influence in the management of the Church. No single person can be received into the Society, to whom they formally object; nor can an individual be excluded from the Society, in the ordinary course of things, without their concurrence, which is equally necessary when a leader is to be removed from office, or a new one appointed. Their influence and authority are in some respects greater than that of the ministers themselves; for in addition to that which the letter of the law confers, they have a local influence which the travelling preacher does not possess. The Wesleyan minister, removing every two or three years, sel-

dom acquires local influence ; he is admired for his talents or revered for his piety, but the affections of the flock are soon transferred to another pastor. Local influence throws its weight into the scale of the leaders, rather than into that of the preachers ; and in them the Conference has sometimes met with its most formidable rivals. Many females are class-leaders, the class consisting of their own sex.

The local preachers are next in order in the ascending scale. They occupy a distinguished position in the Wesleyan constitution. They are laymen, and are so considered, and their services are perfectly gratuitous. They do not administer the sacraments, nor officiate beyond the circuit in which they have received their appointment. In general they are engaged in secular affairs, and aspire to no higher office. By means of their exertions, services are performed in remote hamlets or school-rooms, or even in the largest chapels in the absence of the regular preacher ; and with regard to most of them, the esteem of those who benefit by their labours is the only distinction they enjoy. But since no person can be taken into the regular ministry who has not given some proof of his fitness, in the capacity of a local preacher, their body has the honour of filling up the ministerial ranks ; it is the last step towards the clerical office, and a necessary preparation for it. During the last thirty years, several academies or colleges have been founded, in which young men of promise are educated for the ministry. This, to some extent, has modified the usage with respect to local preachers. The students, however, are still disciplined for the work by previous exercises. They are sent out on the Lord's day into the neighbouring towns and villages to expound and preach, and are, in fact, while students, a body of local preachers at the same time.

There are also stewards, treasurers, and trustees. These are all laymen, and take an active part in the administration of the temporal affairs of the Church. The stewards receive from the class-leaders every week, the sums of money contributed by their several classes, with an exact account of what amount each person has contributed. Every member of the Society is expected to contribute something, and the money thus raised is expended in the support of the preachers, and of the cause of Methodism in general. The stewards are appointed by the leaders, with the approbation of the superintendent, or senior minister, of the district. The stewards deliver the collections

once in three months to a circuit steward. The circuit stewards are appointed by the leaders of the whole circuit.

The trustees, as we have shown, can neither appoint nor eject the minister. They manage all the temporal concerns of the chapel, and are the legal guardians of the property. They receive the pew-rents, but they have no personal or private estate in the chapels. These are strictly speaking *res sacræ*, not the property of any party. Should the Conference at any future time dwindle away, so that not thirty members remain, the chapels, by the deed of 1784, would revert to the trustees. In the meantime, they hold them upon trust, "to suffer and permit such persons as shall be appointed by the yearly Conference, and no others, to have and enjoy the said premises, therein to preach and expound God's holy word." Many of the chapels are built with borrowed money; for these loans the trustees are responsible, and they receive the rental of the pews as their security.

The Wesleyan clergy, generally styled in official documents preachers, or travelling preachers, are examined and ordained by the Conference. The candidate must, in the first instance, be recommended from the circuit in which he has officiated as a local preacher. This recommendation must come from the superintendent, and it cannot be given without the consent of a district meeting, composed of the officers of the Church. If admitted by the Conference, he undergoes a probation or diaconate of four years, during which period he is occupied in the work of the ministry, but he may not administer the sacraments, nor can he be a superintendent. If approved, he is then received into full connexion, and ordained a Presbyter. Before the year 1836, the candidate was admitted or ordained by a simple vote, without the laying on of hands. The Conference then passed the following resolution:—"The Conference, after mature deliberation, resolves, that the preachers who are this year to be publicly admitted into full connexion, shall be ordained by imposition of hands, that this shall be our standing rule and usage in future years, and that any rule of a contrary nature, which may be in existence, shall be, and is hereby, rescinded." The candidates are ordained by the imposition of the hands of the president, ex-president, and secretary of the Conference for the time being, together with two of the senior ministers present, who are nominated by the president.

The form made use of by the Conference is contained in Wesley's abridgement of the Book of Common Prayer, and is entitled, "The Form and Manner of Ordaining of Elders." In this service, the expressions are altered to suit a Presbyterian discipline, and certain additions are made which pledge the candidate to the peculiar views of Methodism. For example, the president accompanies the imposition of hands with the address used by the bishops in the Church of England, slightly altered, thus:—"Mayest thou receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a Christian minister, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands. And be thou a faithful dispenser of the Word of God, and of his Holy Sacraments; in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." The president then delivers a Bible to each person so ordained, and addresses him thus:—"Take thou authority to preach the Word of God, and to administer the Holy Sacraments in our congregations." The questions proposed are those of the Ordination Service of the Church of England, with these additions:—"But as you are to exercise your ministry under the direction of the Wesleyan Conference, I have further to inquire, whether you have read the first four volumes of Mr. Wesley's Sermons, and his notes on the New Testament; and whether you believe that the system of doctrine therein contained is in accordance with the Holy Scriptures? I have also to ask you, whether you have read the Large Minutes, and believe that the general system of discipline contained therein is agreeable to the Holy Scriptures; and whether you will maintain and enforce it in the societies which shall be committed to your charge?"

The president may also at his discretion propose the following questions, which the candidates are expected to answer "as in the presence of God."

"Have you a lively faith in Christ? Do you enjoy a clear manifestation of the love of God to your soul? Have you constant power over all sin? Do you expect to be perfected in love in this life? Do you really desire and earnestly seek it? Are you resolved to devote yourself wholly to God and to his work? Do you know the Methodist plan of doctrine and discipline? Have you read the 'Plain Account of the Methodists?' the 'Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion?' Do you know the rules of the Society, and of the bands? Are you determined,

by the help of God, to keep them? Do you take no snuff, tobacco, or drams? Have you read and seriously considered the minutes of the Conference? Especially have you considered the rules of a helper? and, above all, the first, tenth, and twelfth? and will you keep them for conscience' sake? Are you determined to employ all your time in the work of God? Will you preach every morning and evening when opportunity serves, endeavouring not to speak too long or too loud? Will you diligently instruct the children where you can? Will you visit from house to house where it may be done? Will you recommend fasting and prayer both by precept and example? Are you in debt?"

These questions being answered to the satisfaction of the examiners, the president introduces the candidate to the Conference, in whose presence he undergoes a further examination. Each preacher is required to give a full and explicit declaration of his faith as to the doctrines taught by Mr. Wesley in his first four volumes of sermons and his Notes upon the New Testament. The president has also discretionary authority to require from each candidate an answer to any question which he may think proper to ask him respecting the doctrines contained in the eight volumes of sermons which Mr. Wesley left in his will to the preachers. Dr. Adam Clarke in his Commentary, published about 1820, denied the eternal sonship of Christ, though at the same time he maintained the doctrine of the Trinity. The Wesleyan body rejected his hypothesis, and by a minute of the Conference of 1827, it is "acknowledged to be the indispensable duty of the president of the Conference for the time being, to examine particularly upon the doctrine of the eternal sonship of our Lord Jesus Christ, as it is stated by Mr. Wesley, especially in his notes upon the first chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, every preacher proposed to be admitted into full connexion, and to require an explicit and unreserved declaration of his assent to it, as a truth revealed in the inspired oracles." The candidates, if approved by the Conference, are then brought before the whole congregation assembled for the purpose by public notice. The president explains the nature of the service, describes the previous probation of the candidates, and the result of the examinations to which they have been subjected; and then calls upon as many of them as time will

permit "to declare for the further satisfaction of the congregation their conversion to God, their present experience of divine things, their conviction of their call of God to the ministry, and their purpose of devoting themselves for the future to the work." The ordination follows on the next day, and in general in the presence of a crowded congregation.

The preacher thus ordained becomes the minister of a Presbyterian church. He is stationed by the Conference in whatever circuit they may choose to place him. The junior preacher, or deacon, removes every year. Being now received into full connexion (to use the Wesleyan periphrasis) he remains two, or, at the utmost, three years in the same circuit. The Conference then assigns to him another station. The business of appointing several hundred ministers is extremely laborious. A stationing committee, consisting of members of its own body, first prepares a general outline or plan of the stations; the Conference at large revises the schedule laid before it, and finally determines the circuit and the work of each individual. Every preacher is expected to yield implicit and cheerful submission; and to hold himself prepared to labour in any station, at home or abroad, to which the Conference may think proper to appoint him.

The travelling preachers are held in high esteem. They are the pastors of the Methodist flock, are entirely devoted to the work of the ministry and are released from secular affairs. They are provided with a stipend and a house by the stewards of the circuit in which they labour, upon a scale which generally combines domestic comfort with strict economy. Some circuits are rich, others extremely poor; and the income of the preacher varies in proportion. Some circuits would scarcely support a minister were they not assisted by the contributions of the more wealthy districts. But all payments are made upon a scale which has the approbation of the Conference. The people cannot deprive the pastor of his stipend. If he be unpopular, the certainty that he will soon be removed prevents the growth of bitterness on both sides; and the man who is disliked and useless in one post is often respected and successful in another. One feature in the Methodist economy deserves to be imitated in other Churches. A retiring pension is provided for superannuated ministers, and a small provision is made for the widows and young children of those who die in the work. No man is com-

pelled from hard necessity to inflict on his congregation the feeble services of second childhood. No Methodist preacher looks from his dying bed upon a helpless family, oppressed by those sorrows and forebodings under which so many a dissenting minister, and so many a curate, has been crushed!

The constitution and powers of the Conference have been explained, and the reader will have formed an idea of the system of Methodism in general. But the details of its machinery are somewhat complicated, and beyond the Wesleyan pale not always understood. We proceed to give an account of those inferior courts or tribunals which connect the Conference, as the supreme authority, with the humblest Methodist; and by means of which it becomes acquainted with his circumstances and even with his wishes.

The lowest of these is the *leaders' meeting*. The leaders' meetings are composed of the travelling preachers stationed, for the time being, in the circuit; the stewards for the particular Society to which the meeting is attached; and all persons, male or female, who are regularly in office as leaders. Wherever there is a chapel, congregation, and Society, a leaders' meeting is essential. Their powers have been enlarged at various periods. They have now a veto upon the admittance of members into the Society: they possess the power of a jury in the trial of accused members. Without their consent no leader, no steward, can be appointed to office; nor can he be removed, except the crime proved against him merits exclusion from the Church, in which case the superintendent, that is the presiding preacher, or presbyter, of the district, may at once depose and expel him. In conjunction with the trustees of the chapel to which their meeting is attached, they determine whether or not the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper shall be there administered; and the fund for the relief of the poor and afflicted members of the Society is under their control.

Superior to the leaders' meeting is the *quarterly meeting*, the chief local or circuit court, though not invested with judicial powers. The constitution of this meeting has never been defined by the Conference. Originally it consisted of the travelling preachers, the stewards, and such other members of the Society as the superintendent, on his own responsibility, invited to attend. Its composition now varies according to local customs, and is therefore loose and undefined. But it is generally under-

stood that only those who hold office in the Society, or are otherwise specially appointed, can take part in its proceedings. Its business is chiefly financial; it examines and audits the accounts of the stewards. The pecuniary claims upon them are considered, and the method for raising necessary supplies. The Conference has also acknowledged the right of the quarterly meetings exclusively, to petition for preachers; that is to request the Conference to send such preachers as they themselves have nominated. The Conference engages to give to such petitions that respectful consideration to which they are entitled. They are directed to be carefully read and considered, first by the stationing committee, and then, if called for, by the Conference. The Conference however does not divide its rights with the quarterly meeting. The petition may be laid aside, and its prayer refused. The practice of petitioning is discouraged by the Conference. It has been found to produce serious inconvenience, and, in several respects, to be detrimental to the interests of the people. The wisest of the Wesleyan body complain of the mischievous tendency of a system which keeps the societies in constant agitation, wounds the feelings of the greater number of the preachers, while it caresses, to their hurt, a few popular men; and is open, in short, to most of the objections which can be urged against a popular election of the pastor, to which it bears a close resemblance.

The *local preachers' meeting* is held quarterly. Here the superintendent institutes inquiries into the moral and religious character of the local preachers, their soundness in the faith, and their discharge of the duties of their office; he examines probationers, and candidates are proposed, but only by himself, and after a private examination. For in all cases it is the sole right and duty of the superintendent to nominate the candidate, whether for admission or probation, or to a place upon the Plan as an accredited local preacher; the approval or rejection rests with the majority of the meeting. The superintendent cannot place any one upon the Plan "without the approbation of the meeting," and the meeting cannot oblige him to admit any one of whom he disapproves. The local preachers are responsible to their own meeting for every part of their official conduct; but for all acts affecting their character and standing as members of the Society, they are subject to the jurisdiction of the leaders' meetings to which they respectively belong. There are but few

positive laws relating to this class of officers recorded in the minutes. Much of the discipline by which they are governed, and especially that by which they are admitted into office, is determined by common usage.

There is also a *trustees' meeting*, purely secular; but it is to be observed, that the superintendent is always ex officio the chairman; and further, in case of unavoidable absence, he has power under his handwriting to appoint a deputy to preside and exercise all the powers that would vest in him were he present.

But the *district meeting* is, after the Conference itself, the greatest of the Church courts. On the death of John Wesley the three kingdoms were first divided into districts, and the district meeting was immediately created to transact the business of each district during the intervals of the Conference. It was at first a court of appeal to supply the lack of Mr. Wesley's authority in the settlement of disputes and the redress of grievances. There are now five kinds of district meetings, of which, however, the first is by far the most considerable. This is the *annual district meeting*, to which all the preachers of the different circuits within its boundaries are summoned. The two stewards of each circuit and the treasurers of the funds under the control of the Conference are present, but only during the transaction of its financial business; so rigidly does Methodism guard the rights of her ministers. At these meetings, the laymen having withdrawn, a searching inquiry is instituted into the character and conduct of every preacher in the district. Each case is taken in succession; and it is the duty of the superintendent to ask the following questions "distinctly and successively," as each preacher is submitted to the ordeal:—1. "Is there any objection to his moral and religious character?" 2. "Does he teach and believe in our doctrines?" 3. "Has he duly observed and enforced our discipline?" 4. "Has he competent abilities for our itinerant work?" A separate answer to each of these questions is expected to appear recorded on the minutes. This court, as well as the Conference, has the right to institute any inquiry which it may deem expedient into the moral, Christian, or ministerial conduct of the preachers under their care, though no formal accusation may have been brought against them; and they have also the authority of deciding

upon them judicially, "as to them may seem most conformable to the rules and usages of our connexion." Any preacher who refuses to submit to the friendly examination of the chairman, and of other brethren, or to take his trial regularly and formally when required to do so, shall be considered as *ipso facto* incurring the penalty of suspension till the ensuing Conference. The examination of candidates for the ministry is another branch of the duties of the annual district meeting. A series of questions, provided by the Conference for that purpose, is proposed, but these are rather a guide to the chairman than a restraint on his authority. He is required to call upon them for a statement of their spiritual experience, to subject them to a strict and particular examination on the doctrines of Christianity, on their acquaintance with the writings of Mr. Wesley, and the general discipline of the connexion; and, if satisfied, to admit them upon trial, the final decision being always reserved for the Conference. A third duty the district meetings discharge is that of transacting the financial business of the district. This is very extensive; it includes the receipt and payment of the yearly collection in support of the cause; the allowance for claims of deficiency of income for the preachers, their wives and servants, and domestic expenditure; claims for extraordinary deficiencies arising from sickness, removals, and the like; the disposal of the funds for the education of the preachers' children, and the consideration of cases of chapels, applying for relief. Requests are entertained for permission to build, purchase, or enlarge chapels. And lastly, the spiritual affairs of the district are reviewed. In general, the annual sessions of all the districts are closed by reading a compendium of the Wesleyan pastors' duties which was drawn up and passed at the Conference of 1820. From this document, which is of considerable length, we cannot refrain from presenting the reader with the following extract:—

"Let us ourselves remember, and endeavour to impress upon our people, that we, as a body, do not exist for the purposes of party; and that we are especially bound, by the example of our founder, by the original principle on which our societies are formed, by our constant professions before the world, to avoid a narrow, bigoted, and sectarian spirit, to abstain from needless and unprofitable disputes on minor subjects of theological controversy, and, as far as we innocently can, to 'please all men for

their good unto edification.' Let us, therefore, maintain towards all denominations of Christians, who 'hold the Head,' the kind and catholic spirit of primitive Methodism; and, according to the noble maxim of our fathers in the Gospel—be the friends of all, the enemies of none."

There are also *special, financial, mixed, and minor* district meetings. These may be considered in the light of committees and sub-committees, with the exception of the mixed meeting, which arose out of the Act of Pacification of 1795. It is remarkable for its concession to the lay-officers in a matter of no less importance than the trial of a preacher. If the majority of the trustees, or of the stewards or leaders, believe that a preacher in the circuit is immoral, unsound in doctrine, or even deficient in abilities, or guilty of violating the rules of the Society, they are empowered to form this mixed tribunal. The chairman of the district is the president, and every preacher, trustee, steward, and leader has a voice, the chairman possessing the casting vote. The preacher, if condemned, is silenced. "They shall determine amongst themselves how he may be disposed of till the Conference;" and they have authority to "suspend him from all public duties till the Conference if they shall think proper." Still the mixed district meeting has but a subordinate authority. It is not an independent court, whose decisions may, however, be set aside by the superior tribunal. In its nature it is a temporary or intermediate court, whose sentence in point of time always expires within twelve months.

It is impossible to close the survey of the institutions of Methodism without being struck with the vast powers which are centred in the Conference itself. Its minutes are the statutes of the Church. Its members are appointed by themselves. Its deliberations, unless when, by an act of grace, it relaxes something of its caution, are secret. Its authority is absolute. And yet it possesses a strong hold, not upon the fears, but upon the warm affections of a vast proportion of the Methodist societies. It is regarded by them with more than confidence, with veneration, often with something of filial regard. In explanation of so remarkable a fact it must be remembered that the Methodist Church consists of voluntary societies: that those who become members of it are members from choice, and that no man dissatisfied with its economy is compelled to remain within its pale

and offer a grudging support to a system which he disapproves ; and that the Wesleyan Church is full of intelligence. Where the scriptures are prohibited a corrupt priesthood may compel submission, or extort compliance. Where general intelligence prevails such priestcraft is almost impossible. And, lastly, let it be borne in mind, that the Methodist Conference has no power to exact compulsory support. It has no tithes, no rich endowments, no state provision or patronage, nor any pecuniary resources, but such as it can secure from the voluntary aid of voluntary supporters. The supplies of its ministry must be derived from the contributions of a willing people ; and, therefore, can be secured only by affectionate zeal and Christian fidelity on the part of its ministers. The security of the Wesleyan Church from the arbitrary power of its Conference rests, then, upon this basis—that the terms of communion are purely voluntary, and that the sole resources of the clergy are the free-will offerings of the people. Should the Conference attempt at any time to enforce measures oppressive or injurious to the members at large, the Society itself would be, in consequence, dissolved. Such are the reasonings of the Conference and its defenders.

The religious worship of the Methodists is marked by some features of interest. The public services are either extempore or liturgical, or, not unfrequently, partaking of both characters. In the City Road chapel, the most important erected during the life of Wesley, the liturgy is always read in the forenoon, and for many years this service was performed by a clergyman of the Church of England. A prayer-book is used in many of the greater chapels, but there is no unvarying rule on the subject. The custom is retained which grew up in each, and there are many chapels in which no liturgy is used. A minute of the Conference requires that, if the chapels be open during the hours of divine service in the parish church, the liturgy, “or at least the lessons for the day,” be read. The service is that of the Church of England, with some changes and omissions, from a revised liturgy which was prepared by Wesley. Some sentences and entire psalms are omitted from the Psalter, for he did not hesitate to affirm that there were some sentiments in the Psalms of David which no Christian could properly use. Several prayers are omitted, as well as the collects, epistles, and gospels for saint’s days. In the offices for the administration of the sacraments,

matrimony, communion of the sick, burial of the dead, and the ordaining of deacons, elders, and superintendents, many changes are introduced. Since the death of the founder, the Wesleyan Church has adopted twenty-five articles in the place of the thirty-nine, and based upon them. The rite of confirmation is not in use, though it is no unusual thing for the children of Wesleyan parents to be sent for confirmation to the bishop of the diocese.

Singing forms a considerable part of public worship: scarcely a religious meeting, public, social, or private, is held, which does not begin or close with psalmody. The hymn-book was prepared by John Wesley, the most valuable part of it being the contribution of his brother Charles. A hymn or two of real sublimity were written by John Olivers, one of the first Methodist preachers. John Wesley added several of his own: most of the remainder are borrowed from Watts and Doddridge. The hymn-book, though not a standard of doctrine, is revered as a depository of scriptural truth and sound Methodism. It is guarded with care, and published by the Conference alone. "Our hymn-book," says Dr. Rule, "is more copious beyond comparison, and more evangelical and devotional, than any collection of which traces have been left from Christian antiquity, and may safely be left to comparison with any similar collection yet published." Where organs have been introduced, the Conference by a minute requires, that they shall be so used as not to overpower congregational singing, but only to assist it; and they add some excellent advice: "Let no pieces, as they are called, in which recitatives by single men, solos by single women, fuguing (or different words sung by different voices at the same time), are introduced, be sung in our chapels. Let the original simple, grave, and devotional style be carefully preserved; which instead of drawing the attention to singing and the singers, is so admirably calculated to draw off the attention from both, and raise the soul to God only."

Membership is necessary as a condition of stated admission to the Lord's Supper; and membership implies being placed under a leader in a class. It is the duty of the preacher to examine each member every three months, and to give him a ticket, bearing his name and a text of Scripture, which entitles the holder to the privileges of membership during the ensuing quarter.

Besides the class meeting, the members are encouraged to meet in bands. These were instituted by Wesley, and by him highly valued; these appear to be voluntary social meetings, consisting of members of the Society. The original rules drawn up by the hand of Wesley contain some wise instructions:—

“You are supposed to have the faith that overcometh the world. To you, therefore, it is not grievous—

“I. Carefully to abstain from doing evil: in particular—

“Neither to buy nor sell anything at all on the Lord’s day.

“To taste no spirituous liquor, no dram of any kind, unless prescribed by a physician.

“To be at a word, both buying and selling.

“To pawn nothing, no, not to save life.

“Not to mention the fault of any behind his back, and to stop those short that do.

“To wear no needless ornaments, such as rings, ear-rings, necklaces, lace, ruffles.

“To use no needless self-indulgence, such as taking snuff or tobacco, unless prescribed by a physician.

“II. Zealously to maintain good works: in particular—

“To give alms of such things as you possess, and that to the uttermost of your power.

“To reprove all that sin in your sight, and in love, and meekness, and wisdom.

“To be patterns of all diligence and frugality, of self-denial, and taking up the cross daily.”

Love-feasts, in imitation of the primitive Church, are held frequently: none but members are admitted except by permission of the preacher. The minister presides, and the time is spent in devotional exercises. Wesley states, that in order to increase, in the classes he had formed, a grateful sense of all God’s mercies, he desired that they should meet together once a quarter “that,” said he, “we might eat bread together, as the ancient Christians did, with gladness and singleness of heart. At these love-feasts, so we termed them, retaining the name, as well as the thing which was in use from the beginning, our food is only a little plain cake and water; but we seldom return from them without being fed, not only with the meat that perishes, but with that which endureth to everlasting life.” Wesley copied the love feast from the Moravians, and they from the primitive Church

A description, by Tertullian, of one of these festivals, about the end of the second century, has been quoted as no unapt description of the Methodist love-feast. "Our supper shows its character by its name, for it is called *ἀγάπη*, which signifies kindness. Nothing that is trifling or immodest is permitted, nor do we take our places until prayer has been offered up to God. Those who are hungry eat till they are satisfied; they drink only what is necessary; they are not oppressed with feasting, but are still able, through the night, to remember that God is to be adored. They speak like persons who know that God is listening. Having washed their hands, any one who pleases recites from Scripture, or gives an address, and we sing praise to God. The feast closes as it began, with prayer."—*Apolog.* c. 39.

The watch-night is also defended by the practice of primitive antiquity. Its introduction, too, at first was casual. A century ago, a few Methodists in the neighbourhood of Bristol, probably in very humble life, being surrounded daily by the profane, met together at night to spend some time in prayer and praise, without interruption. The singularity of the proceeding was offensive to some, and in others it roused suspicion. Wesley did not hastily condemn their conduct. He thought he perceived a resemblance in the practice to the nocturnal assemblies of the primitive Christians; but to remove every occasion of offence, he made these vigils public instead of private. Placing himself at the head of his people, in this as in every other movement, he continued for some time to hold watch-night services monthly at Bristol, London, and Newcastle. Just as in the first ages, the love-feast from its name, and the vigil or watch-night from its hour, were represented as the orgies of dissolute fanatics; and these charges were sometimes repeated by those, from whom at least a better acquaintance with Church history might have been expected. "You charge me," says Wesley, addressing an Irish clergyman, "with holding midnight assemblies. Sir, did you never see the word 'vigil' in your Common Prayer-Book? Do you know what it means? If not, permit me to tell you that it was customary with the ancient Christians to spend whole nights in prayer, and that these nights were termed *vigiliæ* or vigils. Therefore, for spending a part of some nights in this manner, in public and solemn prayer, we have not only the authority of our own national Church, but of the universal Church, in the earliest

ages." The watch-nights are chiefly held on the eve of the new year. Several hours are spent in prayer and exhortation, and the meeting is closed with praise as the new year is ushered in. A "covenant service" is also held at the opening of the year; when each member solemnly pledges himself to fresh devotion to the service of God. There is a quarterly fast, which all members of the Society are enjoined to keep. Wesley, in his instructions to the preachers, urges most impressively the duty of observing a rigid fast every Friday.

We now resume our history. The pacification of 1795 satisfied the moderate party, as they were termed, who formed the great bulk of the Society. But it was an age of the wildest political excitement. During the period of those disputes by which the Methodists were agitated, the French revolution was raging in its fury, and the Methodist body was not free from the contagion. There was now a party in the connexion whose views extended far beyond the horizon which bounded the aspirations of either of the Wesleys. They are described by the elder Methodists as young men who had been introduced into life, and formed their opinions in that state of things which the French revolution introduced; they would not only enjoy liberty themselves, but force it upon others. The Conference had determined that the Lord's Supper should be administered only in those chapels where a majority of the Society, as represented by the trustees, demanded it. With this restriction they were displeased; a contest followed, and the constitution of the Conference now provoked their attention. In a word, they insisted on the introduction of lay delegates, and this on the ground of fitness and expediency. Inspired with something of that enthusiasm respecting the rights of the people which had so generally seized the nation, they contended that the people ought to be represented in the Conference, and have a share in making the laws by which they were controlled. The Conference resisted the proposal; and the first of those secessions took place which have returned from time to time, paralyzing the societies in the hour of their greatest vigour, and threatening the very being of the Methodist Church.

Of the first secession, Mr. Kilham, a member of the Conference, was the leader. Dissatisfied with the Plan of Pacification, he published a tract on the "Progress of Liberty" with respect to

Church government, soon after the Conference of 1795. For this he was arraigned before a district meeting at Newcastle in the following February. The fire spread. The author of a pamphlet printed by one of his party at Bristol in 1796, gives quotations from nearly fifty pamphlets and circular letters, in favour of the change. Mr. Kilham was dismissed from the Society at the Conference of 1796, and the whole connexion was for some time in a state of violent agitation. The Kilhamites issued an address at Newcastle, maintaining, as their first position, that "according to the present rules of Conference, the Methodist preachers ruled their people without consulting them." The dissatisfaction spread far and wide; it flew from Newcastle to Manchester, where a considerable number of trustees, leaders, and members were expelled from the Society by the local court, a special district meeting. When the Conference met in 1797, the question of admitting lay-delegates was formally discussed, and the following resolution stands upon its minutes:—"The Conference, having maturely considered the subject, are thoroughly persuaded, with many of our Societies whose letters have been read in full Conference, that they cannot admit any but regular travelling preachers into their body, either in the Conference or in district meetings, and preserve the system of Methodism entire; particularly the itinerant plan, which they are determined to support."

The decision was the signal of disruption. Kilham and his friends retired, and formed "the New Connexion;" a body which has ever since taken its stand amongst the most respectable, zealous, and orthodox of the smaller Churches of the Nonconformists; its history is presented to the reader in a separate article. Those who feel no disposition to be elated with the disasters of Methodism, may be forgiven if they hesitate in expressing their approbation of the firmness, so much applauded by high Wesleyans, of this Conference of 1797. Their apologists contend that "the refusal was not dictated by the love of power, but by the stern conviction that they could not act otherwise, without violating the pastoral trust reposed in them as Christ's ministers." But we are not aware of any pastoral trust imposed by Christ, which would exclude the laity from a seat in Convocation, or a vote in Conference. "They felt," it is said, "they could not introduce laymen into their own body, or even into the

district meetings, consistently with a due regard to the purity of their doctrines and ministry, the preservation of the itinerancy, and the real welfare and liberty of the people at large." These are the statements of Dr. Beecham, late President of the Conference, and its able apologist. The turbulent state of the societies at the time, may perhaps justify this disparagement of the laity; but we should be sorry to admit, as a general principle, that purity of doctrine is exclusively confined in any Protestant Church to the safe keeping of its clergy, or even that the real welfare and religious liberty of their brethren would be unsafe if the laity were allowed a voice in the supreme courts of legislation. It is contended further, "that the admission of lay-delegates would have destroyed the Conference, which was nothing, but as it was defined and invested with power by the Deed of Declaration. So that a Conference admitting lay-delegates would have had no legal existence; and no other body could have performed its prescribed functions." But these consequences were not inevitable. In this, as in most cases, where conflicting claims are to be adjusted, mutual concessions might have been made. There were many subjects, for instance, in which lay-delegates might have been admitted into the Conference, both to speak and vote, without affecting the validity of the Deed of Declaration. Indeed, we cannot perceive what possible danger could have arisen from their presence, even in numbers equal to those of the preachers, so long as an absolute veto was still lodged, as it must have been, in the upper house, or original Conference of one hundred.

With more force, it is contended, that if the concession had been made, a disruption on the one side or the other would still have taken place. For the Conference did not stand alone. It was not the whole of the connexion which was asking for the admission of lay-delegates into the Conference. Many of the societies regarded the question in the same light as the Conference itself. In the midst of the popular outcry for religious liberty, the same alarms were felt by Methodists, jealous of their existing institutions, which, at the same period, inflamed the eloquence of Burke, in his apprehensions for the safety of the constitution of the State itself. And they felt they owed it to themselves, to the cause of God, and to the Conference, to avow their sentiments in such a crisis, and to support the Conference by the assurance of their

attachment to it. They went still further, and declared their conviction that Methodism was safer in the hands of the Conference as then constituted, than if lay-delegates should, unhappily, be admitted to a place either in the Conference or the district meetings.

Some concessions of importance the Conference made. With reference to financial and other secular matters, more authority was given to the quarterly and district meetings. Till Wesley's death, the yearly collections of the Society had been paid over to the Conference, and by them divided among the preachers, and spent on other legitimate objects. The Conference of 1791 published their accounts in a brief statement, which occupies seven lines ; so little had the Society hitherto interfered in matters of expenditure or finance. On the death of Wesley, the district meetings were empowered to receive and pay certain funds, particularly the preachers' stipends, remitting a statement of their financial proceedings, together with the balance of their receipts, to the Conference. This power was now extended to the quarterly meetings ; and the Conference undertook to publish a full account of its receipts and expenditure in such a form that every circuit might satisfy itself, by comparing its own accounts with those of the Conference, that no collusion had been practised. Another regulation provides that all other temporal business shall originate in the quarterly meetings. The concessions which relate to discipline were still more important. The leaders' meetings had a veto on the admission of new members by the superintendent, when they chose to exercise it. And with regard to the expulsion of delinquents, the superintendent, who had hitherto exercised this formidable power without control, was now instructed not to proceed to extremities until the leaders were consulted, "and the crime proved to their satisfaction." The leaders and stewards were for the future to be appointed and removed, not by the superintendent alone, but in conjunction with the leaders' meeting.

The secession of the Kilhamites, however, seemed rather to relieve Methodism than to impede its triumphs. For thirty years after the death of Wesley it pursued one unbounded course of marvellous success. Persecution had died away, or, if feebly offered, was of service to the cause, raising up friends, promoting inquiry, and stimulating zeal. When Wesley died, the number

in connexion with him was eighty thousand, including America and the West Indies. Within ten years the societies had increased in Great Britain alone more than forty thousand. In twenty years the increase was more than a hundred thousand.

In the year 1811, a bill was brought into the House of Lords professedly to amend the Act of Toleration, but in fact to repeal its most important and beneficial provisions. Had it passed, and been rigidly enforced, it might have effected the entire subversion of the Wesleyan ministry. This unwise attempt not only failed but recoiled. The Methodists learned their political strength. More compact, more united, more energetic than any Protestant communion, the sense of danger, and the stronger sense of insult, roused them to exertion. In the face of their remonstrances and petitions, in which they were joined by all the friends of religious liberty, the bill was hastily withdrawn; and it is the last attempt at coercion in matters of religion that the British Parliament has witnessed. The Wesleyan body have never combined to use their power for the service of any party, or the attainment of any selfish objects. Their political influence has been nobly employed in the service of mankind;—for the suppression of the slave-trade, in 1806; for the right of introducing missions into India, in 1813; for the emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies, in 1833.

At the Conference of 1813, Dr. Coke, then in the sixty-seventh year of his age, expressed an earnest desire to proceed to the East Indies, for the purpose of establishing a mission there. Eighteen times had he crossed the Atlantic for missionary objects; yet his ardour was unabated. He sailed, accompanied by seven missionaries, and died upon the voyage. After Wesley himself, no man connected with the Methodists ever contributed more to extend the blessings of Christianity amongst mankind. The mission, notwithstanding his death, was opened at Ceylon; and Dr. Coke's departure from England and his sudden death, which it was feared might prejudice the missionary work, had, in fact, the contrary effect. The connexion had almost entirely relied on his personal exertions, both in directing the operations of the missions in the West Indies and Canada, and in providing the means of their support. The preachers and people now awoke from their supineness; a missionary society was formed in con-

nexion with the Conference, and the missions soon prospered beyond all former example.

The Methodists' societies continued steadily to increase till 1827. At length, the trivial cause of so many bitter conflicts between Churchmen and Puritans in days past, the introduction of an organ, opened the waters of strife. The trustees of a chapel at Leeds wished to introduce instrumental music, and made application to the district meeting for permission. The district meeting refused; for the old Methodists regarded instrumental music as injurious to spiritual worship. The trustees made their appeal to the Conference, who saw fit to grant their request. Hereupon the organ was forgotten, and the broad question was discussed, whether the Conference possessed the right to interfere in such a case and overrule the decision of a district meeting. It was a struggle for independence on the part of the latter, and, as it soon appeared, on the part of many of the Methodists, who seceded from the main body, protesting against what they termed the oppression of the Conference. They insisted that the Conference violated its own law in receiving an appeal against the district meeting on the subject of the organ. The Conference party replied that wherever there is a right to make laws, there is a right to receive appeals as inherent; and that it was monstrous to suppose that a Methodist, or body of Methodists, however aggrieved by the decisions of a district meeting, had no redress. Some sharp invectives were not spared by the Conference against those who, professing to be the friends of liberty, would have made the local courts despotic. There was a law of Conference on the subject, but it was somewhat vaguely worded, and both sides claimed its shelter. It was this: "We think that in some of the larger chapels, where some instrumental music may be deemed expedient in order to guide the congregational singing, organs may be allowed by special consent of the Conference; but every application for such consent shall be first made at the district meeting; and if it obtain their sanction, shall be then referred to a committee at the Conference, who shall report their opinion as to the propriety of acceding to the request, and also as to the restrictions with which the permission to erect an organ ought, in that particular case, to be accompanied."

The Conference asserted its rights, but at the same time in-

structed the preachers "to invite back, and to receive with perfect oblivion of the past, those who had been so led away by the arts of disaffected men ;" but a secession had taken place which could not thus be recalled.

A more serious rupture followed in the case of Dr. Warren, in 1835. Here, again, the cause of the quarrel was insignificant. The Conference had resolved to open a Theological Institution for the education of their future ministers. On the details of the question differences of opinion arose, and angry pamphlets were exchanged. Dr. Warren, an eminent minister, was the leader in the contest on the side which opposed the measures of the Conference ; he was in consequence suspended by the Manchester district meeting. Against this suspension he appealed to the Court of Chancery. The events which followed are important in Wesleyan history, not only for the extraordinary interest which they occasioned at the time, but still more for their consequences, which are still unfolding themselves.

The district meeting requested Dr. Newton, another eminent minister, to undertake the duties of superintendent of the circuit in Dr. Warren's place ; and the object of this application to the Court of Chancery was to obtain an injunction against Dr. Newton and the trustees of the Oldham-street chapel in Manchester, all of whom concurred in his exclusion from their pulpit ; and against those trustees of another Wesleyan chapel in Manchester who also approved of the suspension and of Dr. Newton's ministry in that place ; for two or three of the trustees of the latter chapel made common cause with Dr. Warren, and joined with him in applying to the court for his restoration to the exercise of his ministerial functions. The case excited the deepest interest ; the most eminent counsel were employed on each side, and the judgment of the Vice-Chancellor, and afterwards that of the Lord Chancellor, into whose court it was removed, were elaborate and prepared with the greatest care ; but the Vice-Chancellor refused the injunction, and his judgment was affirmed by the higher court. "I am of opinion," said the Lord Chancellor, "not only that the district meeting had the power to suspend, but I am of opinion that they acted legally—I am not called upon to say more. Whether they acted wisely, discreetly, temperately, or harshly, these are matters with which I have no concern, and upon which I desire now to express no opinion." The Lord Chancellor con-

cluded with an expression of his great regret at the existence of the dissensions which had given rise to the proceedings; and he added, "From what I have heard, and from what I may say I know, of the character of Dr. Warren, of his learning, of his piety, of his talents, and of his good conduct, which have been stated on one side and not even attempted to be contradicted on the other—taking all these things into consideration, I must express my regret that he should have been the sufferer, I will not say the victim, but the sufferer in these proceedings." Dr. Warren was permitted to be heard in the next Conference in his own defence, although it was thought he had forfeited his right of appeal to that tribunal. In justice to the Conference, we should willingly have quoted at large the grounds of their decision; but they are mixed up with personal charges and recriminations which ought to be forgotten. Dr. Warren was expelled, and the sentiments of the Conference may be gathered from the following resolution:—

"While the Conference cannot but express their utter abhorrence of the principle that a minister, while professedly in union with our body, may appeal from the regular and constitutional jurisdictions of his own connexion to the civil courts, as tending to a violation of the laws of the New Testament, a breach of faith with his brethren in the ministry, and a fearful disregard of consequences to the cause of Christ, they feel called upon to record their fervent gratitude to the great Head of the Church for the gracious interpositions of His providence in the recent decisions of his Majesty's High Court of Chancery, to refuse the injunction applied for by Dr. Warren, with a view to set aside the authority of the special meetings of the district committee held in his case in Manchester. They feel especially called upon to acknowledge the hand of God in these decisions, as confirming the validity of Mr. Wesley's Deed of Declaration; securing to the preachers appointed by the Conference the inalienable occupation of our pulpits; recognising the pastoral supervision and authority of the Conference as the supreme tribunal of Methodism, through the medium of its district committees, and affording the ample security of British law to the general economy of Wesleyan Methodism."

The association formed by Dr. Warren soon contained many thousand members. It was the third great secession which the

Wesleyan body had experienced, but still it seemed for the present scarcely to affect its strength. Dr. Warren soon afterwards took orders in the Church of England, and the association, deprived of its leader, made no great progress.

On the other hand the Conference party pursued their triumphs. The year 1839 was celebrated as the centenary of Methodism. A century had passed since the Wesleys and their companion Whitfield began their out-door ministry on commons and at the corners of the streets. It was, as John Wesley had recorded in his journal, "a sudden expedient, a thing submitted to rather than chosen, and therefore submitted to, because he thought even preaching thus better than not preaching at all." A hundred years had silently glided by, and the fruits of his self-devotion, and that of a few others his partners in disgrace and glory, were apparent to the world, in the general reformation of morals and in the diffusion of that religious truth which, when Wesley and his companions begun their field preaching, was all but unknown. The number in the societies which he had raised is a very imperfect test of the influence he had exerted; and yet measured even by this standard, few indeed are the men who, whether for good or evil, have so deeply influenced mankind. There were now in England alone 3,000 chapels, besides a vast number of other places, in which the Wesleyan ministry was conducted. In some of the towns the chapels were of very large dimensions; in Leeds alone they contained 3,000 free sittings for the poor. The members of the Wesleyan Church in Great Britain were 296,801. The ministers were 1,019; the local preachers not fewer than 4,000. The Sunday-schools were upwards of 3,300; in these, 59,000 teachers gratuitously taught 341,000 children. Ireland contained 49 circuits and 18 mission stations; in which 160 preachers laboured amongst 26,000 members of society. In Canada there were 47 districts, exclusive of 47 missionary stations; and the members of the society were 14,000. Fifteen hundred red men had abandoned savage life, and were regular members of the Wesleyan Church; and but for the ministry of its preachers, many thousands of the British settlers would have been entirely destitute of the ordinances of Christianity. The missions employed, in different parts of the world, above 300 accredited ministers, besides local preachers and assistants, having under

their care, including children and adults, more than 180,000 souls. The missionaries preached the Gospel in more than twenty languages, to some of the remotest nations of the earth. For the support of this vast enterprise the Wesleyan societies, assisted by the liberality of the Christian public, raised, in the year 1837, the sum of 83,648*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

In America, the seed planted by Coke and Asbury had borne fruit abundantly. The Methodist Episcopal Church outnumbered the connexion in Great Britain. The societies, scattered over an immense tract of country, were placed under the care of 28 conferences, and superintended by six bishops. There were 3,106 itinerant ministers; 216 who were superannuated; and 5,792 local preachers. The private members amounted to 686,549; of whom 605,212 were whites; 79,236 were coloured; and 2,101 were Indians. The Methodist Episcopal Church had a prosperous mission at Liberia, on the African coast, and another at Texas; it had six collegiate institutions, and one university. Four of these are west of the Alleghany Mountains, in the great valley of Mississippi, and its tributary waters, and three are in the Atlantic states. All of them possess the power of conferring academic degrees.

The jubilee year closed a long succession of triumphs, and a long season of comparative repose. The surface of Methodism was unruffled, and the enthusiasm of her children had suffered no abatement. It was proposed to erect in memory of the festival a centenary hall in London, at an expense of 40,000*l.*, to build a missionary ship, to found a theological college, to release the schools and chapels of the connexion from debt, and to provide an additional fund for sick and aged ministers. For all these purposes 80,000*l.* were asked, and more than twice that sum was cheerfully subscribed: the jubilee fund amounted to 215,000*l.* The year of jubilee closed, as it began, amidst general congratulations and devouter thanksgivings.

But appearances were seldom more fallacious. The expulsions at Leeds, and the affair of Dr. Warren, rankled in many hearts. The impression had already gone abroad amongst the societies, that the people as represented in the leaders' meetings and the quarterly meetings were deprived of that influence which the Pacification of 1795 conceded to them; that they were governed absolutely by the Conference, and that the Conference itself was

governed by a clique. At length these murmurs found expression, and the "Fly-Sheets" appeared. The first was published in 1844, the second in 1846, the third and fourth in 1847 and 1848. These tracts were evidently written either by members of the Conference, or by those to whom its secret proceedings were revealed. They are anonymous. "Printed by order of the corresponding committee for detecting, exposing, and correcting abuses. London, Manchester, Bristol, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Hull, Glasgow." Their manner is coarse and personal; individuals are singled out by name for ridicule, and overwhelmed with insult. They remind us of the Mar-prelate pamphlets of the early Puritans in the reign of Elizabeth; and they may be described, in the words of the proclamation in which those libels were denounced, as "drawn up in railing sort, and beyond the bounds of all good humanity." The charges they contain are such as, if true, indicate a state of society on the verge of dissolution from the pride, selfishness, and rapacity of its rulers. It is not, however, the Wesleyan system, but the administration of it, they arraign. There is no cry for constitutional change, but only for a better administration. If the charges were untrue, the annoyance to individuals was the sole injury they could inflict, and the parties assailed might have trusted their reputation to the safe custody of public opinion. Nor would it have been beneath the dignity of the Conference to have amended whatever might have been amiss, even at the suggestion of the unknown and scurrilous authors of the Fly-Sheets. If their attacks were of importance it was because the impression was stealing abroad that the machine worked heavily,—that Methodism had settled on the lees,—that it was growing indolent and luxurious.

The Conference addressed itself, not to the investigation of the alleged abuses, but to the punishment of the supposed offenders. In addressing the Conference on the subject during their session of 1849, the president said, "that a secret irresponsible body had risen up which interfered with the just rights of the Conference, which reflected on its acts and appointments, and which endeavoured in various instances to render those acts and appointments null and void. The Conference was bearded by this secret and irresponsible power; he had a full conviction the time was come when this evil should be dealt with and effectually corrected:

it retarded them in their great work ; it was an evil they must tolerate no longer, lest they should be partakers of other men's sins." The Conference proceeded in the exercise, as it declared, of its undoubted right to "put a brotherly question" to several of its members who were suspected of having written the Fly-Sheets, or having a guilty knowledge of their authors. The question, as stated by the accused, was couched in these words:—"Are you the author of the Fly-Sheets? answer the question, 'Yes' or 'No,' without any prevarication." Mr. Everett, to whom the question was first proposed, positively and peremptorily refused to answer; expressing, says the Conference, his refusal, "in terms and in a tone justly offensive." He was expelled. Two other ministers, Messrs. Dunn and Griffiths, also declined to answer the interrogations, which in their case extended to the "Wesleyan Times" and "Wesleyan Banner," two obnoxious papers, as well as the Fly-Sheets. Nor would they "pledge themselves to abstain from taking part directly or indirectly in any agitating proceedings which might be pursued by others;" they, too, were in consequence expelled, with only one dissentient voice. Two other ministers were censured and degraded from the office of superintendent, but not expelled; and the business was closed with a solemn declaration, to which the preachers, with a few exceptions, affixed their names, expressing their "indignation and abhorrence at the anonymous attacks made upon their brethren in the Fly-Sheets." A protestation was added "that they had never intentionally communicated with the authors of those publications with a view to afford information or assistance;" nor would they "allow these wicked slanders to detract from the esteem and confidence they felt for those against whom such attacks had been directed."

The Conference appears to have thought that with these strong measures their difficulties were at an end. In their annual address they congratulate the societies on a large accession of numbers, both at home and abroad. Their "sessions," they say, "had been blessed with more than ordinary influences from above. Some painful circumstances had indeed occurred, but the hoary age and active zeal of this body have combined in maintaining our righteous economy. Forbearance and tenderness have been shown to the utmost limit that allegiance to our common cause permits; but freedom of mutual ministerial inquiry must be maintained, or we must consent to the abandon-

ment of all our distinctive discipline;" and for a time their anticipations seemed to be crowned with success. At the Conference of 1850, held in London, another minister, Mr. Bromley, was expelled, "having countenanced the unrighteous agitation which was still carried on." With this exception the yearly address declares that harmony and peace pervaded the sittings of the Conference. Nine thousand members had been added to the Society, and twenty thousand more had been received on trial. Many memorials had been received, which are answered, in general, by the declaration that the Conference would adhere to the true principles of Methodism, and maintain the sacred trust reposed in them by the venerable Wesley. But now the petitioners were by no means satisfied. Before the Conference met, upwards of four hundred gentlemen had assembled in London as delegates from the connexion in various parts of the kingdom, "to confer as to the best means of arresting the further progress of an agitation which threatened Methodism," as they already saw, "with utter ruin." They had laid their complaints before the president, who refused, however, to receive them. They now appealed to the Conference; and when it met, petitions bearing upwards of fifty thousand signatures, praying for a redress of various grievances, or the concession of additional rights, were laid before it by the delegates. Of course, general declarations of a determination to adhere to the principles of Wesleyan Methodism were far from satisfactory to the petitioners. On the other hand, the Conference still sought to dissipate the storm by expelling all who were suspected of disloyalty. The work of excision now began in earnest; nearly every individual who had attended the delegates' meeting was expelled; whole classes were cut off at a stroke, and even societies disappeared: the entire connexion became a scene of turmoil and disaster. The disputes arrested a large share of public attention; and the London daily press suspended its discussion of political affairs to discuss the affairs of Methodism. A private quarrel, if such it were, never engaged so much of the national concern.

The Conference met at Newcastle in 1851, still resolved to conquer by severity. Dr. Beaumont, a minister of high standing and great eloquence, was degraded from the office of superintendent, for having shown his sympathy, in various ways, with the excluded ministers. The delegates again assembled, and re-

requested an interview with the Conference, or at least with a committee to be appointed by it, in order to confer on the general state of the connexion ; but they were an " unauthorized body," and their petition was again declined. A number of memorials, however, were presented, and the Conference appointed a committee of fifty-four of its own members " to examine the suggestions contained in them, and to report on the same : " and the president was authorised, if he saw fit, to invite a number of suitable laymen, not, it is true, to assist the committee in its inquiries, but " to confer with them on the results to which they had attained." Still the appointment of this committee was regarded as a token for good, and hopes were entertained throughout the Societies that peace might be restored. During the year the Societies had suffered in Great Britain alone, as reported at the Conference, a loss of fifty-six thousand members. But the Conference was still resolved, as they said in their annual address, " to hold the pastoral crook with steady and unfaltering hand." Of the seceders, they say, that " they had yielded to the arts of a few misleaders ; " and, with regard to the agitators or reformers, they express their deep concern " that a system of wicked agitation, unparalleled in the history of the modern Church, should have been regarded with a moment's tolerance by any who have enjoyed the privileges of our Church communion." The high tone which the Conference assumed towards their opponents was scarcely charitable. " Certain agitators have abused the measure of confidence that they had been allowed to wield. Their plans have been altogether alien from the temper of our holy Christianity. They have transgressed the New Testament law, and involved themselves in the dishonour, hitherto unexampled among us, of attempting to force us into compliances which they know that our conscience condemns." " These men have excluded themselves from our confidence, but not from our pitying charity and our prayers. We beg you, dear brethren, to join us in interceding that God may give them repentance, and that the fearful sin of destroying precious souls may not be laid to their charge in the great day. Whatever plans may yet be framed to oppose and irritate you, let your love be invincible." Such language, as applied to the fifty-six thousand expelled and alienated members was severe, if not unjust ; though it might accurately describe the spirit of the authors of the Fly-Sheets. The air of pious condescension was felt to be insulting to men who

had suffered in resisting what they still believed to be ecclesiastical oppression. In the dominant party a gentler spirit would at least have been more likely to heal the breach.

In December, 1851, a meeting of officers and members of the Society assembled from various parts of the kingdom in the town-hall of Birmingham to confer "on the present disastrous state of Methodism." It drew up a declaration, remarkable at least for its moderation, which was immediately signed by upwards of seven hundred trustees, leaders, and local preachers; and it places the demands of the Society at large, as opposed to the Conference, in so clear a light that we transfer it to our pages.

"1. That we regard the dissensions and afflictions of our connexion with extreme grief and anxiety, and do most ardently desire that the harmony and happiness that once distinguished the body may be restored.

"2. That in our calm and deliberate judgment, our existing disasters are mainly attributable to the great changes that have been made in our connexional polity, during the last thirty years, by which the balance of power in the connexion has been deranged: many important functions committed to the local courts by the 'Constitution of Methodism,' as settled by the regulations of 1795 and 1797, having been *resumed* by the Conference.

"3. That while we acknowledge the divine institution of the Christian ministry, and the responsibility of ministers to their Lord and Master, we do conscientiously believe that their claim to an exclusive government of the Church by virtue of rights inherent in their office, is destitute of a scriptural basis, and repugnant to the spirit and letter of our constitution, the records of the Conference during the early years of the present century, and the known usages of our elder and larger societies in every part of the kingdom.

"4. That for the restoration of peace and confidence, we deem it necessary that membership in Methodism be held inviolable until the vote of the leaders' meeting be taken, not only on questions of *fact*, but also on the points of *criminality* and *penalty*.

"5. That it is also necessary that the same principle be applied to the official position of local officers.

"6. That the disciplinary authority of our local courts, under

the presidency of their superintendents, should be subject only to a *mixed* court of appeal.

"7. That *lay influence*, in connexional committees, would be far more satisfactory, if subject to *lay election*, instead of ministerial nomination.

"8. That quarterly meetings should be free from restriction in memorialising Conference on connexional matters.

"9. That as many of those persons who are now in a position of hostility to the authorities of the connexion have been severed from us, or have left us under strongly exciting and irritating circumstances, we venture to express our earnest hope, that Christian generosity and kindness, rather than harshness and repulsiveness, will be cherished and manifested towards any of them desiring to be again united to us in Church fellowship.

"10. That the rules of the connexion should be simplified, and published in as commodious a form as possible, 'for the benefit and convenience of all classes in the body.'

"11. That no new rule, adopted by the Conference, should be obligatory upon the societies until sanctioned by a majority of the quarterly meetings; the sense of each circuit on such rule to be taken at the June quarterly meeting.

"12. That, looking to the fact of many persons having left our Societies in distress and despair, consequent of their having lost all hope of a satisfactory adjustment of our connexional difficulties, and it having been further ascertained that others are contemplating the same step, we deem it the imperative duty of all who desire the prosperity of our connexion, to unite in promoting reconciliation between hostile parties, with a view to the restoration of peace and harmony."

The agitation still continued when the Conference met at Sheffield in 1852. Another secession had taken place during the year, and 20,946 members had retired or been excluded. In two years the Societies had lost 77,000 members; but the Conference persisted in the course on which it had embarked, still resolved to subdue rather than to conciliate. The mediation movement had now assumed a formidable character. The "declarationists" exceeded 2,000, and they were principally Wesleyan officers. "From an intense desire," they said, "for the recovery of peace to the afflicted connexion," a committee assembled in Sheffield during the sessions of the Conference, for

the purpose of presenting the Declaration, and in respectful terms they prayed that a deputation of their body might be received and heard. The Conference, somewhat haughtily, declined; refusing to recognize a body unknown to the Wesleyan constitution, and in a long reply indulged in severe remarks upon the motives and conduct of the "moderation party." It did not tend to soothe the prevailing discontent that the president, in the use of his discretionary power, had invited 745 lay brethren to meet the Committee of 54 appointed by the previous Conference, carefully excluding every individual whose name was attached to the Birmingham declaration. And it seemed a bitter mockery to be told in the annual address of the Conference, "that amidst the freest possible discussion, the utmost unanimity had prevailed: a oneness of purpose and feeling which overpowered all differences of opinion, and, to an extent that has been rarely witnessed in the history of our connexion, united all minds and hearts in one harmonious conclusion." Yet upon the whole the Conference spoke in a gentler tone, and relaxed something of its peremptory manner, "*We are inclined,*" they say, "*to cherish the belief* that what was capable of being done in the way of formal rule and order to consolidate our union has now been accomplished." Again; "our general economy and discipline are in our confirmed judgment such as cannot with any reasonable prospect of advantage, be *very materially* modified." These sentences refer to the recommendations of the Committee of fifty-four and their assessors. Some changes had been made in consequence of their report: quarterly meetings were defined; provision was made for permitting an appeal to the quarterly meeting for the rehearing of an accused party who might be dissatisfied with the verdict of a leaders' meeting. A few other changes were made, by which the Conference believed "that all pretext for factious agitation was entirely precluded." Their opponents viewed them in a very different light, and spoke of them as a mere mockery of justice.

It is the nature of such unhappy divisions to grow wider as they continue. The Mediation Committee issued another protest in December 1852, in which they express a firm determination to stand by each other, and to protect and console any member of the connexion who may, without moral guilt, become the victim of ministerial persecution. "We cannot admit," they

the presidency of their superintendents, should be subject only to a *mixed* court of appeal.

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say, "the right of itinerant ministers to excommuicate members without the sanction of the Church or of its local officers; nor to depose officers without the sanction of their peers. We cannot admit the right of either ministers, pastors, or others, to select whom they please for special conference on matters upon which all are equally concerned. We cannot admit the right of any class of men to fetter all other classes in the Church, for the prevention of a free and honest expression of opinion on matters of Church polity and discipline, put forth in a peaceable and godly manner." In 1853, the Conference had to lament a further loss of more than 10,000 Methodists. But it refused to entertain the protest of the Mediation Committee; which still, however, persists in its endeavours to accomplish a reunion of the Wesleyan Societies upon a basis which a single sentence in their address to the President of the Conference renders sufficiently plain. "Only consent to become Protestant in your pastoral claims on the questions of 'the Divine right of the Pastorate,' and all other matters will be easily adjusted. But while you resolutely maintain lordship over God's heritage, the root of the evil remains, so that sorrow and contention are inevitable, and so too are future disruptions."

The Wesleyan Reformers pursue their object independently of the Mediation Committee, and are the advocates of stronger measures. When the breach began they would probably have been satisfied with a few concessions, and with a more equal distribution of the honours and posts of influence at the disposal of the Conference. They now maintain principles which, if carried into effect, would remodel the Wesleyan constitution. They maintain that the admission of members into the Church, the exercise of discipline upon them, and their exclusion from the Church, are rights vested solely in the hands of Church members, to be exercised by them, either directly or representatively; and that it is the right of all members to be present at all meetings for the transaction of the general business of the Church. This, of course, requires that the Conference should be remodelled and lay representatives introduced. They contend, further, that the nomination and election of all office-bearers is the inalienable right of the Church; and that all the local courts should be independent of the Conference, and their decisions final. The reformers are a powerful and active party, the more formidable

because they refuse to be shaken off. Their aim is not to establish another offshoot of Methodism, but to regenerate the ancient body. They regard themselves as Wesleyan Methodists; and one of the demands in their declaration of principles is "the restoration of all preachers, officers, and members who have been expelled in consequence of the recent proceedings of the Conference as essential to the future peace and prosperity of the connexion." At present, they maintain, the people's rights are little more than a name, since every Church officer in Methodism is virtually selected, nominated, and appointed by the superintendent preacher and by him alone. They add that any layman, whether office-bearer or member, presuming to interfere with the superintendent's prerogative, would peril his connexion with the Society. If not expelled, his independence would be crushed. Such are the allegations of the Wesleyan Reformers.

The total loss of the Wesleyan Societies in Great Britain in consequence of these dissensions is little short of one hundred thousand members—nearly one-third of the whole community.

Still the Conference, and a large and powerful body of more than two hundred thousand Methodists who adhere to it, maintain that the rule it exercises is salutary and wise; in accordance with the provisions of the poll-deed, and the higher sanctions of the Gospel. The claims of the ministry on the implicit obedience of the people were stated by the Conference of 1835 and its organs in the strongest terms:—

"Christ has empowered *the ministers* of the Gospel to govern or regulate the Church by salutary discipline; he has committed *to them the keys of the Church*: in every section of the Church of Christ, *the pastor must bear the keys*, or he is not the pastor of Christ's own making; it is for the ministers of Christ, the pastors of the Church, to reprove, rebuke with all authority, admonish, warn, and finally, when *they judge necessary*, to reject offenders from Church communion."

"*Jesus Christ has not empowered the Church to interfere with the minister in the use of the keys.*"

"The ministry makes the Church, rather than the Church the ministry."

"Everything flows from this source. Humanly speaking, the ministry is *the centre of light and power*: all things grow out of it."

“The minister of Christ is your judge as God’s minister, and you are not to judge him.”

But even amongst Wesleyans of the Conference school these dogmas are not implicitly received. The Conference of 1850 declares, with respect to the exercise of discipline on members of the Society, through the medium of leaders’ meetings, “that it cannot transfer, either altogether or in part, to other hands than those of the ministers the ultimate determination of that sentence, without sinning against its own convictions of solemn duty, and abandoning a right essentially connected with the obligations of the pastorate with which they are intrusted.” Yet Dr. Dixon, a late president, strongly condemns the power of excommunication as exercised by the Conference. “I affirm,” he is reported to have said, “that our rule stands alone in Protestantism. No Church in Protestantism, except ours, gives the power of excision to the minister. We stand alone!” And thus the best and wisest of the Wesleyan ministers have always spoken. That able divine, Richard Watson, in his “Theological Institutes,” far from teaching that the people may not judge the pastor, asserts that “the rule which forbids Christians to eat, that is, to communicate at the Lord’s table with an immoral brother, holds good of course when that brother is a pastor. Thus pastors were put (by the apostles) under the influence of the public opinion of the Churches, and the remedy of separating from them, in manifest defections of doctrine and morals, was afforded to the sound members of a Church, should no power exist, able or inclined to silence the offending pastor and his party.”—Vol. iii., p. 260. From the writings of Dr. Adam Clarke, and of his acknowledged guide and teacher, Wesley himself, we might readily extract many pages to show that such views of absolute priestly authority were held in great dislike. The hypothesis that the Conference, as a clerical body, is authorised by Christ to govern absolutely, is, to our apprehension, contrary both to the spirit and the institutions of the New Testament.

With greater force the Conference argues, that its constitution being settled and defined by law, it has not the power to alter, even were it able to amend, it. By the poll-deed it acquired its legal existence; were it to violate its charter that legal existence would cease. It is only the Conference, as enrolled in Chancery, that has any legal power over the trustees of the many thousand

chapels of the Methodists. It is only as thus constituted that it has a right to govern the societies. If the Conference were "reformed," a state of anarchy and chaos would return, and Methodism would perish. The Society is a voluntary one, and those who do not approve of its management are always at liberty to retire; and it is a violation of the law of the New Testament, a sin against God, to remain in it for the avowed purpose of agitation. These are the points which are now in controversy between the Conference and the various sections of remonstrants and reformers. They involve, it will be seen, a legal question of the utmost importance, as well as many considerations of a moral kind; on all of which, even amongst those most competent to judge, great diversity of opinion exists.

Viewing the whole question dispassionately, the reader will perhaps arrive at this conclusion: the Conference, as originally constituted, was suited for the emergency which called it into existence; and the future historian of religion in Great Britain will acknowledge that the regeneration of these kingdoms, and especially the elevation of the labouring classes from a state of brutish degradation, was in no small measure to be ascribed to its exertions. An institution which accomplished a work, apparently so hopeless, in effect so wonderful, as this, ought not to be mentioned without respect. The force and determination of the English character perhaps never displayed itself more genially than in the Methodist Conference in its earlier days. That a band of men born, with a few exceptions, in humble life; with few advantages from education, and none from patronage; with no encouragement even from that public opinion under which so many a patriot has taken refuge from the storm; assisted only by a people whom their own exertions had, in many cases, retrieved from vice and its attendant poverty; without an effort to enrich themselves, though controlling unchecked the expenditure of thousands: that such a body, trusting only to the help of God and its own indomitable energies, should have established its representatives in the remotest regions of the globe, and won the enthusiastic homage of myriads of willing subjects from amongst every race of men, these are deeds which must ever claim for the Wesleyan Conference the respect, if not the admiration, of the whole catholic Church.

But an institution that lives upon its own traditions cannot long

survive. Whatever retains perennial vigour possesses a flexibility, a power of accommodation, which fits it for every change, and enables it, by a marvellous alchemy, to present itself anew, from age to age, in the vigour and beauty of its early youth. This rare endowment the Wesleyan Conference seems to want. Its weakness is that in which its admirers have supposed its strength to lie. It is rigid and inflexible; around it everything changes; within everything remains unaltered. The societies which Wesley formed consisted, when the first Conference was held, of the poor and illiterate. These classes now compose but a small proportion of the Wesleyan Church. Its societies consist of men of information and great intelligence; but the same regimen, with a few unimportant changes, is applied to both. It is attempted to govern the educated citizens and tradesmen of the nineteenth century as the rude colliers of Kingswood and Newcastle were governed a hundred years ago. The result can scarcely be uncertain. If it be true that the Conference cannot change, the triumphs of early Methodism have passed away. Wealthy, respectable, and, within her little circle, safe and even prosperous she may be; but those evangelical ovations, those splendid achievements for religion and for God, which adorn her past history, will disappear from her future annals. An absolute clergy has never yet conducted a Protestant Church to a long career of spiritual successes; invariably the laity have become indifferent and the clergy secular. Those who regard the unhappy contest of the Wesleyans from a distance, are, in some respects, better judges than themselves of the perils which the combatants, too much heated on both sides, are apt to overlook. The feeling of English Christians towards them is at present one of sorrow and anxiety; for good men, acquainted with the subject, are afraid that the calamities of Methodism will prove in their consequences a misfortune to the universal Church.

Our history would not be complete if the literature of Methodism were forgotten. It has this peculiarity, that it is under the special keeping of the Church. Wesleyan literature is a component part of Methodism. It is under the control of the Conference, and yields a considerable revenue, which is dedicated to the general cause.

Wesley was himself a voluminous writer. While he revived the spirit of religion in these lands, he was amongst the foremost

to diffuse useful information of every kind, and to smooth the path of knowledge to the middle and lower ranks of society. No man can charge his memory with the narrow fanaticism that pleads for ignorance as the mother of devotion. Besides books on religious subjects, he published many small and cheap treatises on various branches of science; plain and excellent grammars of the dead languages; expurgated editions of the classic authors; histories, civil and ecclesiastical; and numerous abridgments of important works. Thus, in an age when readers were few, literature was almost forced upon the Methodists. Amongst his principal writings are, his Translation of the New Testament, with Explanatory Notes; his Journals, in six volumes, duodecimo; his Sermons, in nine; his 'Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion;' his 'Defence of the Doctrine of Original Sin,' in answer to Dr. Taylor, of Norwich; his 'Answers' to Mr. Church, and Bishops Lavington and Warburton; and his 'Predestination calmly considered;' besides many smaller tracts on various important subjects. His works were published by himself, in thirty-two volumes, duodecimo, in the year 1771. In addition to these, he published upwards of a hundred and twenty works, mostly abridged from other authors. At a very early period the distribution of religious tracts suggested itself to his active and energetic mind, and he wrote a considerable number. To circulate these and other writings which he approved amongst the Societies, he set up a printing-office and shop of his own. This was the origin of the Book-room or Conference-office. The concern was managed by a book steward, who was accountable to Mr. Wesley, and on his death the property and management passed into the hands of the Conference by a provision in his will. The office of book-steward is one of importance. He is appointed by the Conference from amongst themselves; and his duties are, with the assistance of a committee which is also chosen by the Conference, to manage the bookselling department on behalf of the Wesleyan body. The profits, which are considerable, belong to the Society, and are appropriated to the different funds. The book-steward lays a financial statement quarterly before the committee, and annually before the Conference. Besides the book-steward, the Conference appoints an editor and assistant-editor, who are also members of their own body, and whose appointment is from year to year. Their business is to see that the standard

works belonging to the book-room, particularly those by Wesley and Fletcher, together with the hymn-book in common use, be correctly printed from time to time. And the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine is especially confided to them. This is now, with one exception, the oldest specimen of our periodical literature. It originated with Wesley himself, under the title of the Arminian Magazine.

The publications of the book-room are sold by the preachers in their circuits, and have at least a semi-official character. A minute of Conference expressly commands "that no preacher shall sell at our chapels, or publish from our pulpits, any books but such as are sent from the book-room." The book-room committee may purchase the copyright of any manuscript or printed work, having first carefully and impartially examined it, on behalf of the Conference.

Of the works thus published, the greater proportion, being intended for the Wesleyan Societies, wear something of a sectarian garb to the eye of a general reader. But even here the Wesleyan press has no reason to flinch from a comparison with the religious literature either of Churchmen or Dissenters. Until lately, it has made no pretensions to learning in the high sense; but for a masculine breadth of understanding, for a powerful simplicity, and for that deep earnestness which insures respect, it has been noted ever since the days of Wesley, who first stamped it with these noble features. The tawdry, sentimental style of theology has not often passed the rough ordeal of the book-room committee.

One work has issued from the Conference press which seems already to have vindicated its claims to be received into our standard literature. We speak, of course, of the 'Theological Institutes of Richard Watson.' The title is ambitious, but the work justifies it. 'Calvin's Institutes' are a system of Christian theology on the principles of Saint Augustine. Watson, with equal tenacity, defends the scheme of Arminius. No human writing ever produced, or, from the nature of things, ever can again produce, such an impression upon the religious faith of Europe as the great work of Calvin; and it was a bold attempt in a Methodist preacher to invite comparison, where anything short of great success must have been a childish failure. Yet Watson's confidence in his own powers was not misplaced. His work is of

sterling value ; and, had he been less anxious to enforce a system, and to defend the peculiarities of Wesleyan doctrine and polity, it could scarcely fail to be universally admired.

No Wesleyan writer has obtained so much of the public attention as Dr. Adam Clarke. His 'Commentary on the Holy Scriptures' is too well known, and the judgment of the public has been too long expressed, to allow us in these pages to discuss the question of its merits. It is very unequal ; some parts, especially the Pentateuch and some of the historical books of the Old Testament, are laboured with great care. Others are dismissed with a degree of haste approaching levity. Still the interest which always belongs to the workings of an honest mind, acute and original, accompanies the work on every page, and explains its popularity. In justice to the Wesleyan creed let it be remarked that this work is not published by the Conference, nor has their sanction. We have already mentioned that Dr. Adam Clarke's view of the sonship of Christ is rejected by the Conference. There are other fanciful opinions,—as, for instance, that our first parents were tempted by Satan under the form of a monkey, and that Judas, the traitor, died a penitent,—to which Dr. Clarke has gained, we believe, but few converts amongst any class of his readers.

A number of sects have arisen from the parent stem of ancient Methodism. It is scarcely necessary to describe them, since their doctrines are those of the old Methodists, and in Church government there is no essential difference except in the introduction of laymen into their conferences. Of the New Connexion we shall speak separately.

1. The Primitive Methodists appeared about the year 1810. A few of the preachers, smitten with the American revivals, introduced camp meetings, as they were termed, in their circuits. These the Conference condemned : "even supposing," they said in their Minutes in 1807, "that such meetings are to be allowed in America, they are highly improper in England, and we disclaim all connexion with them." A schism followed ; and just as the old society were called Methodists the seceders obtained the name of Ranters. Their conference is composed of one-third travelling preachers and two-thirds laymen ; namely, local preachers, class leaders, and circuit stewards. They have several missions in foreign parts ; and in England and Wales about one hundred thousand members.

2. The Bryanites, or Bible Christians, separated in 1815, under William O'Bryan, a Wesleyan local preacher. They have assumed the name of Bible Christians. They differ little in points of doctrine from other Methodists. Their conference is composed of an equal number of ministers and laymen. They, as well as the Primitive Methodists, allow of female preachers. Their aim, too, appears to be to restore Methodism to its primitive simplicity. There are thirteen thousand members in society.

3. The Wesleyan Methodist Association arose in consequence of the disputes which followed the expulsion of Dr. Warren. It has not assumed the title of a Church, and would probably fall back into the old connexion were its grievances removed. On all those points on which it was dissatisfied with the Conference it has established within itself an amended system of Church government. Its annual assembly admits the laity as representatives, and their number is regulated by that of their constituents: circuits with less than five hundred members sending one; less than a thousand, two; and more than a thousand, three, delegates. The annual assembly admits or censures and excludes preachers, and has the direction of the funds. But each circuit governs itself by its local courts, without any interference as to the management of its internal affairs. According to the returns of the late census, it has three hundred and twenty-nine chapels in England and Wales; ninety itinerant preachers; a thousand local preachers; and more than nineteen thousand members in society.

4. The Wesleyan Methodist reformers do not wish to be regarded as a separate Church, or even an independent connexion; they consider themselves as having been illegally expelled, in consequence of the quarrel which originated in the matter of the Fly-Sheets. They occupy the same position with regard to the old Methodists which the old Methodists themselves occupied, a hundred years ago, with regard to the Church of England; professing and sincerely entertaining a high regard for a communion by which they are cast out; while they themselves, on the other hand, are setting at nought its discipline in some important particulars. Of the hundred thousand members lost to the old Wesleyans, about one-half, or fifty-two thousand, have joined the reformers. They are at present led by the expelled preachers, assisted by no fewer than two thousand eight

hundred lay preachers. Their efforts are still directed to the reform of the old connexion, and their future history must depend in a great measure upon the success or failure of the agitation in which they are now engaged.

The authorities consulted in the foregoing article are—*Moore's Life of Wesley*; *R. Watson's Life of Wesley*; *Wesley's Journals*; *The Centenary of Wesleyan Methodism*, by Thomas Jackson, President of the Conference; *A Compendium of the Laws and Regulations of Wesleyan Methodism*, by Edmund Grindrod; *The Constitution and Discipline of Wesleyan Methodism*, by George Turner; *Wesleyan Methodism as the System of a Christian Church*, by the Rev. William R. Rule, D.D.; *An Essay on the Constitution of Wesleyan Methodism*, by John Beecham, D.D., Ex-president of the Conference; *The Ministry and Polity of the Christian Church in relation to the principles professed by the Wesleyan Methodists*, by the Rev. Alfred Barrett. All the above-mentioned are published at the Conference Office, and have an official, or semi-official, character.

The recent disputes in the Wesleyan Connexion have been investigated in the following publications.—*The Fly Sheets*, Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4; *Minutes of the Conference, 1849 to 1853*; *Methodism Past and Present* (sanctioned by the Mediation Committee); *Declaration of Wesleyan Methodist Officers and Members on the State of the Connexion*, Birmingham, 1851 and 1852; *Address of the Mediation Committee*, Birmingham, 1852; *The Church which stands alone in Protestantism*; and various other Tracts and Papers issued by the Reform Association, Exeter Hall, London. *Priestly Despotism rampant in the Wesleyan Conference*; *A Letter to the Right Hon. Lord John Russell, M.P.*, London, 1853; *Correspondence between the Rev. George Osborne and Apsley Pellatt, Esq., M.P.*, London, 1854. These have been replied to, from time to time, on behalf of the Conference, in the *Watchman* newspaper, *The Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, and in *Grindrod's Compendium*, and similar treatises.

WESLEYAN METHODIST NEW CONNEXION.—The Rev. Alexander Kilham was the founder of the New Connexion, which originated in 1797, soon after the death of Wesley. Kilham, a zealous and effective preacher amongst the Methodists, was born at Epworth, in Lincolnshire, the birthplace of the Wesleys, in 1762. His followers complain that neither their cause nor their leader's character have had justice done to them. "From legal penalties," they say, "we have been happily exempt; but for many years the tongue of slander was seldom silent, and the pen of bitter sarcasm was employed against us by our more powerful opponents. The times, too, were unpropitious to us; public opinion was not ripe to estimate our principles, and scarcely

to give credit to our motives." The men who make this appeal are certainly entitled to a hearing.

Kilham preached in days when the preacher's life was often in jeopardy. He had his full share of hardships and marvellous escapes: at length, being threatened with imprisonment if he persisted in preaching in a town in Yorkshire, he sheltered himself beneath the Toleration Act, and professing to be, what in fact he was, a Dissenter, he obtained a licence, which placed him beyond the reach of his opponents. Wesley, in general, did not allow his preachers to take out a licence as dissenting ministers; they were not, he said, Dissenters, nor were they even ministers within the meaning of the Act. Yet the principles of Methodism embraced all denominations in its earlier days, and a Dissenter, as such, was not disqualified from joining the Wesleyan ranks. Kilham, however, had obtained his licence to preach as a Dissenter before he was accepted by Wesley as a preacher in full connexion, or appointed to a circuit by the Conference. On the death of Wesley commotions immediately began. Kilham, and the comparatively few who at present entertained his sentiments, were not prevented by their respect for the founder of Methodism from questioning the wisdom of his conduct in the constitution which he gave to his societies. They complained that the community of which he was the head was designed by him never to assume the proper character and position of a Church, but to exist as a peculiar organization within the pale of the Establishment, and to act as an auxiliary to it. Hence the members, in their united capacity, were called Societies, not Churches; the preachers not ministers, but helpers or lay-preachers; and in the appellation given to other officers, such as stewards and leaders, care was taken to adopt no designation which could possibly indicate for the Methodist body the prerogatives of a Church. Both the names and the functions proper to a Church were to be regarded as the exclusive right of the Establishment, and were, therefore, rigidly withheld from the Methodist community. In conformity to this policy, preaching was forbidden during the hours of Church service; the preachers were neither to receive ordination, nor to assume the right of administering the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper. These privileges were to be sought for by the people at the hands, not of their own pastors, but of Church ministers, and conformity to this regula-

tion was regarded by them as a practical repudiation of dissent and a mark of adherence to the Established Church. Kilham was of opinion, too, that Wesley had erred in showing too great a tenacity of arbitrary power, and still more in transferring his own absolute authority to the preachers, especially to the hundred, who composed the annual Conference, and were the sole legislators and governors of the body, to the exclusion of laymen. The discussion of these questions agitated the whole connexion for several years, and various parties were formed, some contending for a strict adherence to the Church of England; some anxious that no changes should be made; while some would have restrained the powers of the Conference, and others would have erected Methodism, as it stood, into a Church. Kilham was at the head of another class, who went still further than the rest; he contended for two objects at once, an entire separation from the Church, including the formation of Methodism into a distinct and independent community, and also such a remodelling of its constitution as would give the laity a full share in the administration and government of the body. Not to repeat the history of a dispute through which we have already travelled, Kilham, after being censured by the Conference of 1791, was finally expelled at the Conference of 1796. His offence was a pamphlet, entitled "The Progress of Liberty," in which he lays down the outlines of a constitution which he "proposed to the consideration of the people called Methodists." The outline embraces the principles adopted by the New Connexion as the elements of their constitution. It contains the following particulars:—

First. That instead of the preachers having the sole power to admit and expel members, these acts should be done with the consent of the people or their representatives.

Second. That the members should have a voice in choosing their own leaders.

Third. That local preachers, instead of being appointed by the circuit preacher, should be examined and approved by the leaders' and quarterly meetings; and with the latter meeting also should rest the power of receiving and dismissing them.

Fourth. That as it was impossible to allow the people to appoint their own ministers, on account of the itinerant plan, yet the quarterly meetings should have a voice in recommending preachers to travel.

Fifth. That lay-delegates, appointed by the quarterly meetings, should attend the district meetings.

And lastly, he proposes, with submission to the preachers and the connexion at large, to appoint one or two lay delegates from every district meeting, to attend the Conference.

Kilham did not immediately join another community, or set up his own standard; he even discouraged the project of his more zealous friends to raise a subscription, in order to meet the expenses should a separation occur as well as to encourage such preachers as might be disposed to join them. He still hoped that a division might be avoided, but whatever might be the issue, "he would hold out no golden bait to allure others." The Conference was held at Leeds, in 1797, and the reformers made their last effort. Delegates from different places had been sent to remonstrate and petition. It was suggested to the delegates that one condition should be the restoration of Kilham to the ministry, but, with great singleness of heart, he insisted that no treaty, in reference to himself, should embarrass their negotiations with the Conference. The delegates or deputation then submitted three different propositions. The first was, that two or more lay representatives from each district meeting should be admitted into Conference, to co-operate with the preachers in transacting the general business of the connexion. This was rejected by the Conference. The second proposition submitted was, that representatives might be admitted into the district meetings, to unite with the ministers in the general business of each district respectively. This proposition also the Conference rejected. The third measure proposed by the delegates was, that representatives should be sent from the different circuits to the place where the Conference was held, but to meet in an apartment by themselves, and thus constitute a second house of legislature, somewhat like the House of Commons; and that no new law or alteration should be rendered valid unless approved by this lay convention. Such a method of transacting business would, no doubt, have involved inconveniences; but more favourable measures being rejected, the delegates had recourse to this final plan, in order to secure the peace of the connexion and prevent a division. This proposition was, however, rejected by the Conference. The concessions actually made have been already stated in our history of the older Wesleyans.

Kilham and three preachers—Thom, Everfield, and Cummings—who of their own free will left the Conference and cast in their lot with him, now felt themselves at liberty to organize a distinct denomination. On the 9th of August, 1797, these brethren, with a number of delegates, met in Ebenezer Chapel, at Leeds, which they had purchased from the Baptists, and here a constitution was prepared, and a secession Church formed in accordance with the principles which Mr. Kilham had advocated. The New Connexion sprang into existence with about five thousand members. Twelve circuits were immediately formed, the centres of which were the large manufacturing towns in the north of England. South of the Trent they had not yet obtained a footing. Kilham, the founder of the New Connexion, died, exhausted with hard service, on the 20th of December, 1798, aged thirty-six. In zeal and diligence, and in active courage, he was perhaps not inferior to Wesley himself, whom he revered as his guide and teacher. What his capacity might have been as a ruler in the Church his premature death does not enable us to judge. The stone which covers his remains in the chapel-yard at Nottingham, describes his character as he appeared to those who knew him well. The greatness of his mind is not to be estimated by the sphere in which he moved. It may be that Kilham possessed all the energy of Luther without his grossness; at least his friends, it is evident, looked upon him with no ordinary feelings of respect. The inscription we transcribe:—

“To the memory of Alexander Kilham, minister of the gospel. A faithful servant in the vineyard of Christ. A zealous defender of the rights of the people against attempts to force on them a priestly domination. Deserted by many of his friends, he lived to see the cause flourish in which he died a martyr. In promoting the glory of God, and the happiness of his brethren, he counted nothing too dear a sacrifice. In this pursuit, ease and indulgence were despised by him. His last hours were peaceful and triumphant; unembittered by a moment's repentance for having opposed corruption in the Church, he blessed God that he had made him instrumental in doing it, and only regretted that he had not done it more faithfully. Committing his soul to his Redeemer, he took his flight to a better world December 20th, 1798, aged 36.”

The ecclesiastical constitution established by Kilham and his

friends was intended to give that power to the laity which the Conference of the old connexion denied to them. With this view their Conference is constituted upon the representative system. Each circuit elects at the previous quarterly meeting one preacher and one layman, its representatives; or, should the circuit be too poor to bear the expences of two representatives, then a preacher and a layman alternately. Connexional office-bearers are also members of Conference; namely, the treasurers of the various funds, the secretary and treasurer of the missions, and the steward and treasurer of the book-room. The trustees of chapels are allowed a representative when their legal rights are concerned. From the representatives thus chosen the Conference appoints its guardian representatives; of whom the presence of six is necessary to render the constitution legally complete. Thus the Conference consists of ministers, lay representatives, and guardian representatives. The last Conference, held at Sheffield in 1855, consisted of sixty-nine representatives, lay and clerical, five treasurers and secretaries, ten guardian representatives, and two delegates from the Irish Conference.

The history of the New Connexion during its existence of more than half a century, has not been chequered by those occurrences, whether disastrous or otherwise, which claim a conspicuous place in history. Nor has it been marked with any extraordinary success. A small society exists in Ireland, which contains about seven hundred members. In Canada, which is divided into seven districts, there are seven thousand four hundred members. At home the New Connexion numbers sixteen thousand eight hundred members. The late schisms in the old connexion have not, to any perceptible extent, increased the new one.

It is a remarkable fact in the history of Methodism that every secession of importance has retained the doctrines and ordinances of the old connexion, differing solely from it on the question of Church polity. Each in succession has organized a system of lay representation in its Conference. Thus the Methodist New Connexion is to be regarded as the eldest of a number of independent Methodist Churches, amongst all of whom in doctrine there is a perfect agreement, and in discipline scarcely a shade of difference. These secessions have not been confined to Europe. In America two ruptures have taken place. The "Protestant Methodists" were cast out from the Episcopal connexion in

1828, and the "Wesleyan Methodist Church" seceded, on the ground of slavery, in 1842. The former contains fifty-five thousand, the latter sixteen thousand members. Were all these secessions, abroad and at home, consolidated into one denomination, they would form a powerful Wesleyan free Church, numbering at least to a hundred and fifty thousand members. It seems probable that such an union will be attempted, for there is a kindly feeling to each other amongst all the seceders. If it should be carried into effect a powerful community will be formed which may hereafter produce upon the world at large impressions perhaps as deep, and not less important than those which Wesley and his followers impressed in the last century upon Great Britain.

The New Connexion publishes a magazine, of which between three and four thousand copies are circulated. This is a respectable journal. It contains occasional essays in theology and general literature, which would do no discredit to the pages of some of our periodicals of much higher pretensions. And as the work of self-educated men it will be read, by more favoured students, at once with interest and with candour. It also publishes a "Juvenile Instructor," monthly, and a weekly newspaper, the "Methodist Pilot," of both of which the sale is considerable. It is not a wealthy body, although within a few years past it has subscribed 36,000*l.* for reducing the debts on chapels, which has placed the connexion in this respect in easy circumstances. Its preachers, engaged in constant labours amongst the poorer classes, have not aspired to literary honours; nor has it imitated the older connexion in erecting colleges and theological institutions.

Life of Rev. Alexander Kilham; by T. Blackwell. Methodist Reform and its Originator; by William Cooke. General Rules of the Methodist New Connexion; London, 1854. Minutes of the Conference of the Methodist New Connexion, composed of Ministers and Lay Representatives, held at Sheffield, 1855. The Methodist New Connexion Magazine. Report of the New Connexion's Missionary Society to Ireland and Canada, 1855.

POSTSCRIPT.

See p. 41.—The case of the stone altar, introduced at St. Sepulchre's church, Cambridge, by the Camden Society, was carried, not as stated above, before the archdeacon, but before the chancellor of the diocese, in the form of an application for a Faculty to confirm the alterations made by the Camden Society, against which Mr. Faulkner, the incumbent, had objected. The Faculty was granted; upon which the incumbent appealed to the Court of Arches, where the judge, Sir Herbert Jenner Fust, cancelled that part of the Faculty which had sanctioned the stone altar and the credence table.

The Right Honourable Stephen Lushington, D. C. L., &c., by a judgment delivered in the Consistory Court of the Bishop of London, December 5, 1855, in the case of Westerton and others against Liddell and others, has again decided against the legality of stone altars and credence tables, and has ordered their removal from the churches of St. Barnabas and St. Paul's Knightsbridge, together with a brazen rood screen from the former church and other ornaments.

SUPPLEMENT.

SINCE the original publication of this work, we have received from persons, whose high character and position in that body entitle them to credit, the following corrections of certain statements, pages 541—555, and also page 572, concerning the doctrine and history of “The Catholic Apostolic Church.” We give the statement in their own words:—

“ 1. They deny that they hold, or ever have held, that sin is to be imputed to our Lord, either in his person or in his human nature. His person (they profess) was divine; and, therefore, he was incapable of sin in any form, or under any circumstances.

“ As to his nature:—The nature which he took is that same nature which we all derive from Adam—in us corrupt and evil, in him sanctified. For whereas we receive it from our parents through ordinary generation, and are born in sin—he received it from his mother, through the conception of the Holy Ghost: ‘Therefore also that holy thing that was born of her is called the Son of God.’ This nature he took, subject to all the consequences of the fall which do not involve sin—weakness, fatigue, hunger and thirst, temptation (for ‘he was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin’), agony of body and mind, and death. But, taking it into his own Divine personality by the operation of the Holy Ghost, he was entirely exempt from sin, original or actual, not only in his person, but in his nature.

“ In a word, they profess heartily and unequivocally, to adopt the words of the Article of the Church of England, ‘Christ in the truth of our nature was made like unto us in all things, sin only except, from which he was clearly void, both in his flesh and in his spirit.’

“ 2. They deny that any deputation or mission was at any time sent from them, or from any body or person connected with

them, to Joseph Smith or to the Mormonites; nor did they ever entertain a doubt as to the wickedness of that antichristian confederacy. The statement to the contrary in the 'Edinburgh Review,' and some other publications, was founded upon a document, probably forged for purposes of fraud, but, at all events, not proceeding from them, or any one connected with them.

"3. They deny that Mr. Irving, in his last illness, or at any time of his life, retracted his faith in the work in which he had been engaged. The notion to the contrary is founded upon a misinterpretation of certain words partially extracted from his letters, and published without authority in some religious periodicals shortly after his death. In these extracts were expressions of regret, not for having been engaged in the work, but for certain acts of his, which, as he feared, had tended to the hindrance of the work. In proof, they assert that the letters in question, together with other letters, testifying to the continuance of his faith to the end, were privately printed and distributed to his flock for the purpose of encouraging them to abide in the same faith; and they produce a copy of the tract containing these letters, with their respective dates, from which the extracts were subsequently printed."

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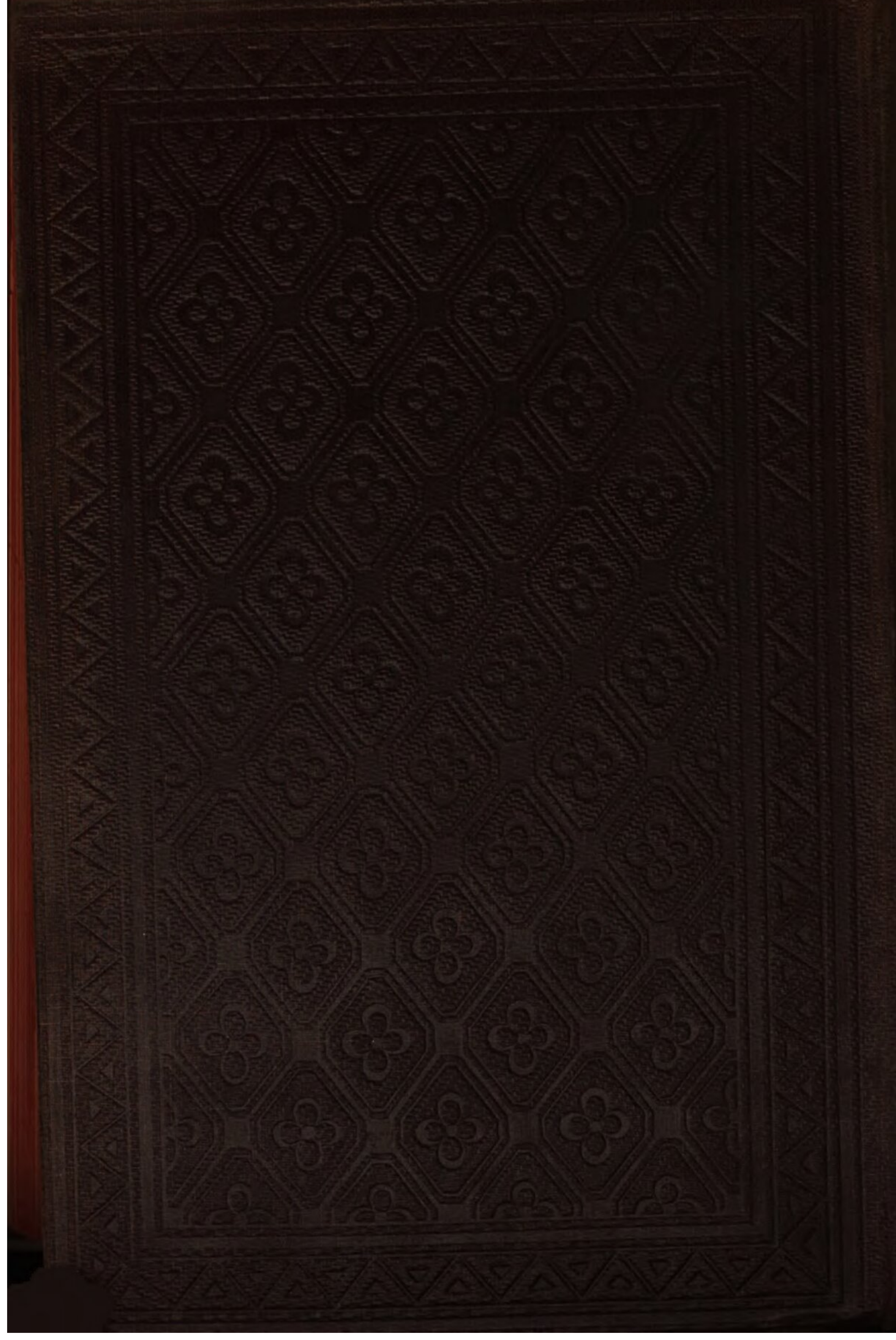
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